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TRANSACTIONS

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ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.

Inscriptions Grecques et Latines du Colosse de Memnon restituées et expliquées par M. LETRONNE, *Membre de l'Institut de France, et Membre Honoraire de la Soc. Roy. de Littérature.*

An Abstract read, June 16th, 1830.

OBSERVATIONS PRÉLIMINAIRES.

ON sait qu'il existe dans la plaine de Thèbes deux énormes colosses de brèche agatifère, hauts d'environ 60 pieds y compris leur socle, et éloignés de 54 pieds l'un de l'autre. Ils sont maintenant tout-à-fait isolés; mais ils étaient jadis liés à un vaste édifice qui subsistait encore au temps de Pline, et qui a presque totalement disparu. Cet édifice, construit par Aménophis II, se nommait *Aménophium;* et les deux colosses qui probablement en décoraient l'entrée, sont des images de ce roi, comme le prouvent les cartouches hiéroglyphiques qu'ils portent tous deux.

Le colosse du Sud est monolithe; l'autre ne l'est que depuis la base jusqu'au dessus des genoux; le reste se compose de cinq assises en grès, renfermant treize blocs. Cette circonstance seule, indépendamment de toute induction historique, est une preuve que la partie supérieure du colosse fut brisée à une époque quelconque; et qu'on l'a rebâtie plus tard par assises. Des textes positifs de Strabon et de Pausanias montrent qu'en effet ces écrivains ont vu le colosse vocal de Memnon brisé depuis la tête jusqu'aux genoux, et la partie supérieure renversée à terre: d'où il résulte

que le colosse du Nord est bien celui de Memnon, et que son rétablissement est postérieur au voyage de Pausanias, qui a parcouru l'Egypte vers la fin du règne d'Adrien.

Cette identité, que quelques savans avaient niée, faute d'avoir rapproché attentivement les textes anciens de l'état des deux colosses, est démontrée sans réplique par les inscriptions grecques et latines gravées sur les deux jambes et sur le socle du colosse du Nord, par l'ordre de ceux qui avaient entendu sa voix. Ces inscriptions sont d'irrécusables témoignages de la réalité du phénomène, quelle qu'en ait été d'ailleurs la cause ou la nature.

Pococke est le premier voyageur qui ait eu l'idée de recueillir ces précieux fragmens. Malheureusement il ne put consacrer qu'une demi-journée à ce travail, qui, pour être fait avec tout le soin nécessaire, aurait exigé beaucoup plus de temps. Il n'est pas étonnant que ses copies soient souvent inexactes, et tellement confuses qu'elles défient parfois la sagacité la plus perçante. Il en est plusieurs néanmoins d'à-peu-près irréprochables. On ne saurait compter Norden parmi ceux qui ont ajouté quelque chose d'utile au travail de Pococke, car le petit nombre de fragmens tronqués qu'il a recueillis fournissent à peine quelques variantes dont on puisse tirer parti. Les acquisitions nouvelles que la Commission d'Egypte a faites à cet égard se bornent à quatre inscriptions, dont trois assez courtes et de peu d'intérêt, la quatrième longue et intéressante, mais si mal copiée qu'on n'en avait pu restituer que quatre vers sur les dix qui subsistent encore; le reste de celles que cette Commission a publiées, se trouvait déjà dans Pococke ou Norden. M. Hamilton,[1] peu après le départ des Français, copia aussi une quinzaine de ces inscriptions, dont trois ne sont point dans Pococke, et une manque dans l'ouvrage de la Commission d'Egypte.

Ainsi, il est juste de dire que les successeurs de Pococke n'avaient ajouté à son travail que quelques variantes pour un petit nombre d'inscriptions, et seulement *quatre* inscriptions nouvelles. D'ailleurs ce voyageur conserve toujours l'avantage d'en avoir présenté l'ensemble dans l'ordre qu'elles ont sur le monument même; car il est le seul qui ait eu l'idée de dessiner la partie inférieure des jambes du colosse, et d'y figurer toutes les inscriptions à la place que chacune d'elles occupe. Or, la connaissance de cette place n'est pas du tout indifférente à la détermination de leur époque; et elle donne lieu à des inductions utiles.

---

[1] Mr W. M. Leake aida beacoup son ami en cette circonstance; et si nous ne parlons que de M. Hamilton, c'est que son nom seul est mis en tête des *Ægyptiaca*.

Déjà plusieurs critiques se sont exercés sur les inscriptions du colosse de Memnon. Leich, Bouhier, Hagenbuch, Pott et D'Orville préparèrent les voies à Jablonski. Ce savant orientaliste en expliqua un certain nombre, tant en prose qu'en vers, dans ses dissertations ou *Syntagmata de Memnone:* mais, peu familiarisé avec ce genre de critique, il ne réussit que médiocrement, quoique soutenu par ses prédécesseurs, dont, à la vérité, les efforts n'avaient pas été couronnés de bien grands succès. Ce qu'on a écrit de mieux sur ce sujet est une Dissertation de M. Fr. Jacobs, insérée dans les Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Munich, pour l'année 1810. Si l'auteur avait alors connu la Description de l'Egypte et les *Ægyptiaca* de M. Hamilton, il aurait pu rectifier quelques-unes des leçons de Pococke, et voir qu'en certains cas il s'en est trop écarté. Au reste, l'attention de ce savant critique ne s'est guères portée que sur les inscriptions en vers, au nombre de cinq, qu'il a insérées ensuite dans ses deux éditions de l'Anthologie. Quant aux inscriptions en prose, il n'en a examiné qu'un fort petit nombre, dont Jablonski n'avait pas parlé; d'ailleurs, comme le texte en était fort corrompu, il n'en a presque rien tiré.

Ce court aperçu suffit pour montrer qu'il était bien nécessaire qu'un voyageur prît enfin la peine de relever encore une fois, en totalité, les inscriptions grecques et latines qui couvrent les jambes du colosse. Feu Salt, consul de S. M. B. en Egypte, s'est chargé de ce soin; et c'est un des derniers services que cet ami zélé de la science lui a rendus.

Les copies qu'il a fait prendre sont généralement plus exactes que celles de Pococke; et, même lorsqu'elles ne le sont pas davantage, sans doute parce que le mauvais état de l'original n'a pas permis de mieux distinguer les lettres, elles sont encore utiles, parce qu'elles tracent à la critique la limite de ses tentatives. Quelquefois les copies de Salt n'ajoutent qu'un trait ou deux, qu'un seul mot à celles de Pococke ou de M. Hamilton; mais il n'est pas rare que ces légers linéamens soient, en quelque sorte, le mot de l'énigme. On aura une idée des secours que m'a fournis la comparaison attentive des nouvelles et des anciennes copies, quand on saura que, des 56 inscriptions qu'a données Pococke, il n'y en a pas plus d'une dixaine qu'on eut lues un peu exactement; que le texte de toutes les autres a été plus ou moins amélioré; et que plusieurs même, des plus intéressantes, se présentent sous un jour tout nouveau.

Mais là ne se bornent pas les avantages des nouvelles copies. Elles nous font de plus connaître environ 35 inscriptions que Pococke n'avait pas aperçues, ou n'avait pas eu le temps de copier; et sur ce nombre, il y en a environ 25 d'inédites. D'après le soin qu'a mis à ces copies celui que Salt

avait chargé de ce travail, on doit croire qu'aucune inscription lisible ne lui aura échappé; et l'on peut se flatter de posséder enfin la collection aussi complète, aussi exacte que possible, de toutes celles qu'il est permis de discerner encore sur les diverses parties du colosse que le temps a respectées. Le travail de Salt ne laisse qu'un regret; c'est que ce savant consul n'ait pas songé à imiter Pococke, en dessinant chaque inscription dans la place qu'elle occupe sur le monument. L'oubli de cette circonstance empêche que le travail de Pococke ait perdu tout son prix. J'avouerai qu'il m'a encore été fort utile; que, sans les dessins de ce voyageur, plus d'un détail curieux me serait échappé; et même qu'il m'eût été impossible de résoudre la question si débattue et si difficile de la nature du singulier phénomène dont ces inscriptions constatent la réalité. Mais, en combinant ensemble les copies de Salt et celles de Pococke, j'ai pu recueillir un assez grand nombre d'observations certaines pour proposer une théorie complète de tous les faits qui se rattachent à ce problême à la fois historique et physique. Cette théorie est développée dans un Mémoire spécial [1] qui a été lu récemment à l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

Mais il ne s'agit point ici de discussions sur Memnon et sa voix merveilleuse; il ne s'agit que des inscriptions elles-mêmes, dont je me suis chargé de donner une explication sommaire à la *Société Royale de Littérature*. Il me reste à présenter quelques courtes observations sur l'ordre que j'ai cru devoir adopter, et le plan que j'ai suivi.

Comme les copies transmises par Salt n'étaient accompagnées d'aucune note indicative de la place que chaque inscription occupe sur le colosse, on n'a pu observer d'ordre en les lithographiant; et l'on a dû n'avoir égard qu'à la commodité de leur disposition sur les planches. Je n'ai pas jugé à propos, dans l'explication, de suivre l'ordre des Numéros adoptés; et il m'a paru convenable de les soumettre à un classement méthodique.

Je les ai donc divisées en deux classes; celles *qui portent des dates*, et *celles qui n'en ont pas*.

Pour la première classe, qui comprend 39 inscriptions, j'ai suivi uniquement l'ordre chronologique, mêlant les vers et la prose, le Grec et le Latin; dans la seconde, au contraire, j'ai établi deux divisions, comprenant, l'une, les Inscriptions Grecques, l'autre, les Inscriptions Latines.

Il est résulté de-là une suite de Numéros toute différente de celle qui est

[1] Intitulé, *Mémoire sur le Colosse Vocal de Memnon d'après les Inscriptions Grecques et Latines qu'il porte, rapprochées des textes anciens.*

marquée sur les Planches : mais afin qu'on puisse retrouver facilement, dans mon texte, le Numéro de la Planche, dont on cherche l'explication, je donne à la page suivante une *concordance* des deux ordres de Numéros. Les chiffres arabes indiquent les Numéros des Planches ; les chiffres romains, ceux que j'ai adoptés. Cette même différence est observée dans mes renvois ; le chiffre arabe renvoie aux planches ; et l'autre, à mon texte. De plus, en tête de chaque explication, je mets les deux Numéros. Il n'y a point à s'y tromper.

Dans cette Table de concordance, j'ai placé à côté de chaque inscription, la lettre initiale du nom de ceux qui les ont fait connaître successivement. On verra de cette manière la part de chacun. P. désigne *Pococke ;* N. *Norden ;* C-E. *la Commission d'Egypte ;* H. *M. Hamilton ;* et S. *Salt.* Toutes les fois que les copies de Salt ajoutent quelque chose à celles qu'on possédait déjà, je joins un astérisque à son initiale (S*).

Quoique je me sois imposé une grande concision, la célébrité de ces inscriptions, et les recherches dont elles ont été l'objet, ne m'ont pas permis de passer sous silence les efforts qu'on a faits successivement pour les expliquer. Il fallait bien indiquer parfois à quel point on était parvenu, pour qu'on pût apprécier les améliorations que recevaient des textes si souvent travaillés, et qui pourtant restaient presque tous à rétablir.

Il m'a paru nécessaire encore d'indiquer sommairement les motifs sur lesquels se fondent les restitutions proposées ; et de faire ressortir les principales particularités qu'offre chaque inscription. Je me flatte qu'on trouvera que je me suis renfermé dans les limites convenables, en me gardant de toute prolixité, et en ne négligeant rien de ce qui pouvait être utile à l'entière intelligence de tous ces fragmens plus ou moins mal-traités, par le temps, dont quelques-uns même pouvaient sembler à jamais indéchiffrables.

Quiconque prendra la peine de rapprocher ce Mémoire de ceux de Jablonski et de M. Jacobs, se convaincra que presque tout restait à faire encore.

Concordance des deux ordres de Numéros.

N^os^ des Planches.	N^os^ du Texte.	
1	LXIV.	S.
2	VI.	S.
3	III.	P. N. S.
4	LXV.	P. S.
5	LXI.	S.
6	LXII.	S.
7	LXIII.	S.
8	IX.	C-E. H. S.*
9	I.	C-E. H. S.
10	L.	P. N. C-E. H. S.
11	V.	P. S.*
12	XI.	P. S.*
13	LI.	S.
14	XVII.	P. H. S.*
15	XXXV.	S.
16	XIV.	P. S.*
17	XVIII.	S.
18	XLIX.	S.
19	XXVIII.	P. S.
20	XXXI.	P. S.
21	LIX.	S.
22	XL.	P. S.*
23	XXXVII.	P. S.
24	XIX.	P. S.*
25	XVI.	P. S.
26	XII.	S.
27	XXXIII.	H. S.*
28	LXVII.	C-E. S.
29	LII.	P. S.*
30	XXV.	P. S.*
31	LIII.	H. S.*
32	XXIX.	S.
33	LIV.	P. S.*
34	LXVIII.	P. C-E. S.
35	XXXIV.	S.
36	X.	P. C-E. S.*
37	XXXII.	N. S.*
38	XX.	P. S.*
39	XXI.	P. S.*
40	XLIII.	P. S.*
41	VII.	P. C-E. S.*
42	LXIX.	P. S.
43	LXX.	S.
44	XXII.	S.
45	LVII.	S.
46	LVIII.	S.
47	XIII.	P. S.*
48	LXXI.	N. C-E. H. S.
49	XLIV, XLV.	P. S.*
50	XXXIX.	P. C-E. S.
51	XXIV.	S.
52	LXVI.	S.
53	LVI.	S.
54	XXXVIII.	P. S.*
55	XLII.	P. H. S.
56	XV.	P. H. S.*
57	VIII.	P. C-E. S.
58	XLI.	P. S.*
59	II.	P. S.*
60	XXVI.	P. C-E. H. S
61	XXVII.	P. S.*
62	XLVIII.	H. S.*
63	XXXVI.	C-E. S.*
64	XXIII.	S.
65	LX.	S.
66	IV.	S.
67	XLVII.	P. H. S.
68	LV.	S.
69	XLVI.	P. S.
70	XXX.	P. S.*
71	LXXII.	S.

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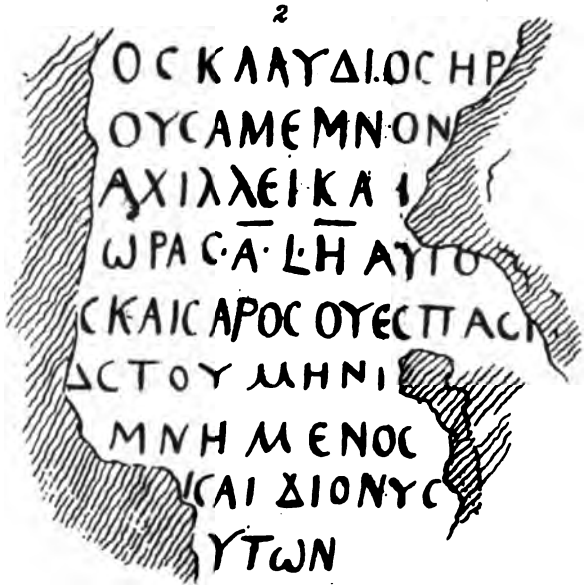

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ΒΑΛΒΕΙΝΙΑΝΟCΕΝ ΑΡΧΟC ΕΘΑΥΜΑCΕΝ
ΑΡΧΙΔΙΚΑC ΤΗC

20.

Λ PETRONIVS MAMARNS
PRAE F. AEG AVDI MEMNONI
VI IDVS MARTIAS
SERVIANO III ET VARO COS
HORA DIES ANTE PRIMAM

22.

ΤΡ. Ε ΒΟΥΛΛΗC
ΤΗC ΙΕΡΑC ΑΚΟΥΟΥCΑ ΦΩΝΗC ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟC
ΕΠΟΘΟΥΝ CΕ ΜΗΤΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΑΚΟΥΕΙΝ ΕΥΧΟΜΗΝ

23.

M. VL PIVS PRIMIANVS
PRAE F. AEG.
VI KAL MARTIAS X EX
TRO II COS ITERVM HORA
DIEI SECVNDA AVDI
MEMNONEM
γις F ELICITER

24.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑC ΒΑΜΙΛΛΗC
ΟΤΕ Η ΚΟΥCΕ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΜΝΟC
Ο CΕΒΑCΤΟC ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC
ΜΕΜΝΟΝΑ ΠΥΝΘΑΝΟΜΑΝ ΑΙ ΓΥΠΤΙΟ CΝΑΛΙΩ ΑΥΓΑΙ
ΑΙΘΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΦΩΝΗΝ ΘΗΒΑΙΧΩΡΥΛΙΘΩ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΔΕCΙΔΩΝΤΟΝ ΠΑΜΒΑCΙΛΗΑ ΠΡΙΝ ΑΥΓΑC
ΑΕΛΙΩ ΧΑΙΡΗΝΕΙΠΕ ΓΟΙΩC ΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ
ΤΤΙΤΑΝΔΟΤΥΕΛΛΩΝ ΛΕΥΚΟΙCΙ ΔΙΑΙΘΕΡΟCΙΠΠΟΙC
ΙΛΙCΚΙΑΙ ΩΡΑΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΗΧΕΜΕΤΡΟΝ
ΩC ΧΑΛΚΟΙΟΤΥΠΕΝΤΟ ΙΗΜΕΜΝΩΝ ΠΑΛΙΝΑΥΔΑΝ
Ο ΞΥΤΟΝΟΝ ΧΑΙΡΩ ΑΙ ΤΡΙΤΟΝΑΥΟΝΙΗ
ΚΟΙΡΑΝΟC ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΙC ΔΑC ΠΑCCΑΤΟ ΚΑΥΤΟΙ
ΜΕΜΝΟΝΑ ΚΑΚΑΝ ΛΑΚΑΜ' ΕΝΟΙCΙΤΟΝΟΙC
ΓΡΟΠΠΑΤΑ CΑΜΑΙΝΟ ΤΑΤΟC ΕΥΙΔΕ ΚΩΖΕCΕ ΑΚΟΥCΕ
ΔΗΛΟΝ ΠΑΙCΙ ΔΕΓΕ ΤΩΙ ΓΕΦΙΛΙCΙ ΘΕΟΙ

25.

T. FL. TITIANVS
PRAEF AEG
AVDIT
MEMNONEM
XIII KAL APRILI
VERO III ET AMBIBVLO
HORA T

26

ΦΟΥΝΕΙCΟΥΛΑΝΟC ΕΝΘΑCΕ ΡΕΙCΤΟC
CΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC ΕΡ ΜΩΝΘΙC ΤΕ ΛΑΤΩΝΠΑΤΡΗC
ΑΓΩΝΔΑΜΑΡΤΑΦΟΥΛΒΙΑ ΤΟΕΝ
CΟΥΜΕΜΝΟΝ ΗΧΗCΑΝΤΟC Ν ΜΗΤΗΡ
ΗCΗΧΥΘΕΙCΑCΟΝΔΕΜΑC ΑΠ ΦΕΙ
ΘΥCΑCΔΕΚΑΙC ΙΤΕΙCΑCΤΕ ΚΑΡΤ
ΤΟΥΤΑΥΤΟC ΗΥΤΗCΕΝΕΙCCΕΙ
ΛΑΛΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΡΓΩ ΠΑΙC ΕΩ
ΛΑΛΟΝ ΔΕΦΗΓΟΝΤΗΝ ΔΙΟ
CΕΔΑΥΤΟΝΟCCΟΙC ΜΟΥΝΟΝΕΔΙ
ΩC ΑΥΤΟC ΗΧΕΙCΚΑΙΒΟΗΝ ΤΙΝ
ΤΟΥΤΟΝΔΕCΟΙΧΑΡΑΞΕΤΟΝCΤΙΧC
ΟC ΕΙΠΕ ΤΑΥΤΩ ΦΙΛΤΑΤΟC Τ

27

ΧΑΙΡΗΜΩΝ ΟΚΑ
CΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC ΕΡ
ΛΑΤΟΠΟΛΕΓ
ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΤΑ
CΥΝΤΗΑΔΕΛΦ
ΙΘΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ
ΜΗΝΟC ΑΔΡΙΑΝ

28

CLAVDIVS MAXIMVS
LEG. XX AVDI
MEMNONEM HORA I

29

ΑΠΩΝΙC ΩΡΑ Α
ΗΚΟΥCΑ ΛΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΟ ΠΡΟC ΚΥΝΗΜΑΓΕΓΡΑΦΑ
ΕΜΗCΔΑΜΑΡΤΟC ΗΝΕΧΟΙ ΜΟΙ ΦΘΕΓΓΗ

30

ΟΤΕCΥΝΤΗ CΕΒΑCΤΗC ΑΒΕΙΝΗ
ΙΕΓΕΝΟΜΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΤΩΜΕΜΝΟΝΙ
ΑΥΩCΚΑΙΓΕΡΑΡΩΜΕΜΝΟΝ ΠΑΙ ΤΙΘΩΝΟΙΟ
ΘΗΒΑΑCΘΑCCΩΝ ΑΝΤΑΔΙΟCΠΟΛΙΟC
ΗΑΜΕΝΩΘ ΒΑCΙΛΕΥ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙ ΕΤΩCΕΝΕΠΟΙCΙΝ
ΙΡΗΕCΜΥΘΩΝ ΤΩΝΗ ΑΛΑΩΝΙΔΡΙΕC

31

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC ΓΕΜΙΝΟC
ΑΡΑΒΑΡΧΗC ΚΑΙΕΠΙCΤΡΑΤΗ
ΓΟCΘΗΒΑΙΔΟC ΗΚΟΥCΑ
ΑΝΑΠΑΕΩΝΩΡΑC Γ
ΚΑΤΑΠΛΕΩΝΩΡΑC Β

32

Q MARCIVS HERMOGENES PR: AE FELISSIS AVGIS EXAVDIT MEMNONEM
HORA IS NONIS MARTIS SERVIANO III ET VARO COS

33.

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΑΣ ΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΟΝ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΑ ΚΑΙ
ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ CΕCΑΚΟΥCΑΣ ΘΕΙΟΥ
ΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΠΕΡΧΟΜΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΙΠΩΝ ΤΩΙ ΔΙΩΙ
ΥΙΩ ΛΑΜΜΩΝΙΩ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΑΕΙ ΜΝΗΣΤΟ ΛΙΘΩ
ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΗΝ ΦΩΝΗΝ

34.

CLAVDIVS MAXIMVS
LHC XXII AVDIVI
HORA PRIMA

35.

T STATILIVS MAXIMVS S
MEMNONEM AVDIO · HORI I
AD XII KAL · MART · ANNO XX
HADRIANI IMP N

36.

ANNO VII IMP CAESARIS
NERVAE TRAIANI AVG. GER. DACICI
CVBIVS MAXIMVS PRAEAEC
AVDIT MEMNONEM XIIII K MAR
HORA II S SEMEL ET. IIII S SEN

37.

HORAM CVM PRIMAM CVM QVE
HORAM SOLE SECVNDAM
PROLATA OCEANO LVMINAT
ALMA DIES
VOX AVDITA MIHI EST TER BENE
MEMNONIA
FECIT
CVM AVDIT MEMNONEM XI SERVIANO III COS
CVM ASIDONIA CALPA VXORE

38.

ΦΛΑΟΥΙΑΝΟΣ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ
ΕΚΛΥΟΝ ΜΕ
ΜΝΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ
ΑΚΟΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΝΤΟΣ
ΩΡΑΣ Β ΔΙΣ

39.

ΕΚΛΥΟΝ ΑΥΔΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΓΩ ΠΥΛΙΘΩ ΒΑΛΒΙΜΑ
ΦΩΝΑΤΑΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ ΗΦΑΜΕΝΩΘ
ΗΛΘΟΝ ΥΜΟΙ ΔΕ ΡΑΤΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΙ ΔΙΤΥΙ ΔΕΣ ΑΒΙΝΝΑ
ΩΡΑΣ ΔΕ ΠΡΩΤΑΣ ΑΛΙΟΣ ΗΧΕ ΔΡΟΜΟΣ
ΚΟΙΡΑΝΩΙ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ ΠΕΜΠΤΩ ΔΕΚΟ ΤΩ ΔΕ
ΝΙ ΑΥΤΩ ΑΔΕΧΕΣΚΕ ΔΑΘΥΡΕΙΚΟΣΙ
ΚΑΙ ΠΕΣ ΥΡΑΕΙΚΟΣ ΤΩ ΠΕΜΠΤΩ
ΔΑΜΑΤΙ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΑΘΥΡ

40.

ΕΝΤΑϹΕΜΕΜΝΟΝΕ[illegible]ΠΑΝ
ΙΔΗ ΤΗϹ ΤΟΠΡΙΝϹΠΥΝΘΑ
ΝΟΜΗΝ ΝΥΝΔΕ ΠΑΡΩΝΕΜΑΘΟΝ

41.

FVNISVLANA VETTVLLA
CLELIIA FRICANI PRAEFAE
VXOR AVDI MEMNONEM
PRID FEBR HORA IS
ANNO I·IMP DOMITIANI AVG
CVM IAM TERTIO VENISSEM—

42.

LIVS MITHRIDATICVS TRIBVNVS
LEG XXI DIEC XIII K·IVL
NONEM AVDIVI H I—

43.

C CORNELIVS
VCRPITIANVS
COHVII ΠΥΡ
AVDI HOR

44.

ΒΕΙΝΑϹΕΒΑϹΤΗ
ΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟϹ ΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹ
ΟΥΕΝΤΟϹ ΩΡΑϹ
ΓΔΙϹ ΗΚΟΥϹΕ

45

ϹΑΤΟΡΝΙΝΗϹ

46.

ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥϹΙΑϹ ΤΟ
ΠΡΟϹ ΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ
ΚΙϹΔΑΚΟΥϹΕΤΑΙ

47.

ΛΟΥΚΙΟϹΦΟΥΝΕΙϹ ΟΥΛΑΝΟϹ
ΧΑΡΕΙϹΤΟϹ ϹΤΡΑΤΗΓΟϹΕΡΜΩΝ
ΘΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΟϹΗΚΟΥ
ϹΑΜΕΜΝΟΝΟϹ ΔΙϹ ΠΡΙΝΠΡΩ—
ΤΗϹ ΩΡΑϹ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΗϹΥΝ
ΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΜΟΥΦΟΥΛΒΙΑ
ΘΩΘΗ LZ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ

48.

CAMILIVS
HORA PRIMA
SEMIS AVDIVI
MEMNONEM

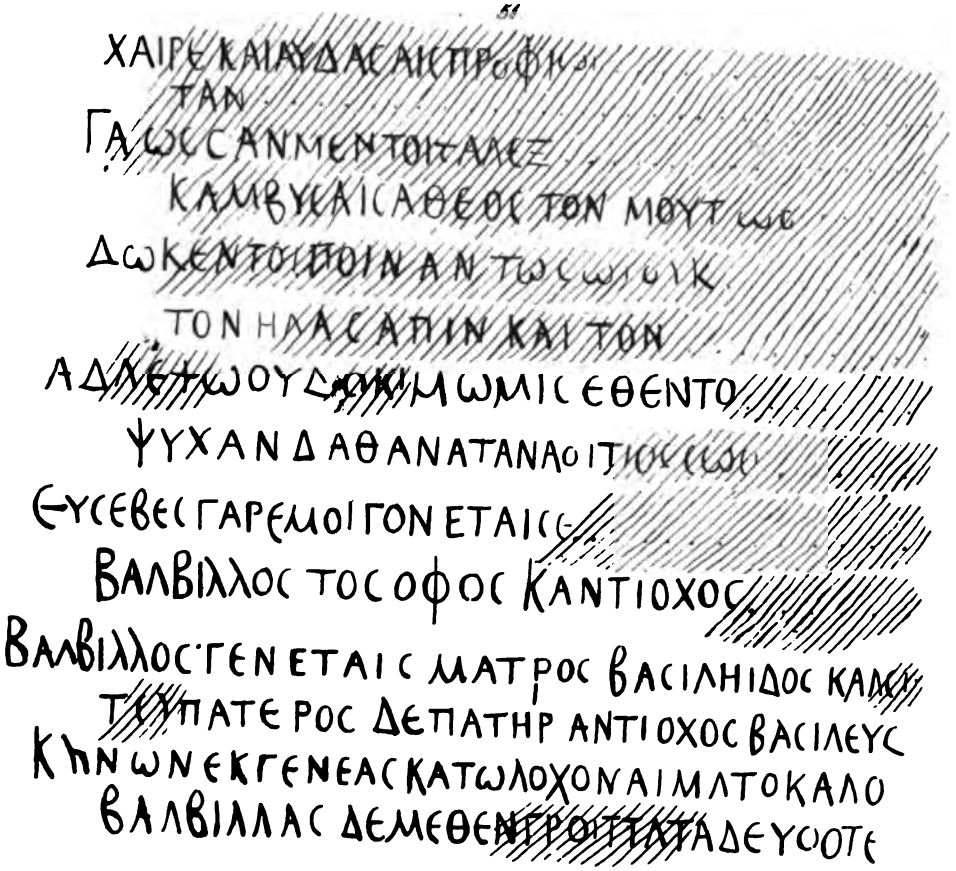
49

ΟϹΑΡΔΙΗΝΟϹ ΠΑΡΔΑΜΙϹ ΔΙϹ ΗΚΟΥ
ΜΕΜΝΗϹΟΜΝϹΕΥ[illegible]ϹΙΒΥΒ
ΕΙΚΑΙΝΩΒ ΗΤΗΡΕϹ ΕΛΥΜΗΝΑΝΤ[illegible]ΚΕΟΝ
ΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΝΥΚΤΩΡ
ΟΜΦΗΝ ΕΠΙ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟϹ
ΗΛΘΟΝ
ΕΚΛΥΟΝΗϹ ΚΑΤΟΥΛΟϹΤΑΓΟϹ
ΘΗΒΑΙΔΟϹ

50

V NONAS MARTIAS
FELIX AVG.C LIBERTVS
PROCVRATOR VSIACVS
HORA PRIMA SEMIS
MEMNONEM
AVDIVIT

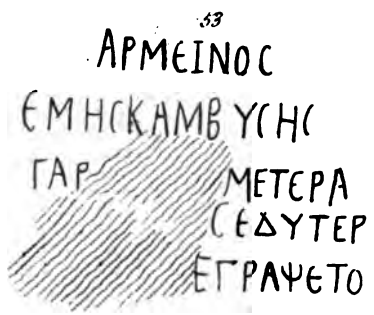
51



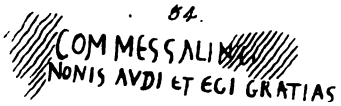
52

CALPVRNIVS
COH XXII
MEMNONEM
FELICITER

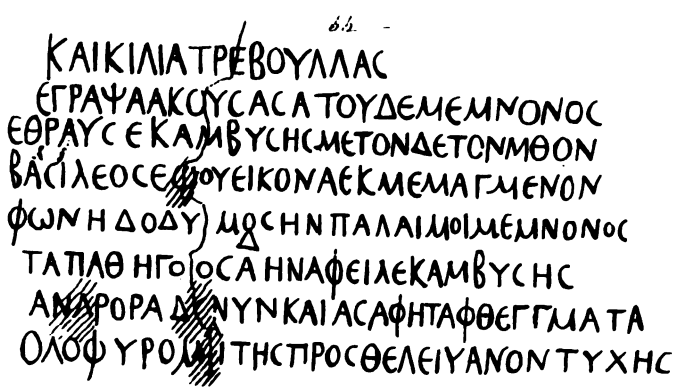
53



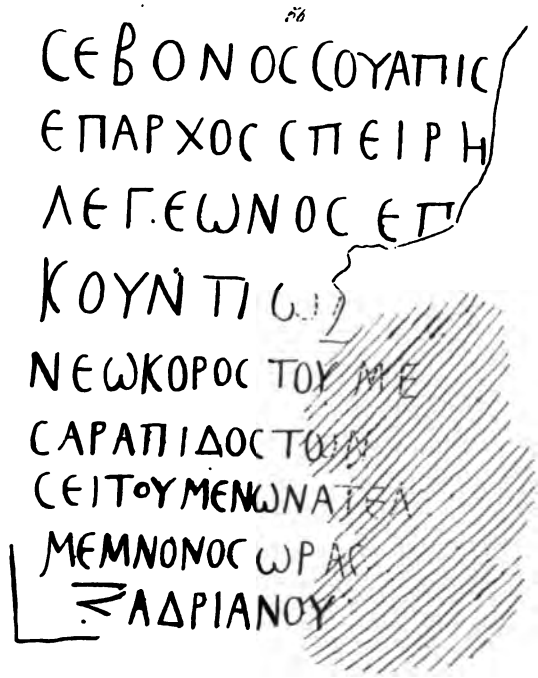
54



55



56



57

SEXLICINIVS PVDENS LEG XXII
XI KIANVARIAS ANNO IIII IMP

DOMITIANI CAESARIS AVGVSTI
GERMANICI AVDI MEMNONEM

58.

ΚΑΙΚΙΛΙΑ ΤΡΕΒΟΥΛΛΑ
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΑΚΟΥΣΑΣΑ
ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ

ΑΥΔΗΣ ΤΟΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ ΜΟΥΝΟΝ ΕΞΑΚΟΥΣΑΝΤΑΣ
ΝΥΝΩΣ ΣΥΝΗΘΕΙΣ ΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΥΣΗΣ ΠΑΖΕ ΤΟ
ΜΕΜΝΩΝΟΠΑΙΣ ΗΟΥΣΤΕΚΑΙΤΕΙΘΩΝΟΙΟ
ΑΙΣ ΟΗΣΙΝΑΡΑΤΩΛΙΘΩΚΑΙΦΘΕΓΓΜΑΤΑ
ΗΦΥΣΙΣ ΕΔΩΚΕ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΤΩΝΟΛΩΝ

59.

TIVVLIVS
LVPVS·PRAEF
ΛΥΔΙΛΜΕΜΝ
ΗΟΡΔΡΟ
ΕΘ

60.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΕΡΜΩΝΘΕΙ ΤΟΥΚΑΙ ΛΑΤΟΠΟ
ΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΗΚΟΥΣΑ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥΘΕΙΟΤΑ
ΤΟΥΜΕΤΑΚΑΙΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΒΙΟΥ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΚΑΙ·
ΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΑΙΔΟΥΡΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥΚΑΙ ΚΟ
ΔΡΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΤΕΙ ΤΕ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΟΥ· ΧΟΙΑΚ–

61.

ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΟΣ
ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΗΚΟΥΣΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΤΕ
ΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΩΑΥΤΩ ΕΤΕΙ ΜΗΝΙ
ΤΩΑΥΤΩ

62.

ΩΠΟΠΟΙΗ ΜΕΓΑΘΑΥΜΑΤΟΔΟΣ
ΗΜΑΜΑΤΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΕΝΔΟΝΟΙΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΕΥΡΥΝΕΧΟΥΣΙΝ
ΗΥΣΕΝΦΩΝΗΝΗΝΚΑΤΑΔΕΣΧΟ ΘΕΛΑΟΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ
ΟΥΓΑΡΠΩΣΑΝΘΗΝ ΗΤΟΣΑΝΗΡ ΤΑΔΕ ΜΗ ΧΑΝΟΩΤΟ
ΑΡΕΙΟΥΟΜΗΡΙΚΟΥ ΠΟΙΗΤΟΥ ΕΚΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΥ

68.

ΘΗΚΕΣΕ ΦΩΝΗΕΝΤΑΘΕΑΡΟΔΟΔΟΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΣ ΕΩΣ
ΣΗΜΗΤΕΙΡΚΛΥΤΕ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΕ ΕΚΔΟΜΕΝΩΜΟΙ ΑΚΟΥΣΑΙ
ΣΗΣ ΦΩΝΗΣ ΛΥΚΑΒΑΝΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΚΛΥΤΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ
ΔΕΚΑΤΩΡΑ ΑΜΗΝΙ ΠΑΧΩΝ ΤΡΙΣ ΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΕΧΟΝΤΙ
ΤΛΑΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΤΕΤΕΚΛΥΟΝ ΑΥΔΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ
ΝΗΩΝ ΚΑΛΛΕΑΡΕΧΟΡΚΛΗΤΩΝΤΟΣ
ΛΑΝΤΟΛΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΑΣΕΠΗΚΕΚΡΟΝΕΙΩΝ
ΝΠΕΤΡΟΥΦΩΝΗΝΔΑΠΟΠΕΤΡΟΥΕΙΗ
ΕΤΣ ΕΜΕΛΔΟΣΑΜΟΙ ΒΑΔΙΣΕΝΘΑ
ΗΛΛΟΧΩΡΟΥΦΙΛΑΗΚΑΙΤΕΚΕΕΣΣΙ
ΕΥΤΥΧΩ
ΦΙΛΑΗ ΙΙΔΟΝΓΕΙΝΙΑ

64.

ΟΤΕ ΤΗ ΠΡΩΤΗΗΜΕΡΑΟΥΚΑ
ΚΟΥCΑΜΕΝΤΟΥΜΕΜΝΟΝΟC
ΧΟΙC ΔΟ[illegible]ΕΝ[illegible]ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟC[illegible]
ΩC ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΚΜΟΤΡΙΟC ΟΑΞΙΝΝΑΝΟC.
ΠΡΗΕΙ ΓΑΡ C[illegible]ΑΤΑΜΟΡ[illegible]ΑΒΑCΙΛΗΙΔΟC[illegible]
ΕΧΘΟΙC ΑΙΘ[illegible]ΥΤΑΪΘΗ[illegible]ΙΛΥΟΝΙΗ
ΜΗΚΑΙΤΟΙΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΚΟΤΕ[illegible]ΥΔΡΟΝΝΤΟΑ
ΤΗΝCΕΜΑΙΑΝΚΑΤΕΧΗC[illegible]ΚΟΥΡΙΔ[illegible]ΛΟΧΟΝ
ΚΩΜΕΜΝΩΝΙΤΡΕCCΑΙC ΜΕ[illegible]ΜΕΝΟΙC ΑΘ[illegible]Ν
Ε'ΖΑΤΗΙΝΑCΑΥΔΑCΑΔΟΤΟΙCΗΧΑΡΗ

65.

. . . . . MINI BRVTO
AVR[illegible]VS IPSE MEIS CEPI
SYMS[illegible]QVI CANORVM
PRAEFECTVS QVEORVM
PRAEFECTVS ITEM REI
CVSTHVS QVINTI

67.

ΠΟΙΗΤΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑCΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ΖΩΕΙΝΕΜΝΑΛΙΗΘΕΤΙΜΕΜΝΟΝΑΚΑΙΜΕΓΑΦΩΝΕΙΝ
ΜΑΝΘΑΝΕΜΗΤΡΩΗΙΛΑΜΠΑΔΙΘΑΛΠΟΜΕΝΟΝ
ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥΛΙΒΥΚΗΙCΙΝΥΠΟΦΡΥCΙΝΩΝΘΑΠΟΤΑΜΕΙ
ΚΛΛΙΠΥΛΟΝΘΗΒΗΝΕΙΛΟCΕΛΑΥΝΟΜΕΝΟC
ΤΟΝΔΕΜΑΧΗCΑΚΟΡΗΤΟΝΑΧΙΛΛΕΑΜΗΤΕΝΙΤΡΩΩΝ
ΦΘΕΡΓΕCΘΑΙ ΠΕΔΙΩΜΗΤΕΝΙΘΕCCΑΛΙΗΙ

66.

SVEDIVS CLEMENS
PRAEF·CASTRORVM
AV·DI MEMNONE[illegible]
VI IDVS NOVEMBRES
ANNO TI·T·IMP N

69.

ΟΥΚΑΚΑΡΗΝΟC[illegible]
ΜΕΜΝΩΝΗΜΕΡΙΙΙΛ[illegible]ΝΤΟΛΗΧΕΛCΟΙΟ
ΘΕCΠΙΖΩΝΜΕΡΟ[illegible]ΕΩΝC[illegible]ΟΧΙΠΡΟCΛΥCΙ·
ΕΚΠΑCΗC ΠΡΙ[illegible]ΛΘΕΙΝΙ[illegible]ΟΝΤΟC
ΟΙΜΕΝ CΠΙ[illegible]ΥΜΕΝΟC[illegible]ΝΘΑΥΜΑΖΟΝΤΕC
ΟΙΧΩΝΤΑΙ[illegible]ΠΑΤΡΑ[illegible]ΤΙΧΟΝ ΤΟC

68.

[illegible]ΟΠΥΛΕΙΝΟC
ΕΠΙCΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC ΘΗΒΑΪΔΟC
CΑΝΤΟΥC ΙΔΙΑΙCΙ[illegible]ΙΔΙΤΗC[illegible]
ΒΙΩΗ ΚΟΥCΑ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟC
ΓΠΑΧΩΝ ΔΙS ΑΓ

70

ΜΑΡΚΙΟC ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗC ΕΚΛΥΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΦΩΝΗC
CΑΝΤΟC ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟC ΑΝΤ[illegible]
ΔΑ[illegible]ΑΟΝΤΟC

70.

T HELVIVS LVCANVS PRAEF
[illegible]CVM[illegible]NATIA
PIAVXORE ET[illegible]S[illegible]
AVDI MEM[illegible]TIMAR

PREMIÈRE PARTIE.—INSCRIPTIONS DATÉES.

SECTION I.—*Inscriptions antérieures au voyage à Thèbes de l'Empereur Adrien.*

I. 9.

Publiée pour la première fois dans la description de Thèbes[1] d'après la copie de M. Girard; puis par M. Hamilton,[2] dont la copie est plus exacte en quelques points. La lecture que j'en ai proposée dans mes Recherches sur l'Egypte[3] est confirmée par la copie de M. Salt.

A. Instuleius Tenax Primipilaris legionis XII *Fulminatricis et Caius Valerius Priscus centurio Legionis* XXII, *et L. Quintius Viator decurio, audivimus Memnonem, Anno* XI *Neronis Imperatoris nostri,* XVII *Kalendas Apriles, Hora . . .*

La copie de M. Girard donne A.INS. JVLIVS; celle de M. Hamilton, AINSTVLEIVS. Il faut lire A. INSTVLEIVS. Ce nom est connu. Les copies de M. Hamilton et de Salt donnent FVLMINATAE; mais, les deux dernières lettres étant effacées, on ne peut tenir à cette leçon, qui est fautive. L'original doit porter FVLMINATR. *Fulminatricis,* titre de la XIIe légion.

La sigle 7 devant LEG. est celle du mot *centurio* selon l'observation déjà faite par M. Jacobs.[4]

Il serait naturel de croire que le mot AVDIMVS est au présent; d'autant plus que la 1re personne AVDIO se lit dans l'inscription N° 35.[5] Cependant, comme on trouve ailleurs AVDIT ET HONORAVIT (N° 8); FECIT. CVM. AVDIT, et six fois la 1re personne AVDI (N°s 11, 20, 28, 41, 57, 59, 66.) pour AVDIVI ou AVDII, il me paraît bien probable que AVDIT et AVDIMVS sont pour AVDIIT, AVDIIMUS, ou *audivi, audivimus.* La date est du 15 Mars de l'an 64 de J. C.

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[1] No. IX. Pl. Ant. t. v. pl. 55. No. 31. [2] Ægypt. p. 172. [3] P. 355.

[4] *Denkschr. der Königl. Akad. zu München,* p. 71, 72.

[5] Les renvois en chiffres arabes indiquent les N^os^ marqués sur les planches.

II. 59.

Copiée par Pococke, mais fort inexactement (J. D. N° XI.[1]): curieuse par la forme cursive des lettres.

TI*tus* IVLIVS
LVPVS. PR*aefectus* AEG*ypti*
AVDI. MEMN*onem*
HORA. PR*imâ*
FE*liciter*

C'est le Julius Lupus dont parlent Josèphe[2] et Pline:[3] il avait succédé à Tibère Alexandre en qualité de préfet vers l'an 71 de J. C. sous Vespasien.[4] Il mourut peu après, et eut pour successeur Paulinus.[5] Le voyage de ce préfet à Thèbes doit avoir eu lieu entre 71 et 72.

De la copie de Pococke, M. Labus tire un T. MVSIVS. LVPVS, dont il place la préfecture sous Septime Sévère.[6] Ce préfet n'a jamais existé.

III. 3.

Celle-ci est de l'année suivante, ayant été tracée le 1er Avril de l'an 73 de J. C. Les deux premières lignes sont tronquées, on n'en voit que le commencement:

L. IVNIVS
PRAEFE

Pococke a donné complétement la 1ere ligne IVNIVS CALVINVS. Cela nous fait voir que le PRAEFECTVS qui vient ensuite ne peut désigner un préfet d'Egypte; car en l'an IV de Vespasien c'était un *Paulinus* qui gouvernait l'Egypte.[7] Il s'agit d'un autre genre de préfet, *Præfectus legionis, castrorum*, &c.

Dans Pococke et Norden, après PRAEFE on voit les lettres CCALLAAONTSBSRFNIC; Jablonski y trouvait *Montis Berenic:* on lirait plutôt PRAEFECTVS

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[1] Les signes J. D. et J. G., qu'on trouvera quelquefois, indiquent les dessins que Pococke a donnés de la *jambe droite* et de la *jambe gauche* du Colosse.

[2] Bell. Judaic. vii, 10, 4. [3] xix, 1. [4] *Recherch. sur l'Egypte*, p. 232.

[5] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* l. l. [6] *Di un' epigr. lat.* p. 137 et 152.

[7] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* l. l.

LEGIONIS, et la suite serait le titre de la légion ; les lettres RENIC pourraient bien offrir le reste de CY]RENAIC (V. N° V. ce qu'on dit de cette légion) ; et, dans ce cas, la leçon complète serait LEGIONIS $\overline{\text{III}}$ CYRENAIC. Sans donner suite à cette conjecture, nous dirons qu'il s'agit du L. Junius Calvinus préfet de . . . qui entendit Memnon, avec *Minicia Rustica*, sa femme, à la 2e heure, le 1er d'Avril de l'an IV de Vespasien.

IV. 66.

Inédite. *Suedius Clemens Præfectus castrorum audi Memnonem* $\overline{\text{III}}$ *idus Novembres, anno* $\overline{\text{III}}$ *imperatoris nostri.*

Il est question dans Tacite d'un *Suedius Clemens primipilaire*, qui avait la confiance d'Othon, et qui fut chargé par lui, avec Antonius Novellus, autre primipilaire, et Æmilius Pacencis, tribun des soldats, d'attaquer la Gaule Narbonnaise.[1] L'identité parfaite des noms rend bien probable que c'est le même que notre préfet de camp. L'an $\overline{\text{III}}$ ne convient ni au règne d'Othon, ni à celui de Vitellius ; mais il peut appartenir à celui de Vespasien : *Suedius Clemens*, après la mort d'Othon, aura pu prendre parti pour Vespasien contre Vitellius. Il est tout naturel de lui trouver sous Vespasien un grade, *Præfectus castrorum*, auquel passaient parfois les centurions : *Rufus, diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris præfectus.*[2] Dans cette hypothèse, Suedius Clemens aurait entendu Memnon le 11 Novembre de l'an 72 de notre ère.

L'an III ne peut se rapporter au règne de Titus, parce que ce prince mourut le 13 Septembre de l'an III de son règne, environ deux mois avant l'époque ici marquée.

V. 11.

Je rapporte au même règne l'inscription suivante, dont Pococke n'a donné que les premières lignes, mais bien imparfaitement. Les deux premières, les seules qui offrent quelque difficulté, paraissent devoir se lire :

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[1] Tacit. *Hist.* I, 87. II, 12.

[2] Tacit. *Annal.* I, 20.

HANICIVS. *Iulii Filius* VOL*tiniâ*. VERVS. VIENNA . . .
DIS*pensator* III CYR*enaïcæ*. AVDI. MEMNONE*m* VI. IDVS[1]
NOVEMBR*es* ANNO $\overline{\text{III}}$ IMP*eratoris N*ostri &c.

Au commencement de la seconde ligne M. Jacobs lisait *ProCurator* CYPRI.[2] Mais DIS*pensator* (LEG) III *Cyrenaïcae* me semble certain. Hanicius Verus était donc *payeur* de la 3e légion Cyrénaïque.

Le nom de l'Empereur manque, comme dans la précédente ; mais on peut le suppléer. Une inscription de Dekkeh nous montre que la 3e *légion Cyrenaïque* était cantonnée en tout ou en partie dans la Haute Egypte l'an XXIe de Tibère, 34 de J. C.[3] On voit par Tacite que Titus l'en tira pour la guerre de Judée.[4] L'inscription est donc antérieure a cette époque ; elle pourrait être du temps de Tibère, de Caligula, ou de Néron ; mais la formule IMP. N. me la fait rapporter à Vespasien comme la précédente ; les époques sont comprises dans les années 72 et 73 de notre ère.

On voit qu'Hanicius le payeur a tenu note détaillée de toutes les fois qu'il a entendu Memnon en passant et repassant à Thèbes pour l'exercice de ses fonctions.

La IIIe légion étant cantonnée dans la Haute Egypte, il devait souvent être obligé de la parcourir.

En l'an $\overline{\text{III}}$, il a entendu Memnon
le VI des ides de Novembre.

En l'an IV,
le VII des calendes de Janvier.
le XVIII des calendes de Février.
le IV des nones et le V des ides de ce mois. (IV. NON. EIVSDEM. ET IDVS. EIVSDEM.)
le XIII et le XII des calendes de Mars (L. 5. je lis : ET.XII.K.MART.)
le VII des ides de Mai (ID. MAIAS.)
le VII des ides de Juin. (L. 6. je lis IVN au lieu de IAN) deux fois.

Il en avait oublié, à ce qu'il paraît ; car, après avoir marqué l'année, (L. 6. ANNO $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ IMP. AVG.) il ajoute :
et le XV des calendes de Mars.
le VII des ides du même mois. (je lis ET.VII.ID.EIVSDEM.)

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[1] Ou MEMNONEM . . IDVS. [2] *Denkschriften der Königl. Akad.* u. s. w. p. 71.
[3] Gau, *Antiq. de la Nubie*. Pl. XIV, 31. [4] *Hist.* V, 1.

le VIII des ides d'Avril de la même année.

le IV des nones de Juin de la même année.

Je remarque que cet homme, si scrupuleux sur les dates, n'a pas marqué une seule fois l'heure ; circonstance que les autres mentionnent avec tant de soin.

VI. 2.

Inédite. Le commencement et la fin des lignes manquent. On doit la lire ainsi :

Τιβέρι]*ος Κλαύδιος Ἥρ*
ων ἦκ]*ουσα Μέμνον*[*ος . . . .*
. σὺν] *Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ . . . .*
. . . . ὥρας A.L.H. *Αὐτοκρ*
άτορο]*ς Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιαν*
οῦ σεβ]*ασ-οῦ, μηνὶ . . . . . .*
. . με]*μνημένος . . . . .*
. . . . καὶ Διονυσ[*ίου . . . . .*
. . . . α]*ὐτῶν . . . . .*

" Moi, Tibère Claude Héron, j'ai entendu Memnon avec Achille et . . .
" la première heure, l'an VIII de l'empereur, César Vespasien Auguste,
" le . . . du mois . . . m'étant souvenu de . . . . et de . . . . . Denys . . .
" et de leurs . . . . . "

La date est de l'an 77.

Le mot *ὥρας* a pu être précédé de *ἐντὸς*, comme dans les inscriptions N° 38 et 44 ; mais la place est nécessaire pour le nom qui manque ; et le génitif peut aussi bien aller que le datif, quoique moins commun. On verra d'autres exemples de génitif (N° xv.)

VII. 41.

Cette inscription, mal copiée par Pococke, mieux par M. Girard, ne l'a été complétement que par Salt ; aussi la première ligne a toujours été mal lue ; Norden seul avait donné la vraie leçon :

FVNISVLANA . VETVLLA
C . LELII . AFRICANI . PRAEF. AE*gypti*
VXOR . AVDI . MEMNONEM
PR . ID . FEBR . HORA I. $\overline{S}$
ANNO . I . IMP . ΔOMITIANI . AVG.
CVM . IAM . TERTIO . VENISSEM

Le préfet d'Egypte C. Lælius Africanus n'est connu que par cette inscription. Sa femme *Funisulana Vetulla* visita Memnon, le 12 Février de l'an I de Domitien ou 82 de J. C., probablement sans son mari; autrement elle en aurait fait mention. L'expression *Pridie Februarii*, pour *Pridie calendas Februarias*, serait trop singulière : c'est pourquoi, au lieu de PRID. que donnent les deux copies, j'ai lu PR. ID. *Pridie Idus*. Le Δ pour D dans le nom de Domitien est une distraction du sculpteur, probablement grec.

C'était la quatrième fois que Vetulla venait pour entendre le colosse. Trois fois elle était venue sans succès.

VIII. 57.

Exactement copiée par Pococke, sauf la première ligne, à laquelle manquait le dernier mot. La copie de M. Girard ne laisse rien à désirer.[1]

Elle n'offre aucune difficulté. Il s'agit d'un centurion de la XXIIe légion qui a entendu Memnon le XIe des calendes de Janvier l'an IV de Domitien César Auguste Germanicus. (22 Décembre, 84 de J. C.)

IX. 8.

Publiée par M. Hamilton et par les auteurs de la Description de Thèbes, d'après la copie de M. Girard. Elle se compose de trois parties.

La première partie mentionne la visite du préfet Titus Petronius Secundus. La seconde ligne n'est pas fort distincte à la fin. Salt a lu GERMANIK. . XVII. et M. Girard GERMANIC. XIII C. La première leçon est préférable, parce que la sigle C. pour *Consule*, précède toujours le chiffre. Le XVIIe consulat de Domitien répond à l'an 95 de notre ère ; la date précise est du 14

[1] *Descr. Egypt. Ant.* Pl. 55. No. 33.

Mars. S'il s'agissait du XIIIe consulat, l'année serait la 87e de notre ère. Le préfet annonce qu'il a honoré Memnon avec des vers grecs, *ci-dessous écrits.*

Ce sont ces vers qui forment la seconde partie de l'inscription. M. Hamilton les avait séparés de ce qui précède, de manière à laisser croire qu'ils formaient une inscription distincte. Ils se lisent sans difficulté :

Φθέγξαο, Λατοΐδα (σὸν γὰρ μέρος ὧδε κάθηται,
Μέμνων,) ἀκτεῖσιν βαλλόμενος πυρίναις.

Φθέγξαο est ioniquement pour *ἐφθέγξω*, tandis que *Λατοΐδα* est un dorisme pour *Λητοΐδου*. *Μέμνων*, vocatif, au lieu de *Μέμνον*, ne peut surprendre :[1] on trouve *ὦ Μέμνων* dans Quintus de Smyrne.[2] Les mots *σὸν γὰρ μέρος* se rapportent à ce que le colosse était brisé. Le mot *κάθηται* exprime la position de la *moitié* restante du colosse. Pausanias dit de même : *καὶ νῦν ὁπόσον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς μέσον σῶμά ἐστιν ἀπερρίμμένον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κάθηται.*[3] On aimerait peut-être mieux *σοὶ* ou *σοῦ μέρος*; mais *σὸν* est justifiable.[4] *Λατοΐδα ἀκτῖσιν βαλλόμενος* est Homérique : *ἠέλιος φαέθων ἀκτῖσιν ἔβαλλε.*[5] La traduction est : " Tu viens de te faire entendre (car ce n'est, ô Memnon, " qu'une partie de toi-même qui est assise en ce lieu), frappé des rayons " brûlans du fils de Latone." La parenthèse est entortillée. Mais les vers n'en sont pas moins fort passables pour des vers d'un préfet romain.

La troisième partie, *curante Tito Attio Musa, præside cohortis II Thebæorum*, avait été omise par M. Girard, et inexactement copiée par M. Hamilton.

Il paraît que le préfet n'ayant pas eu le temps d'attendre que l'inscription fût gravée devant lui, chargea un chef de cohorte de surveiller l'opération.

X. 36.

Copiée par Pococke et M. Girard.[7] La copie de Salt n'ajoute rien à celle de ce dernier. La seule différence consiste dans la leçon MART., au lieu de MAII que donne M. Girard.

Cette inscription atteste que Caius Vibius Maximus, préfet d'Egypte, a entendu Memnon l'an VII de l'empereur César Nerva Trajan, Auguste Germanique, Dacique, le 14 des calendes de Mars (16 Février de l'an 104) deux fois, l'une à 2½ h., l'autre à 3½ h.

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[1] Matth. *ausführl. Grammat.* § 312. [2] B'. v. 127. [3] Pausan. I, 42, 2.
[4] Matth. *ausf. Gramm.* § 466, 2. [5] Odyss. E'. 479. [6] *Descr. génér. de Thèbes*, p. 108. No. 9.

XI. 12.

Jablonski a fort bien restitué cette inscription d'après la copie de Pococke. Celle de Salt n'y ajoute rien, excepté la variante XIII. MART. La leçon Pococke XII. K. MART. est la meilleure. Il résulte de cette inscription que l'an v d'Adrien le 12 des kalendes de Mars, à 1 heure et ½, Titus Haterius Nepos, préfet d'Egypte, a entendu la voix de Memnon.

La date répond au 19 Février de l' an 121 de notre ère.

XII. 26.

Voici une inscription inédite, qui rend possible la restitution d'une autre donnée par Pococke, mais qu'on n'avait pu comprendre jusqu'ici.

> *Λούκιος Φουνεισουλανὸς Χαρείσιος, στρατηγὸς Ἑρμωνθείτου, Λατοπολείτης (?), ἤκουσα Μέμνονος δὶς, πρὶν πρώτης ὥρας, καὶ πρώτῃ, σὺν γυναικί μου Φουλβίᾳ, θωθ* $\overline{\text{H}}$ L. $\overline{\text{Z}}$ *Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ* [*κυρίου*].

La date est du 6 Septembre de l'an 123 de J. C.

Une inscription de Philes,[1] et une autre du Colosse (N° 27.) montrent que les deux nomes d'Hermonthis et de Latopolis étaient réunis sous le même stratège. Il est donc tout simple d'admettre que Lucius Funisulanus Charisius était *stratège d'Hermonthis et de Latopolis*. Cependant la leçon *Λατοπολείτος*, qui peut être une faute pour *Λατοπολείτης*, et sur-tout l'absence de la copule *καὶ*, qui serait indispensable, me font croire que la leçon *Λατοπολείτης* est la meilleure, et que Charisius a voulu dire qu'il était stratège d'Hermonthis et né à Latopolis.

Quoi qu'il en soit, cette inscription et les deux que je viens de citer confirment l'observation, faite ailleurs,[2] que les stratèges étaient des *Grecs* et non des *Romains*. Le nom de celui-ci est *Charisius*. Les noms romains qui précèdent n'annoncent que l'affiliation à une famille romaine. Charisius avait épousé une Romaine du nom de Fulvia.

La voix s'était fait entendre à lui, un peu avant la première heure ; et pendant cette première heure.

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[1] V. mes *Recherches*, &c. p. 269.

[2] *Les mêmes*, p. 272, 273.

XIII. 47.

Celle-ci doit avoir été gravée au-dessous de la précedénte, si toutefois il y avait place lorsque Charisius a écrit son hommage. Il se peut qu'il ait été obligé de l'écrire ailleurs.

Pococke l'a copiée (J. G. col. b. n. 15.); mais de manière que M. Jacobs n'en a pu lire que quelques mots sans suite.

Voici comme je propose de la lire et d'en remplir les lacunes :

Φουνεισουλανὸς ἐνθαδε[ὶ Χα]ρείσιος,
στρατηγὸς Ἑρμώνθιός τε [καὶ] Λάτων πάτρης
ἀγὼν δάμαρτα Φουλβία[ν ἐὴν, ἦλ]υθεν,
σοῦ, Μέμνον, ἠχήσαντος ἥ[νικ' ἂν] μήτηρ
ἡ σὴ χυθεῖσα σὸν δέμας ἀπ[ορρῇ στέ]φει·
θύσας δὲ καὶ σπείσας τε κάρτ[α φιλοθέως],
τοῦτ' αὐτὸς ἠύτησεν εἰς σεῖ[ο κλέος].
" Λάλον μὲν Ἀργὼ, παῖς ἐὼ[ν ἐγὼ Ἰμάθον]·
" Λάλον δὲ φηγὸν τὴν Διὸ[ς Δωδωναίου]·
" Σὲ δ' αὐτὸν ὅσσοις μοῦνον ἔδρ[ακον ἐμοῖς],
" ὡς αὐτὸς ἠχεῖς, καὶ βοήν τιν' [ἐκφέρεις]·
Τοῦτον δέ σοι χάραξε τὸν στίχ[ων πόνον],
ὃς εἶπες αὐτῷ φίλτατός τ' [ἠσπάζετο]

Funisulanus Charisius, stratège d'Hermonthis et de Latopolis, (ou bien *natif de Latopolis,*) est venu aujourd'hui accompagné de son épouse Fulvia. Après que tu as rendu des sons, ô Memnon, au moment où sa mère est venue honorer ton corps des gouttes de sa rosée, Charisius, t'ayant fait un sacrifice et de pieuses libations, a chanté ces vers à ta gloire :

" Dès mon enfance j'avais appris qu'Argo, que le chêne de Jupiter Dodonéen étaient " doués de la parole ; mais tu es le seul que j'aie pu voir de mes yeux, résonner et faire " entendre une certaine voix."

Charisius a gravé ces vers pour toi, qui lui as parlé amicalement, et l'as salué.

L. 1. Au lieu de ΕΝΘΑCΕ, la copie de Pococke porte ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ; j'ai lu *ἐνθαδεὶ* pour *ἐνθαδὶ*, orthographe qu'on trouve encore plus bas (N° XIV. v. 1.) ΡΕΙCΤΟC est certainement la fin du mot *Χαρείσιος*. Le nom *Φουνεισουλανὸς* ne pourrait guères entrer dans de tels vers, à moins que ΟΥ n'ait été pris pour une brève. Mais pour ce nom propre, toute licence était permise.

L. 2. *Ἑρμώνθιος* est ici trisyllabique. ΛΑΤωΝ ΠΑΤΡΗC ne laisse aucun doute. Dans l'hypothèse où Charisius a voulu dire qu'il était à la fois stratège

des deux nomes, ces mots signifieront *Λάτων πόλεως, la ville des poissons latus.* Mais il faut convenir que le mot *πάτρης* serait assez singulier. Comme on disait *Λάτων* sans l'addition de *πόλις*,[1] on peut admettre aussi que *Λάτων* ne dépend point de *πάτρης*, mais que ce dernier mot en est une sorte d'apposition, en ce sens: *et de Laton*[polis] *sa patrie:*—sens conforme à la leçon *Λατοπολείτης* indiquée plus haut. Quoi qu'il en soit, Charisius a pu faire brève la première de *πάτρης*, sans trop de licence. Il n'en est pas de même de *μήτηρ* à la fin du v. 4; à moins qu'on ne dise que Charisius, comme Cæcilia Trébulla (N° XLI), a mêlé des choliambes à ses vers iambiques: ceci jette de l'incertitude sur la restitution de la fin des vers, que j'ai ter minés uniformément par des iambes. Mais, en pareil cas, on ne peut prétendre à retrouver les mots mêmes de l'auteur. Il suffit d'avoir restitué le sens; et je crois y être parvenu.

V. 3. Les lettres qui terminent le vers, après la lacune, sont **ΘEN** dans Pococke, **TOEN** dans Salt; le **T** se confondant souvent avec **Y**, (N° XIX. v. 5.) on a **YΘEN**, ce qui mène à *ἦλυθεν*, et donne le mouvement de la phrase, que je termine avec ce verbe.

V. 4. Après **HXHCANTOC**, la copie de Pococke donne les deux lettres **HΛ**, qui doivent être la conjonction *ἤνικα*, se rattachant au verbe à l'indicatif, dont on n'aperçoit plus que les lettres *φει* à la fin du v. 5. Pour la mesure, j'ai lu *ἤνικ' ἂν*, après lequel un bon écrivain mettrait le subjonctif. Mais Charisius n'y regardait pas de si près. Au reste, il avait peut-être écrit *ἤνικά γε*.

V. 5. La fin de ce vers, d'après les lettres conservées, doit être *ἀπ*[*οροῦ στέ*]*φει*. Le mot *ἀποροὴ* est poétiquement pour *ἀποῤῥοῦ*, comme dans Nicandre *αἰμοροΐς* pour *αἰμοῤῥοΐς*;[2] et il s'entend des *gouttes de rosée* que l'Aurore verse sur son fils. *Στέφειν* a le sens d'*orner*, d'*honorer*, ou d'*embellir*, comme dans ces exemples: *μορφὴν ἔπεσι στέφει θεός*;[3] *χοαῖσι τρισπόνδοισι τὸν νέκυν στέφει*:[4] et *καί σε πανχρύσοις ἐγὼ στέψω λαφύροις*.[5] Charisius exprime ici poétiquement l'idée renfermée dans l'inscription en prose, savoir, qu'il a entendu Memnon, *avant la première heure*, *πρὶν πρώτης ὥρας*.

V. 6. *Θύσας καὶ σπείσας*. Charisius a traité Memnon comme un dieu. Cela est expliqué dans le *Mémoire sur Memnon*, *φιλοθέως* ou tout autre adverbe d'un sens analogue.

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[1] Wesseling *ad Itiner. Vet.* p. 160, 732. [2] *Ther.* 315, 318. [3] Hom. *Odyss.* Θ'. 170.
[4] Sophocl. *Antig.* 431. [5] *Ajax.* 93.

V. 7. Je rapporte *αὐτὸς* à Charisius : *ηὔτησεν* a le sens de *dire, déclarer*, comme dans Eschyle, *τοιαῦτ' ἀϋτεῖν* ;[1] et Euripide, *σφαγὴν ἀϋτεῖς τήνδε*.[2] De même *ταῦτα* en est le régime, et désigne la pensée exprimée dans les quatre vers suivans, que j'ai guillemétés.

V. 8. Cette ligne avait été passée entièrement par Pococke. La leçon *παῖς ἐὼν* est certaine, de même que le sens de ce qui suit : quant aux mots, ce sera *ἐγὼ 'μάθον, ἐγὼ 'κλύον*, ou *εἶναι ἔμαθον*, ou *εἶναι ἐδάην*, ou toute autre chose de ce genre. *Λάλος*, épithète très convenable au vaisseau Argo. On connaît *λάλος τροπὶς, εὔλαλος Ἀργὼ, πολυήγορος Ἀργώ*.[3]

V. 9. La même épithète ne convient pas moins bien au chêne de Dodone, que Sophocle appelle *πολύγλωσσος*,[4] et Eschyle *πρωτήγορος*.[5] Le faux Orphée l'appelle aussi *φηγὸς*,[6] comme Apollonius de Rhodes[7] et Apollodore.[8] C'était le *quercus esculus* de Linné.

A la fin du vers, dans *Δωδωναίου*, la pénultième peut être brève, avant une voyelle.[9]

V. 10. *Αὐτὸν* après *σὲ* est pléonastique, ce qui arrive souvent dans ce cas. Le mot *ὄσσοις* appelle *ἰδεῖν, ὁρᾶν, ὀπωπεῖν*, ou tout autre de ce genre : les lettres ΕΔΙ peuvent nous mener à *ἰδυνάμην ἰδεῖν*, ou bien à *ἴδρακον ἐμοῖς*. M. Boissonade préfère *ἐδάην ἐμοῖς*, qui convient également à ces vers, où les syllabes sont *comptées*, autant que *mesurées*.

V. 11. *Βοήν τιν'* [*ἐκφέρεις*], comme dans Euripide, *φέρω βοάν* ;[10] et *ἐξήνεγκ' ὄπα*.[11]

V. 12. *Στίχ*[*ων πόνον*], Supplément proposé par M. Boissonade : on peut supposer encore qu'il y avait une épithète, se rapportant à Charisius, *στίχον εὔχαρις, εὐσεβὴς*, ou toute autre.

V. 13. A cause de *αὐτῷ*, qui suit ΕΙΠΕ, j'aime mieux rapporter *ὃς* à *σοὶ*, c'est-à-dire, à Memnon ; alors, on lira ΕΙΠΕCΑΥΤω : on peut lire aussi à la fin *ἰσήμανες* ou *ἐγήρυες* ; je préfère *ἠσπάζεο*, comme moins tautologique, sans être arrêté par l'Ionisme ; une irrégularité de plus ou de moins ne peut ici nous surpendre : ainsi *νῦν ὡς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ἠσπάζετο* (No. XL.) Il a pu y avoir *φίλταθ', ὅς τ'* au lieu de *φίλτατός τ'*.

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[1] S. C. T. 380, 626. Blomf. [2] *Electr.* 757. [3] Pseudo-Orph. *Argon.* 264, 487, 707.
[4] *Trachin.* 1184. [5] *Prom. Vinct.* 856. Blomf.
[6] *Argon.* 264. [7] *Argon.* iv. 581. cf. Jacobs *ad Delect. Epigr.* p. 286.
[8] *Bibl.* i. 9, 16. § 6. [9] Welcker, *Syllog. Epigr.* p. 199. [10] *Orest.* 147. 148.
[11] *Danaë*, 10.

XIV. 16.

Pococke a copié ces lignes à demi barbares (J. D. n. 5.) Sa copie est, à quelques lettres près, la même que celle de Salt ; on n'y doit rien changer. M. Jacobs a fait de grands efforts pour y trouver des phrases bien grecques : mais il n'y a réussi qu'en dénaturant la copie de Pococke ; on en va juger par son texte, que voici :

ΚΕΛΕΙ CΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC ΕΝΘΑΔΙC ΠΑΡΗΝ
ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟC Δ' ΟΥΧ ΟΜΩC ΗΚΟΥC· ΟΠΑ
ΕΙΚΟΝΙ ΠΑΡ ΑΥΤΗ .... ΤΩΝ ΧΩΜΑΤΩΝ
ΠΑΡΗΝ ΘΕΩΡΟC ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟCΕΚΥΝΗCΕ ΝΙΝ·
ΜΕΜΝΩΝ Δ' ΕΤ' ΕΝΕΟC ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΞΕΦΘΕΓΞΑΤΟ
ΚΕΛΕΙ Δ' ΑΠΗΕΙ· ΕΙΘ. ΩC ΑΥ ΠΑΡΗΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ
ΜΕCΑC ΔΙΑCΤΗCΑC ΗΜΕΡΑC ΔΥΟ
ΗΚΟΥC· ΕΝΕΛΘΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΗΧΟΝ
Ε. Ζ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙCΑΡΟC ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ Ε ΠΑΟ. ΜΗΝΟ.

Mais, en suivant la copie de Pococke, confirmée par celle de Salt, je ne vois guères de moyen de lire autrement que :

Κέλερ στρατηγὸς ἐνθαδεὶ παρῆν
Μέμνονος οὐχ ὅπως ἀκούσεται·
ἐγκονεῖ γὰρ ἀὐτῇ τῇ τῶν κωμητῶν·
παρῆν θεωρὸς καὶ προσκυνήσων λίαν·
Μέμνων ἐπιγνοὺς οὐδὲν ἐξεφθέγξατο.
Κέλερ δὲ ἀπῄει· ἐφ' ἃ πάλιν παρῆν
μέσας διαστήσας ἡμέρας δύο·
ἤκουσεν ἐλθὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἦχον·
L. Z. Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, ἐπὶφ Z ὥρᾳ II (?)

Le nom de Celer, que porte le Stratège, annonce un Romain. Ce serait une exception à la règle indiquée plus haut,[1] s'il n'était pas fort possible qu'ici le mot *Stratège* désigne *l'épistratège* ou chef de la Thébaïde, qui était, comme on le dira, toujours Romain.[2]

V. 1. Cette ligne annonce l'intention d'écrire des trimètres, mais elle a été bien mal exécutée. La leçon ΕΝΘΑΔΕΙ, que donnent les deux copies, est claire. On ne peut en faire ΕΝΘΑΔΙC ; c'est tout simplement une faute pour *ἐνθαδί*.

[1] Sur le No. X.

[2] Sur le No. XLV.

V. 2. Les deux copies s'accordent encore ici. Cela veut dire que le stratège n'était pas venu là pour entendre Memnon. Pourquoi donc? Il va le dire.

V. 3. La leçon ΕΝΚΟΝΕΙ, qui est dans les deux copies, ne peut être changée en *εἰκόνι*. Au lieu de ΠΑΡ, Salt donne ΓΑΡ; et au lieu de ΧΩΜΑΤΩΝ, ΧΩΜΙΤΩΝ, d'où se tire naturellement *κωμιτῶν*, par iotacisme, pour *κωμητῶν*. Ma leçon ne change rien au texte, et le sens est: "[il n'est "pas venu pour entendre Memnon;] car il est occupé des réclamations des "habitans du bourg." Thèbes était alors habitée *κωμηδόν*.[1] C'était une des fonctions de l'épistratège d'écouter les plaintes (*ἐντεύξεις*) des habitans, lors de ses tournées. *Ἐγκονεῖν* ne s'emploie ordinairement que d'une manière absolue; mais le complément, au datif, n'a rien qui puisse surprendre.

V. 4. Ses affaires terminées, Celer est venu contempler Memnon et lui rendre son pieux hommage. L'absence de l'augment m'a engagé à lire *προσκυνήσων*.

V. 5. *Μέμνων ἐπιγνούς*. Ce dernier mot est parfaitement clair; on n'en peut faire Δ' ΕΤ' ΕΝΕΟC. Le sens de cet *ἐπιγνούς* est douteux. Celer veut-il dire, "Memnon s'étant aperçu [probablement qu'il n'était pas venu "pour l'entendre], ne proféra aucun son?" Ou bien: "Quoique Memnon "vit bien que je lui rendais hommage, il ne voulut rien dire?" Je me suis arrêté à ce sens, que m'a suggéré M. Boissonade.

V. 6. Celer s'en est allé; puis il est revenu une seconde fois. ΕΦΑ doit être *ἐφ' ἃ*, *ob quæ*, c'est-à-dire, *à cause de quoi*, comme διὸ qui est pour δι' ὅ.

V. 7. Il laissa deux jours d'intervalle, avant de revenir.

V. 8. Mais enfin, il entendit le *son du dieu*. Cette ligne et une partie de la suivante sont les seules que l'on trouve dans la copie de M. Jomard.[2] Le reste a été passé.

V. 9. La date du 7 epiphi de l'an VII d'Adrien répond au 1er Juillet de l'an 124 de notre ère.

Le trait transversal supérieur qui suit le nom du mois ne convient guères qu'à un $\overline{Z}$. L'orthographe ΕΠΙΦ pour ΕΠΙΦΙ se trouve quelquefois.

Les deux traits $\overline{\text{II}}$ après le mot *ὥρᾳ* semblent indiquer la 2e heure, marquée à la romaine, au lieu de $\overline{B}$.

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[1] Strab. XVII. p. 816.

[2] *Descr. Eg. Ant.* T. V. Pl. 55. n. 36.

XV. 56.

Les neuf lignes placées sous ce numéro pourraient former deux inscriptions distinctes ; cependant d'après la disposition de ces lignes qui se suivent sans interruption, je n'ai pas cru devoir les séparer ; et j'y ai vu les noms de deux particuliers qui ont fait, en compagnie, visite au colosse.

Voici la copie de Pococke :

CEPONOCYCOYATH
ΕΠΑΡΧΟCΠΕΙΡΗ
ΛΕΓΕωNOCCΓ
KOYNTI
NEωKOPOCTO
CAPAΠIΔOCT
CEITOYMEMNONA
ΣA PIANO

M. Hamilton a donné la fin d'une manière plus complète :

NEωKOPOCTO
CAPAΠIΔOCT
CEITOYMENωNAT
MEMNONOCωPA . . .
. . . AΔPIANOY

La première ligne doit être C. EPBONIOC. COYAΠIC pour COYABIC. *Sextus Erbonius Suavis.* On connaît déjà un *Sextus Erbonius.*[1] Après *Σπείρης* de la 2e ligne, il y avait le chiffre et le titre de la cohorte, et de même après le mot *Λεγεῶνος* ; et les lettres ΕΓ doivent être le commencement de ΕΙΚ. ΔΕΥΤ. *εἰκοστῆς δευτέρας*, la Légion XXII, dont il est souvent question, (N° I, VIII, LXVII, LXVIII, LXIX.) Les lettres KOYNTIC annoncent le prénom KOINTIOC, suivi d'un nom probablement grec.

Le reste, grâce à quelques lettres que la copie de Salt ajoute, se rétablit maintenant d'une manière indubitable ; le tout se lira ainsi :

Σ. Ἐρβόνιος Σουάβις
ἔπαρχος σπείρης . . .
λεγεῶνος [εἰκ. δευτ. καὶ]

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[1] Reines. XVII, 112.—Gruter, XLIII, 4 ; XLIV, 4.

Κοΐντιος . . . . . .
νεωκόρος τοῦ με[γάλου]
Σαράπιδος τῶν [ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ]
σιτουμένων ἀτελ[ῶν, ἠκούσαμεν]
Μέμνονος ὥρας [πρώτης ou δευτέρας]
L Z Ἁδριανοῦ [τοῦ κυρίου, ...]

Les supplémens de lignes 5—7 sont pleinement autorisés par une inscription que donne Falconieri, où se lisent les mots . . . . νεωκόρων τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος, καὶ τῶν ἐν Μουσείῳ σιτουμένων ἀτελῶν φιλοσόφων.[1] D'après cet exemple, j'aurais pu mettre φιλοσόφων après ἀτελῶν, mais il n'y a de la place que pour ἠκούσαμεν qui a nécessairement précédé Μέμνονος. On peut voir les notes de Falconieri sur les expressions τῶν ἐν τῷ M. σ. ἀτ.[2]

" Nous, Sextus Erbonius Suavis, chef de la . . . cohorte de la XXIIe légion, " et Quintius . . . Néocore du grand Sérapis, un de ceux qui, exempts " de toute charge, sont entretenus dans le Musée, nous avons entendu " Memnon à la . . . heure, l'an VII d'Adrien [le Seigneur, ou bien le . . . " de tel mois.]"

Il est évidemment question ici du grand Sérapis d'Alexandrie; c'est dire assez que les inductions qu'on avait tirées de ce mot Sérapis pour l'appliquer au temple de Thèbes,[3] n'ont point de fondement.

XVI. 25.

Ici se place cette inscription latine, qui ne présente aucune difficulté, et que Leich a restituée sans peine, d'après les copies de Pococke et de Norden. Jablonski n'avait pas pu lire le nom du préfet; aussi manque-t-il dans la leçon qu'ont donnée les auteurs de la description de Thèbes.[4] Il s'agit de Titus Flavius Titianus, préfet d'Egypte, qui a entendu Memnon, le 13 des calendes d'Avril, sous les consuls Verus pour la 3e fois et Ambibulus, à la 1ère heure.

Cette date tombe le 20 Mars 126, dans la IXe année d'Adrien.

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[1] *Inscript. Athl.* n. IV. p. 97.
[2] p. 109, sq.
[3] *Descript. de Thèbes*, p. 96.
[4] p. 108. n. 6.

XVII. 14.

Publiée par Pococke et M. Hamilton, mais d'une manière incomplète. Dans l'une et l'autre copies, la fin de la 2e ligne, le commencement de la 3e et de la 4e sont inintelligibles. Jablonski n'a pas même essayé la restitution de ces parties. La copie de Salt, sans être entière, fournit le moyen de lire à-peu-près toute l'inscription:

Caius MAENIVS. HANIOCHVS
DOMO CORINTH*ius*[1] *Centurio* LEG*ionis* XII *Fulminatricis*
ITEM . . . .
EIVS*dem*? LEG*ionis* AVDIVI. MEMNONEM ANTE SECV-
ndam HORAM.
XIII K*alendas* IVL*ias* GALLICANO ET TITIANO
Consulibus. EODEM. DIE
HORA PRIMA ET DIMIDIA.

La sigle qui précède le mot LEG. (lig. 2.) est celle de *centurio*.[2] Le F. après LEG. XII. peut être *Fulminatricis*, titre de la XIIe légion, cantonnée en Egypte, (plus haut, No. 1.) Le nom GALLICANO manque dans les copies de Pococke et d'Hamilton; on voit par celle de Salt que la finale ANO est seule distincte. Salt a cru distinguer FELICIANO; mais la leçon est fausse: c'est GALLICANVS qui a été consul avec Cælius Titianus l'an 127 de notre ère. Il ne faut pas penser à l'an 245, où un Titianus aussi fut consul, parce que son collègue était Julius Philippus. Cette date, que Jablonski a assignée à l'inscription,[3] et les auteurs de la description de Thèbes d'après lui, est donc fausse. Aucune inscription du colosse n'est aussi récente. Celle-ci est du 20 Juin de l'an 127, qui répond à la XIe année d'Adrien.

La fin de l'inscription est bien distinctement, EODEM. DIE. HORA PRIMA ET DIMIDIA; Jablonski et les auteurs de la description de Thèbes ont lu, EODEM. DIE . . . . . PRIMA EIVSDEM DIEI; ce qui est inadmissible. Caius Mænius Haniochus dit qu'il a entendu Memnon, *ante secundam horam*: ce qui signifie *un peu avant que la seconde heure ne commençât;* ou *lorsque la première heure était près d'être écoulée;* et le même jour *à une heure et demie.*

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[1] Ou CORINTHO. [2] Plus haut, N° 1. [3] *Synt. de Memnon*, p. 87.

SECTION II.—*Inscriptions relatives au Voyage d'Adrien et Sabine à Thèbes, au mois de Novembre* 130 *de notre ère.*

XVIII. 17.

La première est la plus courte ; car elle ne porte que ces deux mots en grands caractères :

IMPERAT. A[D]
RIANOC

—mais une observation peut la rendre intéressante. Il est clair que tout autre que l'empereur Adrien ne se serait pas contenté de mettre ainsi son nom purement et simplement, sans autre qualification que celui de *Imperator*, sans aucune phrase qui s'y rattachât. Ces deux mots ont donc été gravés sous les yeux et par l'ordre de l'Empereur. Celui qui les a gravés était un Grec ; du moins la finale oc, qu'il a donnée au nom, l'indique assez clairement, de même que la forme arrondie du C pour S. L'absence de l' H devant *Adrianus* en serait un autre indice, toutes les inscriptions latines, aussi bien que les médailles, présentant l'orthographe HADRIANUS.

XIX. 24.

Cette inscription est une de celles qui ont le plus exercé la critique de D'Orville, et de M. Jacobs qui l'a insérée dans ses deux éditions de l'Anthologie. Mais on peut dire qu'on ne la connaissait pas ; le texte qui suit est tellement différent de celui que ce savant critique en a donné, qu'on peut presque la considérer comme inédite.

Il y a d'abord trois lignes de prose dont Pococke, Jablonski, et M. Jacobs lui-même ont fait une inscription à part. Mais il est certain qu'elle n'est rien autre chose que l'annonce de ce qui suit. Cette annonce doit se lire :

Ἰουλίας Καμίλλης,
ὅτε ἤκουσε τοῦ Μέμνονος
ὁ σεβαστὸς Ἀδριανός.

La leçon *Καμίλλης* est due à Jablonski. Il est singulier que M. Jacobs ait cru pouvoir faire de la première ligne *Ἰουλία. Σ. Βασιλὶς, Julie Sabine, reine,* sans doute d'après Leich, qui lisait *Ἰουλία Βασίλισσα κ. τ. λ.* et tirait de là d'étranges conséquences,[1] réfutées par Eckhel.[2] La première lettre de ce nom étant figurée un B sur les deux copies, il se pourrait que le nom fût, non pas ΚΑΜΙΛΛΗC, mais ΒΑΛΒΙΛΛΗC, celui de la même personne qui a composé les deux inscriptions N°s XXI et XXIII, qui sont, comme celle-ci, en dialecte dorique. L'extrême rareté du nom de *Camilla,* au temps d'Adrien, serait une raison de se décider pour l'autre leçon. Dans tous les cas, la finale du mot tient à une forme poétique amenée peut-être par la nature de l'inscription qui suit. On lit de même ΤΡΕΒΟΥΛΛΗC (N° XL.) Cette pièce cesse d'être anonyme; et dans une édition postérieure de l'Anthologie, il faudra la rendre à son auteur *Julia Camilla* ou *Balbilla.* La date en est fixée au moment où *l'empereur Adrien entendit Memnon,* c'est-à-dire au 24 ou 25 Athyr de l'an 130 de J. C.

Pour qu'on juge de tout ce qu'elle a gagné par la leçon que j'en propose, je vais mettre mon texte en regard de celui de M. Jacobs.

Texte de M. Jacobs.	Nouveau texte.
Μέμνονα τυνθανόμαν αἰγύπτιον ἀλίῳ ἓσαι	*Μέμνονα πυνθανόμαν αἰγύπτιον ἁλίῳ αἰγῇ*
ἄμπολιν Ἀμμωνίην θηβαϊκῶν πρὸ πυλῶν·	*αἰθόμενον φωνῆν θηβαϊκῷ . . . λίθω·*
Ἀδριανὸν δ' ἐσιδὼν τὸν παμβασιλῆ ὁ πρὶν ἓσας	*Ἀδριανὸν δ' ἐσιδὼν τὸν παμβασιλῆα πρὶν αὐγᾶς*
ἀελίῳ, χαίρειν εἶπ' ἔπος, ὀξύτονον	*ἀελίω, χαίρην εἶπέν οἱ, ὡς δυνατόν.*
Τιτὰν δ' ὡς ἐλάων λευκοῖσι δι' αἰθέρος ἵπποις	*Τιτὰν δ' ὅτ' ἐλάων λευκοῖσι δι' αἰθέρος ἵπποις*
τεῖλε, καὶ ὡράων ἕσπερον ἦκε μέτρον,	*ἐν] σκιᾷ ὡράων δεύτερον ἦχε μέτρον,*
ἔσχασε βολοτυπὴς θείην Μέμνων πάλιν αὐδὰν	*ὡς χαλκοῖο τυπέντος, ἴη Μέμνων πάλιν αὐδὰν*
. ὀξύτονον· χαίρων δ' αὖ τρίτον ἁρμονίην	*ὀξύτονον· χαίρων καὶ τρίτον ἆχον ἴη·*
Κοιρανὸς Ἀδριανὸς μαλ' ἐσάϊε· τοσσάκι καὐτὸς	*Κοιρανὸς Ἀδριανὸς [κλύε]· ὁὶς δ' ἀσπάσσατο καὐτὸς*
Μέμνονα	*Μέμνονα . . . . .*

" *J'avais appris que l'Egyptien Memnon, échauffé par les rayons du soleil, élevait* " *sa voix sortie de la pierre Thébaine. Ayant aperçu Adrien le roi du monde, avant le* " *lever du soleil, il lui dit bon jour,* comme il pouvait le faire. Mais lorsque le Titan " traversant les airs avec ses blancs coursiers, occupait la seconde mesure des heures, " marquée par l'ombre [du cadran], Memnon rendit de nouveau un son aigu, comme celui " d'un vase de cuivre qu'on frapperait; et, plein de joie [de la présence de l'Empereur], il " rendit pour la troisième fois un son. L'empereur Adrien l'entendit; et, de son côté, " salua deux fois Memnon . . . . . ."

[1] Pococke, *Inscr. Antiq.* p. 82.

[2] *Doctr. Numm.* VI. p. 521.

V. 1 et 2. Ces deux premiers vers ne présentent qu'une seule difficulté; mais elle est grave. A la fin du 2e vers les deux copies portent clairement ΘΗΒΑΙΚω ΠΥΛΙΘω; la leçon de M. Jacobs, *θηβαϊκῶν πρὸ πυλῶν*, est tout-à-fait arbitraire. Il y a là évidemment les mots *θηβαϊκῶ . . . λίθω*: mais que faire de la syllabe ΠΥ qui précède? Est-ce *'πὸ λίθω*? cela serait bien peu naturel. Si on lisait *θηβαϊκῶ νυ λίθω*, on aurait une cheville peu admissible, d'après le mérite de ces vers, fort bien tournés. Un de mes amis pense que ce mot ΠΥΛΙΘω pourrait bien être un mot hybride composé de l'article égyptien ΠΙ ou ΠΥ par iotacisme, et du mot ΛΙΘΟC qui désignerait le Colosse. Cette conjecture est savante et ingénieuse; mais je n'ose l'adopter: il est bien vrai que le Colosse est souvent appelé *la pierre* (XLI et XLII); mais comment croire qu'une personne, qui prend la peine de faire d'assez bons vers en dialecte dorique, y insère un mot barbare, quand il lui était si facile de faire autrement? Je préfère ne prendre aucun parti sur cette étrange leçon, que nous allons encore retrouver dans l'inscription de Balbilla (N° XXIII), qui est peut-être, comme on vient de le voir, l'auteur de celle-ci.

Il est presque inutile d'annoncer que ΦωΝΗΝ, ΧΑΙΡΗΝ, sans iota, sont d'excellentes leçons, *φωνῆν*, *χαίρην*, infinitifs doriques. L'expression *αὐγὰ ἁλίω*, qui se retrouve encore, plus bas, est homérique: *ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἠλίου*.[1]

V. 3. *Πρὶν αὐγᾶς*, comme *πρὶν ὥρας*, dans Pindare.[2]

V. 6. Les deux copies donnent ΙCΚΙΑΙ, dont il n'y a pas moyen de faire *τεῖλε καὶ*, comme M. Jacobs: on doit lire évidemment *ἐν σκιᾷ*, ce qui veut dire *ἐν πόλῳ*, *ἐν ὡρολογίῳ*, *ἐν σκιαθήρῳ*; expression jusqu'ici inconnue dans la langue grecque. La leçon ΗΧΕ pourrait être *ἦκε*, comme a lu M. Jacobs; mais je préfère y voir encore un dorisme, *ἦχε* pour *εἶχε*, exemple unique à la vérité.

V. 10—12. La restitution de ces vers par M. Jacobs est ingénieuse, mais n'est pas suffisamment d'accord avec les traces conservées. Il semble, d'après le v. 11, où je distingue *σαμαίν[ον]τα θ' ὅσ' εὖ ἰδὲ, χὤσσ' ἐσάκουσε*, que Balbilla parle de ses vers; il a pu y avoir, au vers précédent, après *Μέμνονα*, les mots *Βάλ[βιλ]λα κἀν . . . ἑνοισι τόνοις*, le dernier, *τόνοι*, pouvant s'entendre des vers qu'elle a écrits. Hérodote a dit *ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ*, *ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ*,[3] pour exprimer des vers hexamètres et iambiques. Dans cette hypothèse, les lettres *ἑνοισι* seraient le reste d'une épithète commençant par

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[1] Iliad. P. 371. X. 134. [2] IV *Pyth.* 43. Boeckh. [3] Herod. I, 47, 62, 174. V, 60.

une brève. Quant au dernier vers, je ne puis le restituer, quoiqu'il paraisse y manquer peu de chose.

XX. 38.

Celle-ci se rapporte à la circonstance énoncée dans l'inscription précédente ; elle confirme la leçon que nous en avons donnée :

Φλαυϊανὸς
Φίλιππος
ἤκλυον Μέ
μνονος τοῦ θειοτάτου,
αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριαν[οῦ
ἀκούοντος, ἐντὸς
ὥρας $\overline{B}$ δίς.

" Moi, Flavianus Philippus, j'ai entendu Memnon, le très divin, l'empereur Adrien " l'entendant, deux fois, pendant la deuxième heure."

La copie de Pococke (J. G. n. 24) est conforme à celle de Salt, excepté qu'il donne un Λ avant Φλαουϊανὸς, et qu'il a lu ΕΠΤΟC pour ἐντός. La restitution était facile ; et cependant on n'y a guères réussi. Il suffit de voir ce qu'en ont dit Jablonski, les auteurs de la Description de Thèbes, et M. Jacobs.

Il est remarquable que Philippe ne parle que du son rendu par le Colosse *deux fois* pendant la deuxième heure ; il ne dit rien du salut que Memnon avait fait à l'Empereur avant le lever du soleil. Je soupçonne fort que le *salut* est une *licence poétique*.

La comparaison des deux inscriptions fixe le sens des mots ἐντὸς ὥρας $\bar{B}$, qu'on pourrait être tenté de rendre par *ante horam secundam*, parce que Dion Cassius[1] rend par ἐντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας, le *ante diem certam* de César.[2] Mais le sens est évidemment analogue à *intra quartam diem, intra Kalendas*, pour *quartâ die, Kalendis*.[3]

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[1] XLI, 3, fin. [2] *Bell. Civ.* I, 2, fin. [3] A. Gell. *Noct. Att.* XII, 13.

XXI. 39.

Cette inscription, copiée par Pococke, est depuis long-temps connue par les remarques de D'Orville, et les discussions qu'a fait naître la date qui la termine.

M. Jacobs n'a guères fait que reproduire le texte de D'Orville ; et encore les deux légers changemens qu'il y a introduits ne sont point autorisés par la copie de Salt. Voici le texte qu'il a définitivement adopté dans son édition de l'Anthologie Palatine.

ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος ἐγὼ Πόβλιος Βαλβῖνος
φωνὰς τὰς θείας Μέμνονος ἡ Φαμενώφ.
Ἦλθον δ' ὁμοῦ δ' ἱερατῇ βασιληΐδι τῇδε Σαβίνᾳ·
ὥρας δὲ πρώτας ἅλιος ἦρχε δρόμου.
Κοιράνου Ἀδριανοῦ πέμπτῳ δεκάτῳ τ' ἐνιαυτῷ·
φῶτα δ' ἔχεσκεν ἄθυρ εἴκοσι καὶ πίσυρα.
εἰκοστῷ πέμπτῳ δ' ἅματι μηνὸς ἄθυρ.

Il y a de notables changemens à faire au premier vers, d'où résulte une construction différente pour le second. La copie de Pococke donne ΠΥΛΙΘω ΒΑΛΒΙΛΛΙ, celle de Salt ΠΥΛΙΘω ΒΑΛΒΙΛΛΑ, exactement comme celle de M. Hamilton. L'auteur est donc une femme nommée *Balbilla*, et non un homme appelé *Publius Balbinus;* car de ΠΥΛΙΘω, qui est dans les trois copies, il n'y a pas moyen de faire ΠΟΒΛΙΟC. Nous retrouvons encore ce malheureux mot qui nous a déjà tant embarrassés (N° XIX, p. 25), et sur lequel nous ne prendrons pas davantage de parti ; nous ne conserverons que *λίθω*, qui paraît certain.

La leçon *Φαμενὼθ* existe dans les trois copies. On avait lu à tort *Φαμενὼφ*, d'après le *Φαμένωφα* de Pausanias. Dans l'inscription N° XXV, nous avons aussi *Ἀμενὼθ*, qui est le même mot sans le préfixe.

V. 2. Les mots ΦωΝΑ ΤΑC ΘΕΙΑC peuvent être au génitif singulier, aussi bien qu'à l'accusatif pluriel ; car on dit *κλύειν φωνὴν* aussi bien que *φωνῆς*. Cependant le singulier me semble plus naturel. M. Jacobs a mis le pluriel *φωνὰς τὰς θείας*. Dans toutes les copies, il y a ΦωΝΑ, et non ΦωΝΑC. Le graveur a oublié le C.

V. 3. Les copies de Pococke, de M. Hamilton, et de Salt donnent bien clairement toutes trois ΥΜΟΙ et ΤΥΙΔΕ ; on ne doit donc pas lire *ὁμοῦ* et *τῇδε*,

comme l'ont fait D'Orville et M. Jacobs. Il y a ici une recherche de dialecte à conserver. Les Eoliens mettaient souvent υ en place de ο, et ι au lieu de υ; ils disaient ὕμοιον pour ὅμοιον,[1] et ἀνθρώποις pour ἀνθρώπους.[2] Balbilla a mis aussi ὑμοῖ pour ὁμοῦ. Quant à ΤΥΙΔΕ, pour ΤΗΙΔΕ ou ΤΑΙΔΕ, on le trouve dans Sappho :[3] ἀλλὰ τυῖδ' ἔλθ' αἴ ποκα κἀτέρωτα. Balbilla courait après les éolismes ; plus bas, elle a mis encore πέσυρα.

V. 4. Pococke et Salt donnent tous deux ΗΧΕΔΡΟΜΟC. D'Orville a lu ἔσχε δρόμον, M. Jacobs ἦρχε δρόμου ; mais il faut lire, sans changement, ἦχε δρόμος, ces deux mots étant des dorismes pour εἶχε δρόμους, (plus haut, p. 25.) L'expression est analogue à σελάνας τοὶ τριετεῖς μηνῶν ἀνιοχεῦντο δρόμοι.[4]

V. 5. L'iota, après ΚΟΙΡΑΝω est dans les trois copies. C'est encore une faute du graveur ; comme le Δ au lieu de Τ, dans ΔΕΚΑΤΟΔΕΝΙΑΥΤω.

V. 6. Ce vers est acéphale ΑΔΕΧΕCΚΕ : il manque certainement φῶτ, ainsi que l'ont vu D'Orville et M. Jacobs. Le graveur était fort distrait, à ce qu'il semble.

ΠΕCΥΡΑ pour ΠΙCΥΡΑ n'est sans doute pas une faute. Πέσυρες, τέσσαρες. Αἰολεῖς, dit Hesychius.

Le v. 7 contient une autre date, le 25 d'Athyr, au lieu du 24. Balbilla s'était trompée de quantième,[5] ce qui est d'autant moins étonnant qu'elle exprimait la date dans un Calendrier qui n'était pas le sien. Après que le v. 6 eut été gravé, elle s'aperçut, ou bien on lui dit, que ce jour était non pas le 24, mais le 25 d'Athyr. Au lieu d'effacer le vers écrit, elle en fit graver un autre exprimant la date corrigée, laquelle répond au 21 Novembre de l'an 130 de notre ère.

Voici le texte qui résulte des observations précédentes ; il diffère en plusieurs points de celui de M. Jacobs.

Ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος ἐγὼ . . . λίθω Βαλβίλλα,
φωνᾶς τᾶς θείας Μέμνονος ἡ Φαμενώθ.
Ἦλθον ὑμοῖ δ' ἐρατᾷ βασιληΐδι τυῖδε Σαβίννᾳ·
ὥρας δὲ πρώτας ἅλιος ἦχε δρόμος,
Κοιράνω Ἀδριανῶ πέμπτῳ δεκάτῳ τ' ἐνιαυτῷ·
[φῶτ]α δ' ἔχεσκεν ἀθὺρ εἴκοσι καὶ πέσυρα.
Εἰκοστῷ πέμπτῳ δ' ἄματι μηνὸς ἀθύρ.

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[1] Gregor. Corinth. *de Dialect.* p. 584. Schæf. [2] Id. p. 618, 619. [3] *In Vener.* v. 5.
[4] *Adespot.* DCXLVI. *Anth. Palat.* I, 454.
[5] Boisson. *ad Inscr. Act. ad calc.* Holst. *Epistt.* p. 449.

Les phrases dont se composent cette pièce sont fort mal liées entre elles ; et les idées se suivent mal. Tout y sent une médiocre habitude de la versification grecque.

XXII. 44.

Mais l'Impératrice elle-même voulut faire graver sur le Colosse un souvenir de son passage. Il est consigné dans l'inscription suivante, qui est inédite.

[Σα]βεῖνα σεβαστὴ
[αὐτ]οκράτορος Καίσαρος
[σεβασ]τοῦ ἐντὸς ὥρας
[Α, Μέμνονο]ς δὶς ἤκουσε.

" Sabine Auguste, femme de l'empereur César Auguste, a entendu deux fois Memnon, " pendant la première heure."

On remarquera qu'il n'y a pas de place pour le mot γυνή, au commencement de la seconde ligne. Ce mot ne s'y trouvait certainement pas. La même ellipse a lieu sur les médailles des Impératrices. Ainsi, SABINA. AVGVSTA. IMP. HADRIANI. AVG., pour ne citer que celles de Sabine.

Le supplément de la 3e ligne ne peut être que l'un des deux mots Ἀδριανοῦ ou σεβαστοῦ. Je préfère ce dernier. Le nom de Sabine dispensait de celui d'Adrien ; tandis que le titre d'*Auguste* n'est jamais omis. On trouve de même sur une médaille : MECCAΛINH. KAIC. CEB. c. à d. Μεσσαλίνη Καίσαρος [Κλαυδίου] σεβαστοῦ [γυνή].

C'est d'après l'inscription précédente que j'ai lu ἐντὸς ὥρας Α. On a vu que Sabine avait entendu Memnon pendant la première heure.

XXIII. 64.

Inédite. Il est malheureux qu'elle soit si mutilée dans la copie ; car on ne peut douter qu'elle ne contienne l'énoncé d'un fait assez curieux ; savoir que le Colosse de Memnon s'est tu le premier jour que Sabine est venue le visiter.

D'abord, le titre, ὅτε τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἀκούσαμεν (pour ἠκούσ.) τοῦ Μέμνονος, annonce le sujet des huit vers élégiaques qui suivent. Il s'agit de personnes qui n'ont point entendu Memnon le premier jour.

Ensuite, les mots βασιληΐδος (v. 3) et βασιλεὺς (v. 5) montrent qu'Adrien et Sabine sont pour quelque chose dans l'événement.

Le 1er vers commence par les lettres XOICΔONMEN, qui doivent être *Χθισδὸν μὲν* pour *χθιζὸν μὲν*, le poète se servant du dialecte dorique. Ces mots annoncent une phrase où l'on disait que la veille on n'avait pas entendu Memnon ; on l'avait prié de devenir plus favorable, *ὡς πάλιν ἀλλότριος*, et de ne plus cacher sa voix, *θάξιν* ; car c'est, je crois, ce dernier mot, dont il reste les lettres OAΞIN. La raison devait s'en trouver dans le vers suivant, à en juger par le *γὰρ* qui suit les lettres ΠPHEI, *γὰρ σεμνὰ μορφὰ βασιληΐδος*. On pourrait lire aussi *γάρ σ' ἰρατά* ; mais, d'après tout ce qui suit, le pronom à la seconde personne serait déplacé. Au reste, l'expression *σ. μορφ. βασ.* rappelle le *forma Junonis* d'Ovide[1] pour *Juno*, le *virtus Catonis* d'Horace,[2] &c.

A la fin du 4e vers, les lettres IAYONIH doivent être, comme au N° XIX, v. 8, *ἄχον ἰῇ*, subjonctif qui dépend de la phrase contenue dans le vers 2. Les lettres EXΘOICAI ne peuvent être que *ἐχθοίσᾳ*, doriquement pour *ἐχθούσῃ* : ce datif dépend de *ἰῇ* ; et les mots *μὴ καὶ*, qui commencent le v. 5, annoncent une proposition subordonnée. En suivant les traces avec toute l'exactitude possible, j'arrive à ce texte, qui n'offre qu'un petit nombre de leçons douteuses dans les six derniers vers :

Χθιζὸν μὲν . . . . . Μέμνονος . . . . . .
ὡς πάλιν ἀλλότριος θᾶξιν .⏑.|–.⏑.⏑.|–.–.
(πρήθη γὰρ σεμνὰ μορφὰ θασιληΐδος [αἰνῶς]),
ἐχθοίσᾳ [τ' α]ὐτᾷ θή[ϊον] ἄχον ἰῇ,
μὴ καὶ τοῖ βασιλεὺς κοτέ[ῃ, κα]ὖ δαρὸν [ἀ]νία
τὴν σεμνὰν κατέχῃ κουριδίαν ἄλοχον·
Χαὶ Μέμνων, τρέσσαις μεγάλως μένος [αἰὲν ἀνάκτων],
ἐξαπίνας αὔδασ' ἀδὺ, θεοῖς τ' ἐχάρη.

[" Hier, n'ayant pas entendu Memnon, nous l'avons supplié] de changer de disposi-
" tions [de ne plus nous dérober] sa voix, (car les traits vénérables de l'Impératrice s'étaient
" enflammés [de courroux]) ; et de faire entendre un son divin, de peur que le roi lui-
" même ne s'irrite, et qu'une longue tristesse ne s'empare de sa vénérable épouse ; aussi
" Memnon, craignant le courroux de ces grands princes, fit-il entendre tout-à-coup sa voix,
" et témoigna qu'il se plaisait dans la compagnie des Dieux."

V. 4. L'ionisme *θήϊον* pourrait surprendre au milieu de ces dorismes, si

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[1] III. *Pont.* 1. [2] Horat. III. *Od.* 12. cf. Vechner. *Hellenol.* p. 517, 518.

un pareil mélange n'était pas autorisé par d'autres exemples ; plus haut, nous avons vu φθέγξαο et Λατοΐδα (N° VII, p. 13.), et, au vers suivant, τὴν σεμνάν. Θήϊος ἦχος rappelle le φωνὰ θεία du N° XXI.

Μὴ καί ; Memnon craignait que la colère ne gagnât *aussi*[1] l'Empereur. Je n'ai pas lu μὴ καί τοι, parce que la particule τοὶ ferait un *non sens* dans cette phrase conjonctive ; TOI est τοῖ doriquement pour τῷ, qui lui-même est pour αὐτῷ. Ainsi, Homère a dit τῇ (sc. Ἀθηναίῃ) κοτέων.[2] Καὔ, pour καὶ αὖ, *et que de son côté*. Si cette crase insolite paraît choquante, on lira καὶ, qui va tout aussi bien ; mais l' Υ est assez distinct. L'expression δαρὸν ἀνία . . . κατέχῃ rappelle le δηρὸν γὰρ νοῦσοί σε κατασχήσουσιν ἀέλπτοι d'un ancien oracle.[3]

V. 5. δαρὸν (adv.) ἀνία me semble certain. L' ο qui précède l'alpha final peut être une illusion du copiste : l'extrême altération de la pierre ne lui a pas permis une grande exactitude. C'est ainsi qu'au v. 6 après κατέχῃ il a marqué une lettre qui n'existe pas, que les deux lettres finales de κουριδίαν ont été passées, de même que la dernière de ἀδύ (v. 8.)

V. 7. ΤΡΕCCΑΙC est certainement τρέσσαις poétiq. et doriq. pour τρέσας : μένος pour μένοις est bien probable, comme régime de τρέσας, qui est transitif, de même que dans δυσμενέων μόθον οὐ τρέσεν.[4] La fin αἰὲν ἀνάκτων est tout-à-fait conjecturale : μεγάλως ou μεγάλων doit être la vraie leçon.

Quant au v. 8, ἐξαπίνας αὔδασ' ἀδὺ me paraît certain, de même que τ' ἐχάρη ; mais le mot ΟΤΟΙC l'est beaucoup moins ; cependant, la seconde lettre pouvant facilement se confondre avec Ε, qui, dans cette inscription, a parfois la forme carrée, la leçon ΘΕΟΙC, si convenable à la mesure, est bien probable : θεοῖς χαίρειν se prendra dans le sens du φίλοις χαίρειν de Xénophon,[5] se réjouir, se plaire avec ses amis : ici θεοὶ s'entend de Sabine et d'Adrien.

Il résulte de cette inscription, que le Colosse ne se fit pas entendre le premier jour à Sabine ; mais que le lendemain il montra plus d'égards. Le silence du Colosse en présence d'une impératrice avait, à ce qu'il paraît, donné de l'humeur à cette princesse ; c'est là ce que le poète a voulu exprimer de son mieux. Memnon, comme on voit, n'était point à la dévotion des grands. Sa voix était indépendante de la volonté des hommes.

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[1] Herman. *ad Soph. Philoct.* 13. [2] *Iliad.* K. 517.

[3] Ap. Plutarch. *in Ages.* 3 ; *Lysand.* 22.—Pausan. III, 8, fin.

[4] *Anthol.* Gr. *Adesp.* 750. Anth. Palat. II, 833. [5] *Apomn.* II, 1, 15. cf. Matth. §. 399.

XXIV. 51.

Je crois devoir placer ici, comme étant de la même Balbilla, une pièce de quatorze vers, inédite. Pococke n'a donné que le commencement des deux premières lignes (J. G. col. 2, n. 12); et il n'a point laissé de place pour le reste. Le dernier vers, qui commence par **ΒΑΛΒΙΛΛΑΣΔΕΜΕΘΕΝ**, nous annonce que la pièce est de la même personne qui a composé la précédente, laquelle est, comme celle-ci, en dialecte dorique.

Dans cette pièce, malheureusement bien mutilée, on discerne deux parties; l'une comprise dans les six premiers vers; la seconde dans les huit autres.

V. 1. On y distingue : *χαῖρε καὶ αὐδάσαις προφρόνως* : ce qui s'adresse au Colosse. Du vers 2, il ne reste que **ΤΑΝ**; du v. 3, que *γλώσσαν μέν τοι ἀλεξ*, où l'on disait apparemment que Memnon avait une *langue*.—V. 4. on lit *Καμβύσης ἄθεος τὸν* . . . commencement d'une phrase où il était dit que l'athée Cambyse avait mutilé la statue.—V. 5. Les mots *δῶκέν τοι ποινὰν* annoncent que l'impie avait payé la peine de son crime. La leçon du v. 7 au commencement est douteuse; il semble qu'il y ait *ἀλλὰ δ' ἐῶν . . σε θέντο [τ' ἄνακτα]*, dans le sens où l'on a dit ailleurs *[Ζεὺς πάλαι] ἀντολίης βασιλῆά σε θῆκε Κρονίων* (N° XXXVI) : mais il est probable que le vers commençait par *ἀλλ' ἐγώ* ; et que c'est ici que Balbilla passe à ce qui la concerne. Elle paraît faire une opposition entre sa piété et l'impiété de Cambyse, entre ce mutilateur insensé, et elle-même qui reconnaît dans cette statue brisée la présence d'une âme immortelle. Mais c'est dans les vers suivans que sa pensée se montre un peu plus clairement, parce que, du moins, on en peut essayer une restitution probable.

V. 9. Le *γὰρ* qui suit le premier mot indique une liaison avec ce qui précède. Voici comme je lis ces vers mutilés :

εὐσεβέες γὰρ ἐμοὶ γενέται σέ[ποτ' ἠσπάζοντο]
Βάλβιλλός θ' ὁ σοφὸς κ' Ἀντίοχος . . . . . .
Βάλβιλλος γένετ' ἐκ ματρὸς βασιληΐδος [Ἀ]κμ[ας]·
τοῦ πατέρος δὲ πατὴρ Ἀντίοχος βασιλεύς.
κηνῶν ἐκ γενεᾶς κἀγὼ λάχον αἷμα τὸ καλ[όν]
Βαλβίλλας δ' ἐμέθεν γρ[άμμα τόδ' εὐσεβὲς ἦν ?]

"Car mes pieux ancêtres te saluèrent jadis, le savant Balbillus et Antiochus . . .
"Balbillus naquit d'une mère de sang royal, et le père de son père était le roi
"Antiochus. C'est d'eux que je tiens le noble sang [qui coule dans mes veines]. Cette
"inscription pieuse est de moi Balbilla."

V. 9. 10. ΓΟΝΕΤΑΙ est une faute évidente pour *γενέται*; et ce mot, comme la suite des idées le prouve, est pris, ainsi que souvent *γενέτορες* et *γονεῖς*, ou *genitores* en Latin, dans le sens d'ancêtres.

Le nom de *Balbillus* est, selon toute apparence, historique. Ce doit être le *Claude Balbillus*, préfet d'Egypte, sous Néron, l'an 57 de notre ère, dont il est question dans l'inscription des Busiritains,[1] et dont parle Tacite.[2] L'épithète *ὁ σοφὸς, le savant*, cadre bien avec ce qu'en dit Sénèque: *Balbillus virorum optimus, in omni litterarum genere rarissimus*;[3] on voit, par la suite du passage, que ce préfet d'Egypte avait publié un ouvrage relatif à ce pays, et que Senèque consultait. C'était un savant.

Quant à l'Antiochus, dont le nom vient après, on ne sait ce que ce peut être: l'épithète, qui accompagnait son nom, est effacée; mais la généalogie contenue dans les vers suivans ne doit pas être étrangère à l'apparition de ce nom grec.

V. 11. Ce vers se terminait évidemment par un nom propre bisyllabique, dont la première lettre était une voyelle: ainsi le Κ qui semble commencer ce mot, dans la copie (ΚΑΛCΙ), n'en peut être que la seconde lettre. Ces deux lettres ensemble faisaient une longue; d'où il suit que ΑΛ doit être un Μ. Toutes les conditions exigées sont remplies par le mot ΑΚΜΑC ou ΑΚΜΗC. Le nom d'*Acmé* ou *Hacmé* est celui d'une des femmes de l'impératrice Julie. Selon Josèphe, ce fut par l'entremise de cette femme qu'Antipater intriguait à la cour d'Auguste contre Salomé.[4] Que cette *Acmé* fût une compatriote d'Antipater, cela est déjà bien probable d'après les relations qui s'établirent entre eux; mais cela le devient plus encore, si l'on songe que ce nom est syriaque, puisque *hacma* signifie, en cette langue, *sage* ou *prudente*. Raison de plus pour que ce nom convienne à la mère de Balbillus, laquelle tenait, comme on va le voir, aux rois de Commagène. C'est d'après cette hypothèse, que j'ai employé l'esprit rude; si elle est juste, le nom doit être écrit de même dans Josèphe.

Le fait contenu dans les vers 11 et 12 est des plus singuliers; et l'histoire ne fournit aucun moyen d'expliquer comment un Romain du nom de *Balbillus* a pu avoir pour mère une *femme de sang royal*, et pour aïeul *un roi Antiochus*.

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[1] *Recherches pour servir à l'Hist. de l'Egypte, &c.* p. 395. [2] *Annal.* XIII, 22.

[3] *Quæst. Nat.* IV, 2, 12.

[4] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* I, 32, 6 et 7.—cf. Noldius *de Herod.* p. 145, 146.

Cet Antiochus doit avoir été un des rois de la Commagène. D'après notre hypothèse, bien probable, que Balbillus était le préfet d'Egypte sous Néron, on ne saurait penser à l'Antiochus dont parle Josèphe, qui était encore roi de Commagène sous Vespasien.[1] Notre Antiochus est, selon toute apparence, Antiochus III, qui mourut en 770, ou l'an 17 de J. C.[2] Mais on n'expliquerait guères le fait qu'en admettant une naissance illégitime. Je suppose donc que ce roi Antiochus eut un fils naturel, lequel épousa quelque fille également naturelle d'un frère du roi; ce sera la *βασιληΐς μήτηρ* dont parle l'inscription. L'enfant né de ce mariage aura été adopté par un Romain du nom de Balbillus et de la famille *Claudia*.

On sait, par l'inscription des Busiritains, que Balbillus, peu de temps après son entrée en charge, visita l'intérieur du pays, et vint admirer les Pyramides[3]; il dut aller plus loin, visiter Thèbes, et rendre son hommage à Memnon, accompagné d'Antiochus son père. C'est cette circonstance que rappelle Balbilla.

Dans le dernier vers, on ne distingue que ΒΑΛΒΙΛΛΑCΔΕΜΕΘΕΝ: qui annoncent que la pièce est de Balbilla; c'est sur cette idée que se fonde la restitution ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΔΕΥCE[ΒΕC ΗΝ], laquelle s'éloigne peu des lettres conservées, mais qui est pourtant, j'en conviens, presque toute hypothétique. *Γράμμα* se dit souvent de ces sortes de pièces.[4] *Εὐσεβὲς γράμμα* est analogue à *ἁγνὸν γράμμα*, qu'on trouve dans l'inscription de Nicanor[5]; cela est pour *γράμμα, εὐσεβείας σημεῖον*. L'imparfait *ἦν*, nécessaire à la mesure, peut-il se dire pour *γεγραμμένον ἐστὶ, ἐγράφη*?

XXV. 30.

Celle-ci se compose, comme le N° XIX, de deux parties qu'on avait séparées,[6] mais à tort. La première partie se lit ainsi: *ὅτε σὺν τῇ σεβαστῇ Σαβίνῃ ἐγενόμην παρὰ τῷ Μέμνονι*, c'est-à-dire, " [écrit], lorsque j'étais auprès de Memnon avec l'auguste Sabine." Ce qui fixe l'époque où l'inscription

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[1] *Bell. Jud.* VIII, 27, 1. [2] Tacit. *Annal.* II, 42. [3] V. mes *Recherches*, &c. p. 404.
[4] *Journ. des Sav.* 1825, p. 298. [5] Welcker, *Sylloge Inscr.* p. 218.
[6] Jacobs dans les *Denkschriften*, &c. p. 56.

a été inscrite sur le Colosse. Il est fâcheux que l'auteur ait négligé de dire son nom.

Quant aux vers, ils ont déjà occupé Leich et M. Jacobs. La copie de Pococke est assez exacte ; et ce dernier, en complétant la leçon de son prédécesseur, avait cependant manqué la restitution des deux passages principaux, desquels dépend le sens de tous les autres. On en jugera par la comparaison des deux textes :

Texte de M. Jacobs.	Nouveau Texte.
Αὐτὸς καὶ γεραρῶ 'γὼ Μέμνονα Τιθωνοῖο	Αὐτὸς καὶ γεραρῶ, Μέμνον, παῖ Τιθωνοῖο,
Θηβαίας θάσσοντ' ἄντα Διὸς πόλιος	Θηβαίας θάσσων ἄντα Διὸς πόλιος,
ἡδυμελῶς δ' ἀειδ', Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς ἐνέπουσιν	ἢ 'Αμενὼθ, βασιλεῦ Αἰγύπτιε, τὼς ἐνέποισιν
ἱρῆες μύθων παμπαλαίων ἴδριες.	ἱρῆες μύθων τῶν παλαίων ἴδριες.

" Et moi aussi je t'honorerai, ô Memnon, fils de Tithon, assis en face de la ville Thé-
" baine de Jupiter, ou bien Aménoth, roi égyptien, à ce que disent les prêtres instruits
" des anciens mythes."

Le second vers avait été parfaitement restitué par M. Jacobs, sauf *θάσσοντ'* pour *θάσσων* ; mais la leçon du premier vers empêchait cet habile critique de lire autrement. L'expression *ἄντα Διὸς πόλιος* indique bien la position du Colosse qui regarde *Diospolis*, ou la Thèbes des Grecs et des Romains, située sur l'autre rive.

Le 3ème vers est le plus important. Pour les Grecs, la statue était Memnon, fils de Tithon et de l'Aurore ; mais pour les Egyptiens, c'était leur roi, *βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτιος*, nommé *Aménoth* ou *Phaménoth* (plus haut, p. 28), ou *Aménophth*, ou bien *Aménothès*, comme on lit dans une des tombes royales, (N° 4, plus bas, p. 70). L'accord des deux copies me porte à conserver les formes *τὼς ἐνέποισιν*, pour *ὡς ἐνέπουσιν*.

Les formes *Θηβάας* et *παλάων* pour *Θηβαίας*, *παλαίων*, sont dans les deux copies ; et certainement dans l'original. L'orthographe est d'autant plus à remarquer que la mesure ne l'exigeait pas. Elle indique une prononciation qui conservait à AI un sens très voisin de A.

SECTION III.—*Inscriptions postérieures au Voyage d'Adrien.*

XXVI. 60.

Copiée par Pococke, MM. Hamilton, Delille et Jomard.[1] La copie de Salt est encore la meilleure.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος Πτολεμαίου, βασιλικὸς
γραμματεὺς Ἑρμωνθείτου καὶ Λατοπο
λείτου, ἤκουσα Μέμνονος τοῦ θειοτά
του, μετὰ καὶ τῆς συμβίου Ἀρσινόης καὶ
τῶν τέκνων Αἰλουρίωνος τοῦ καὶ Κο-
δράτου, καὶ Πτολεμαίου. Ἔτει ΙΕ Ἀδριανοῦ
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Χοϊάκ.

"Artémidore, fils de Ptolémée, greffier impérial des nomes Hermonthite et Lato-
"polite, j'ai entendu Memnon le très divin, avec ma femme Arsinoë, et mes enfans
"Ælurion, appelé aussi Quadratus, et Ptolémée, l'an XV d'Adrien le seigneur, au mois
"de Choïac."

A la ligne 3, les copies de Pococke, de M. Hamilton, et de M. Delille, donnent ΟCΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ, celle de M. Jomard ΘΕΙϢΤΑΤΟΥ, celle de Salt ΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ: différences qui viennent de la grande ressemblance des deux premières lettres ΘΕ et ΟC, lesquelles sont confondues sans cesse. Je préfère la leçon de Salt parce que Memnon est appelé dans d'autres inscriptions *θειότατος* et *θεός*. Le greffier, *royal* sous les Ptolémées, *impérial* plus tard, était celui qui embrassait tout un nome; au-dessous de lui étaient les *κωμογραμματεῖς* et les *τοπογραμματεῖς*.[2] Nous voyons encore ici les deux nomes Hermonthite et Latopolite, réunis sous un seul greffier royal comme ils l'étaient sous un seul stratège[3]; raison de plus pour croire que la juridiction de ces deux officiers avait la même étendue.

Ce greffier a un nom tout grec, sans mélange de nom romain. Il est en effet naturel de penser que ces officiers, dont les fonctions exigeaient des

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[1] *Descr. Egypt. Ant.* pl. 55, N° 37. [2] *Recherch. &c.* p. 398. [3] V. N° XXXIII.

connaissances locales, n'étaient le plus souvent que des Egyptiens ou des Grecs établis dans le pays; il en était ainsi des stratèges. Les deux fils d'Artémidore ont aussi des noms grecs; l'un d'eux pourtant a un surnom romain ΚΟΔΡΑΤΟΥ, probablement ΚΟΑΔΡΑΤΟΥ. Quant à *Αἰλουρίων*, nom dérivé du mot *αἴλουρος, un chat*, je ne crois pas qu'on le trouve ailleurs qu'en Egypte; il est un vestige de l'adoption par les Grecs du culte égyptien.

La date de l'an XV est celle du voyage d'Adrien. Quant au mois de Choïac, il commençait le 27 ou le 28 de Novembre, (c'est-à-dire, trois ou quatre jours après la visite d'Adrien et de Sabine;) on voit donc qu'Artémidore a fait graver son inscription bien peu de temps après celles qui se rapportent à cet événement.

Le quantième du mois manque dans toutes les copies: peut-être a-t-il été effacé, peut-être aussi a-t-il été omis, comme dans une autre inscription, (N° LV): ce qui le ferait croire c'est l'inscription suivante, placée au-dessous de la précédente, ainsi qu'on le voit dans la copie de Pococke, et qui s'y rapporte évidemment.

XXVII. 61.

Elle est fort distincte dans les copies de Salt:

Κόϊντος Ἀπολλιανὸς Βοηθὸς
ὁμοίως ἤκουσα μετὰ τῶν προγε-
γραμμένων τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει, μηνὶ
τῷ αὐτῷ

"Moi Quintus Apollianus Boéthus, j'ai entendu également [Memnon] avec les inscrits "ci-dessus, la même année, le même mois."

Ce personnage était de la compagnie d'Artémidore. Il se contente de même d'indiquer l'année et le mois. Si Artémidore avait indiqué le jour, Boéthus aurait ajouté *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ*.

M. Jacobs, le seul qui ait essayé de déchiffrer cette inscription, n'avait pu lire que la première ligne,[1] et le commencement de la seconde. Sa leçon du reste (*μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ὥραν Μέμνονος Αὐγούστῳ μηνὶ*) ne s'est pas vérifiée.

[1] *Denkschrift. u. s. w.* p. 75.

XXVIII. 19.

Celle-ci, donnée fort exactement par Pococke, est placée immédiatement au-dessus de la précédente et au-dessous du N° xxv : elle en remplit tout juste l'intervalle ; et l'on a lieu de croire qu'elle a été écrite après la première et avant la seconde, ce qui en fixe l'époque aux derniers jours de Novembre de l'an 130 de J. C., an xv d'Adrien. Elle ne présente, d'ailleurs, aucune difficulté.

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Διονύσιος
ἀρχιδικαστὴς, Θέωνος
ἀρχιδικαστοῦ ὑὸς καὶ
πατὴρ, ἤκουσα Μέμνο-
νος ὥρας πρώτης.

" Caius Julius Dionysius archidicaste, fils et père de Théon archidicaste, j'ai entendu " Memnon à la première heure."

L'expression Θέωνος ἀρχιδικαστοῦ ὑὸς καὶ πατὴρ, est remarquable ; la traduction *fils de Théon et père*, qu'on en a donnée,[1] n'a aucun sens. Cela doit signifier qu'Artémidore l'archidicaste était le fils d'un Théon archidicaste et le père d'un autre Théon revêtu des mêmes fonctions. Nous avons donc ici l'indication de trois personnages, aïeul, père, et fils, exerçant les fonctions d'archidicaste ou *grand juge*. Il n'est pas improbable que ces fonctions se transmissent de père en fils.

Il est encore à remarquer que c'est une famille grecque qui exerce ces fonctions. Il en était vraisemblablement de cette magistrature, comme de toutes celles que les Romains avaient trouvées établies. C'étaient des Egyptiens ou des Grecs qui continuèrent à les exercer.

ὥρας πρώτης est dans les trois copies. Le génitif peut aussi bien aller que le datif.

ὑὸς pro υἱὸς est ordinaire dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Egypte.

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[1] Descript. de Thèbes, p. 112.

XXIX. 32.

Inscription inédite. Je ne vois pas comment remplir la lacune après PRAEF et avant AVG. Peut-être est-ce PRAEF · AERARII · AVG. ou bien RERVM · AVG. comme porte Suétone.[1]

La date est du 7 Mars de l'an 133, qui répond à l'an XVII d'Adrien, compté à la manière égyptienne.

L'identité de nom me porte à regarder l'inscription suivante comme étant du même personnage.

XXX. 70.

Déjà publiée par Pococke (J. G. 1. N° 14.) M. Jacobs avait réussi à en lire la première ligne, qui est un hexamètre ; la seconde était un vers du même genre, témoin le spondée ONTOC qui le termine. On peut essayer de lire ainsi les deux vers :

Μάρκιος Ἑρμογένης ἔκλυον μέγα φωνήσαντος
Μέμνονος, ἀντέ[λλουσαν μητέρ' ἠὼ τι]μῶντος.

L'idée du second vers sera la même que celle qui est exprimée par Denys le Périégète :

. . . . ἔνθα γεγωνὼς
Μέμνων ἀντέλλουσαν ἠὼ ἀσπάζεται ἠώ.[2]

Ma restitution peut être bonne pour le sens ; mais elle est peu satisfaisante pour les termes. Il ne m'en vient pas, en ce moment, d'autre meilleure.

XXXI. 20.

Cette inscription latine déjà publiée par Pococke (J. G. 6. N° 1.) n'offre aucune difficulté, excepté relativement au nom du personnage ; ce qui est d'autant plus fâcheux qu'il s'agit d'un préfet d'Egypte. La leçon de Pococke est SΛΛΛΛBNS. Jablonski l'a lu S. BALBVS,[3] et M. Labus,

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[1] *In Vitellio*, § 2. [2] V. 250. [3] *De Memn.* p. 89.—*Descript. de Thèbes*, p. 114.

BALBVS[1] : mais ce nom, déjà peu conforme à la leçon de Pococke, l'est moins encore à celle de Salt, ΛΛΛΛRNS : la fin du mot a dû être RIVS ou BIVS ; je ne devine pas le commencement.

Ce Petronius . . . rius, préfet d'Egypte, avait entendu Memnon, le six des ides de Mars, sous le consulat de Servianus pour la troisième fois, et de Varus, une demi-heure avant la première heure ; car il me paraît que la leçon doit être HORA. DIEI. S. ANTE. PRIMAM.

Sa visite n'est postérieure que de huit jours à celle d'Hermogènes, puisque la date répond au 10 Mars de l'an 133.

XXXII. 37.

Oubliée par Pococke ; publiée par Norden ; et copiée ensuite par M. Girard.[2] Jablonski[3] l'a donnée ; mais il a mis en tête la ligne PETRONIVS PRAEF. AEG., qui est le commencement de l'inscription précédente ; commencement que donne en effet Norden, à la droite de celle-ci ; ce qui prouve qu'elle est placée à gauche du N° XXXI, dans l'espace que Pococke a laissé en blanc.

La copie de Salt contient trois autres lignes, que personne n'avait encore copiées, et qui renferment la date. Voici l'inscription en entier.

Horam cum primam, cumque horam sole secundam
prolata Oceano luminat alma dies,
vox audita mihi est ter bene Memnonia.
Viaticus . . . . . fecit, cum audit
Memnonem XI *Kal. Junias,*[4] *Serviano tertium*
Consule, cum Asidoniâ Calpâ uxore.

Les trois premières lignes sont des vers, le premier hexamètre, les deux autres pentamètres, et assez mauvais, comme on voit.

Luminat, pour *illuminat*, ne se trouve point avant Apulée et Rufus Festus Avienus ; car la leçon de Velleius Paterculus est douteuse. Quant à *dies quæ luminat horam*, et *dies prolata Oceano*, cela ne se trouve probablement nulle part.

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[1] *Di un' epigrafe Lat.* p. 111.
[2] *Descr. de l'Eg. Ant.* Pl. 55. n. 42.
[3] *De Memn.* p. 84, 85.—*Descript. de Thèbes*, p. 111.
[4] Ou IAN. c'est-à-dire *Januarias.*

Après VIATICVS, les lettres à demi effacées paraissent cacher THEBAICVS, d'où résulterait que ce *Viaticus* était un Thébain : mais comme le T est peu distinct, il pourrait y avoir eu HERACLIVS. Je ne décide rien. Quel qu'il soit, ce personnage a été favorisé du Colosse, car il l'a entendu *trois fois* dans le même jour, le 22 Mai (ou 22 Décembre) de l'année 133, qui est celle du troisième consulat de Servianus.

XXXIII. 27.

Celle-ci n'a été donnée que par M. Hamilton, mais d'une manière fort incomplète, puisqu'il n'a copié que trois lignes des sept qui la composent. La fin des lignes de celle-ci manque ; mais on supplée facilement, ce qui peut intéresser le plus :

Χαιρήμων ὁ κα[ὶ . . . . .]
στρατηγὸς Ἐρ[μονθείτου καὶ] .
Λατοπολεί[του, Μέμνονος]
τοῦ θειοτά[του ἤκουσα,]
σὺν τῇ ἀδελφ[ῇ μου . . . . .]
L. ΙΘ̄ *Ἀδριανοῦ [τοῦ κυρίου]*
μηνὸς Ἀδριαν[οῦ . . . .]

La restitution de la 2e ligne ne laisse aucun doute ; quant à la 3e, on a vu que *Μέμνονος* précède *τοῦ θειοτάτου* (N° XXIV).

La 5e ligne se terminait par un nom propre, ou bien par *ὥρᾳ* Ā ou B̄.

La 6e se complette facilement.

La 7e est la plus intéressante. Il y est question d'un mois *Ἀδριανὸς*, tout-à-fait inconnu jusqu'ici : heureusement je trouve dans un papyrus astrologique du Musée Royal, un passage qui nous met sur la voie. La date du fait astrologique y est exprimée en ces termes : *L.* Ī *Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, μηνὸς Ἀδριανοῦ* H̄, *κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους τυβὶ* ΙH̄. On sait par Vettius Valens que les astrologues conservaient dans leurs calculs l'usage du calendrier vague. L'expression *κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους* montre d'ailleurs que c'est bien de ce calendrier qu'il est question : on sait que *κατ' Ἀλεξανδρεῖς* désigne le calendrier fixe Alexandrin, et *κατ' Αἰγυπτίους* ou *κατ' ἀρχαίους*,[1] celui qui

[1] Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronolog.* I. 150.

avait précédé, et qui, conservé par les chronologistes, les astronomes et les astrologues, pour la facilité du calcul, n'était pas sorti entièrement de l'usage civil même sous les Antonins ; on le voit par deux inscriptions de Gartas, qui sont du règne de Caracalla, où la date est marquée κατ' ἀρχαίους.[1] Dans l'an x d'Antonin (147-148 de notre ère), le premier Thoth vague tombait le 17 Juillet, et le 1er Tybi vague le 14 Novembre ; le 8 du mois *Adrien* correspondant au 18 de ce Tybi, le 1er correspondait au 10, qui tombait le 27 d'Athyr fixe, ou le 23 Novembre.

Or voilà un résultat fort singulier : le *mois Adrien*, introduit par la flatterie égyptienne, ne correspond point à un seul mois Egyptien, soit de l'année vague, soit de l'année fixe, puisqu'il commence le 10 d'un mois de la première et le 27 d'un mois de la seconde. On concevrait qu'on eût substitué le nom de l'Empereur à celui d'un autre mois, comme chez les Romains, *Julius* et *Augustus* à *Quintilis* et à *Sextilis :* mais pourquoi commencer le nouveau mois le 27 du mois d'Athyr, de manière qu'il comprenait les trois derniers jours de ce mois et les 27 premiers du suivant, ou Choïac ? Le fait s'explique par l'inscription de Balbilla, qui nous a appris que c'est le 25 d'Athyr que Sabine a entendu le Colosse de Memnon, probablement le lendemain de son arrivée et de celle de son époux à Thèbes. Le séjour de ces princes a dû occasionner de grandes réjouissances, et, selon un usage dont d'autres monumens offrent des exemples, on dut prendre le jour de la principale cérémonie pour point de départ d'un mois auquel on donna le nom d'Adrien ; en d'autres termes, la flatterie décréta que les *trente jours* qui suivraient celui qu'on avait choisi seraient *éponymes ;* c'est à-peu-près ainsi que dans l'inscription de l'île de Bacchus située au-dessus de Syène, il est dit que *trente-six jours* dans l'année seront *éponymes* d'un particulier.[2]

On ne peut admettre que ce *mois Adrien* ait jamais remplacé aucun de ceux de l'année fixe. Sa place irrégulière dans le calendrier s'y oppose absolument. Ce n'a pu être qu'une éponymie honorifique, rattachée à quelques sacrifices et autres actes religieux que la flatterie conserva longtemps après l'événement, puisque le stratège quatre ans plus tard la mentionne encore, et qu'on la retrouve 10 ans après la mort d'Adrien dans le papyrus astrologique. C'est ainsi que le 1er Thoth conservait encore sous le règne de Galba le nom de *Julie Auguste*, dont il était éponyme.[3]

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[1] Gau, *Ant. Nub. Inscr.* Pl. v. No. 2. Pl. vi. No. 23. [2] Voy. mes *Recherches* &c. p. 384.
[3] Les *mêmes*, p. 168 et suiv.

L'époque à laquelle commençait cette éponymie se rattachant à un événement particulier à Thèbes, je crois que le *mois Adrien*, ou les *trente jours d'éponymie* qu'il comprend ont dû être propres à cette ville. Dans cette hypothèse, le papyrus astrologique où la date se trouve mentionnée serait un *papyrus thébain ;* il s'en trouvera plus tard quelqu'autre exemple.

En attendant, nous pouvons être sûrs que la date de notre inscription est comprise entre le 23 Novembre et le 22 Décembre de l'an 134 de notre ère.

XXXIV. 35.

Inédite.

Titus STATILIVS. MAXIMVS. S. . . .
MEMNONEM. AVDIO. HORA. . . . . .
Ante. Diem. XII KAL*endas* MART*ias.* ANNO. $\overline{XX}$
HADRIANI. IMP*eratoris. Nostri.*

Il s'agit ici de l'année du règne comptée à la manière romaine : la xxe année d'Adrien a commencé le xi Août 136 de notre ère ; la date de l'inscription est donc du 18 Février de l'an 137.

XXXV. 15.

Ce fragment inédit appartient au règne d'Adrien, mais l'année manque :

L. . Ἀδριανοῦ
[*τοῦ*] *κυρίου*
[*Σαρα*]*πίων*
. . . . *βα*
[*σιλι*]*κὸς Γρ*
⎡ *αμματεὺς* ⎤
⎢ *ἥκουσα Μέμ-* ⎥
⎢ *νονος,* ⎥
⎣ *ὥρᾳ . . .* ⎦

A la 3e ligne se trouvait peut-être un second nom, *ὁ καί* : la restitution

βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς me semble bien probable; on remarquera que le nom est encore grec, comme plus haut, N° XXV.

XXXVI. 63.

Cette inscription, l'une des plus longues de celles du Colosse, a été gravée sur le côté sud du piédestal: elle fut mise à découvert par les fouilles que l'on fit lors de l'expédition française, pour arriver jusqu'au sol antique de ce piédestal. La copie de Salt est donc la seconde que l'on connaisse. Celle de M. Girard était aussi complète pour les six premières lignes; mais un peu moins pour les six autres. Elle m'a fourni quelques indications précieuses, principalement sur la longueur des lignes 7, 8, 9. Je la transcris ici, afin qu'on juge des secours qu'il était possible de tirer de la comparaison des deux copies.

Copie de M. Girard.

ΘΗΚΕCΕΦωΝΗΕΝΤΑΘΕΑ ΡΟΔΟΔΑΚΤΥΛΟC ΗωC
CΗΜΗΤΕΙ Ρ ΚΛΥΤΕΜΕΜΝΟΝΕΕΑ ΑΟ ΜΕΝωΜ ΟΙΑΚΟΥCΑΙ
CΗΕΦωΝ - - - ΥΚΑΒΑΝΤΙ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΥΤΟΥΑΝΤωΝΕΙΝΟΥ
ΡΚΑΤωΚΑΜΕΝΙΠΑΧωΚΤΡΙCΚΑΙΔΕΚΛΕΧΟΝΤΙ
ΤΑΔΙCΠΔΑΜΟΝΤΕCΕ ΚΛΥΟΝΑΥΔΗCΑΝΤΟC
ΚΑΛΛΕΑΡΕ Ι ΟΕΛΛΙΠωΝΤΟC
ΟΛΙΗC ΒΑCΙΑΝΑ ΕΑΘΗΚΕΚΡΟΝΕ
ΟΥΦωΝΗΝΔΑΠΟΠ ΕΤΕΟΥΕ
ΟΕΑΜΟΙ ΒΑΔΙCΕΝ
ΑΛΟΧωΕΟΥ CΕ
ΕΥΤΥΧω

Restitution.

Θῆκέ σε φωνήεντα θεὰ ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠὼς
σὴ μήτειρ, κλυτὲ Μέμνον, ἐελδομένῳ μοι ἀκοῦσαι
σῆς φωνῆς· Λυκάβαντι περικλυτοῦ Ἀντωνείνου
[δω]δεκάτῳ, καὶ μηνὶ παχὼν τρισκαίδεκ' ἔχοντι
[ἦμα]τα, δῖς, Δαῖμον, [τεῦ ἐσ]έκλυον αὐδήσαντος,

[ἠελίου λίμ]νης [περι]καλλέα ῥεῖθρα λιπόντος.
[Ζεὺς πάλαι] ἀντολίης βασιλῆά σε θῆκε Κρονείων·
[ἀλλά συ νῦ]ν πετροῖ, φωνὴν δ' ἀπὸ πέτρου ἐφίης.
[Τοῦτο δ' ἔγραψε Γ]έμελλος ἀμοιβαδὶς, ἐνθά[δ' ἀνελθὼν]
[σύν τε φίλ]ῃ ἀλόχῳ Ῥουφίλλῃ καὶ τεκέεσσι.
- - - εὐτυχῶ - - -
Ῥου]φίλλῃ

Traduction.

" Ta mère, la déesse Aurore aux doigts de rose, ô célèbre Memnon, t'a rendu vocal " pour moi qui désirais t'entendre. La douzième année de l'illustre Antonin, le mois de " Pachôn comptant treize jours, deux fois, ô être divin, j'ai entendu ta voix, lorsque le " soleil quittait les flots majestueux du lac [salé.]

" Jadis, le fils de Saturne, Jupiter, te fit roi de l'Orient; maintenant tu n'es plus " qu'une pierre; et c'est d'une pierre que sort ta voix.

" Gemellus a écrit ces vers à son tour, étant venu ici avec sa chère épouse Rufilla et " ses enfans."

Les quatre premiers vers, misérablement estropiés dans la Description de Thèbes,[1] ont été lus par M. Boissonade d'une manière indubitable.[2]

V. 1. Calqué sur celui d'Homère : *αὐδήεντα δ' ἔθηκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη.*[3] La finale *ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠὼς* nous avertit que l'auteur imite avec soin les formes homériques.

V. 2. *Μήτειρ* pour *μήτηρ*, iotacisme. La finale du vers est encore homérique : *ἐελδομένῳ δέ μοι ἦλθεν ὄψ.*[4]

V. 3. Je suspends le sens après *φωνῆς*, et je fais dépendre la date, exprimée dans *λυκάβαντι κ. τ. λ.*, du verbe *ἐσέκλυον*, qui est au v. 5.

V. 4. Il est incertain s'il faut lire *τῷ δεκάτῳ*, ou, sans l'article, *δωδεκάτῳ*. Comme l'auteur, par esprit d'imitation, n'emploie nulle part l'article, de même que son poète favori, je me décide pour la deuxième leçon. Il est clair qu'au lieu de *δωδεκάτῳ* on peut lire aussi bien *ἐνδεκάτῳ*, ce qui laisse une année d'incertitude sur la date.

V. 5. Il manque le mot *ἤματα*, au commencement, pour compléter le sens de *τρισκαίδεκ' ἔχοντι*. Le reste du vers est restitué d'après les lettres conservées dans les deux copies. La fin est encore homérique : *οὐδέπω Ἀτρείδεω*

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[1] p. 106. [2] *Comment. Epigr. ad calc. Epist. Holst.* p. 446, sq. [3] *Odyss.* M. 438.
[4] Il. T. 407.

ὀπὸς ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος.[1] Les deux copies autorisent le dorisme τεῦ pour σεῦ.

V. 6. Dans ce vers doit se trouver l'indication de l'heure où le Colosse s'est fait entendre. Le dernier hémistiche ne peut se lire que ΚΑΛΛΕΑ ΡΕΙΘΡΑ ΛΙΠΟΝΤΟC, [περι]καλλέα ῥεῖθρα λιπόντος. Cela fait souvenir qu'Homère exprime ainsi le lever du soleil.

Ἥλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε, λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην.[2]

Notre imitateur d'Homère n'aura pas manqué de faire entrer dans son vers le mot ΛΙΜΝΗ; et, en effet, les lettres ΝΗC sont certainement la fin de ce mot. Il vient donc ce vers qui doit être tel que le portait jadis la pierre :

[ἠελίου λίμ]νης [περι]καλλέα ῥεῖθρα λιπόντος.

Ce λίμνη, dans Homère, n'est rien autre chose, selon moi, que le Pont Euxin.

V. 7, 8. Le commencement de ces vers a été restitué dans l'hypothèse, à-peu-près sûre, qu'ils expriment une comparaison entre l'ancien état et l'état présent du Colosse. Le premier est certain. Dans le second, ΠΕΤΡΟΥ peut être πετροῦ pour ἐπετράφθης, et on lirait à la fin φωνὴν ἔηκας, locution homérique : ὅπα μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος ἵει.[3] Mais les verbes au passé font difficulté avec νῦν. C'est ce qui m'a fait préférer de lire πετροῖ et ἐφίης, tous deux à la seconde personne du présent. L'iota de ἵημι et ses composés est long dans Homère, quand le vers l'exige : βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφιείς.[4]

V. 9. 10. Dans ces deux vers si mal traités, les lettres ΕΜΕΛΔΟC sont évidemment les restes du nom propre *Γέμελλος;* c'est l'auteur de la pièce : dans le vers suivant, on distingue parfaitement ἀλόχῳ Ῥουφίλλῃ καὶ τεκέεσσι, et le vers se complette avec certitude, en lisant [σύν τε φίλ]ῃ. L'expression φίλη ἄλοχος est fréquente dans Homère. L'homérique Gemellus aura probablement donné à φίλη le sens du pronom possessif que cette épithète a chez ce poëte. Au lieu de σύν τε φίλῃ, on peut lire aussi σὺν κεδνῇ, qui ne serait pas moins homérique. Le poète réunit souvent aussi les deux idées de *femme et d'enfans :* ἠμέτεραι ἄλοχοι καὶ νήπια τέκνα[5] ; ἀλόχους κεδνὰς καὶ νήπια τέκνα[6] ; et Tyrtée, παισί τε σὺν μικροῖς, κουριδίῃ τ' ἀλόχῳ. Il est donc clair

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[1] *Iliad.* Π. 76. [2] *Odyss.* Γ. 1. [3] *Iliad.* A. 221. [4] *Iliad.* A. 51.
[5] *Il.* B. 136; Δ. 288; Z. 95; P. 223, etc. [6] *Il.* Ω. 730. *Od.* A. 325, 432, etc.

que Gemellus disait qu'il était venu *là* avec sa femme et ses enfans; et, en effet, après ἀμοιβαδὶς, on aperçoit le reste du mot ἔνθα ou ἐνθάδε. Les lettres ETI qui commencent la ligne 9 peuvent très-bien faire partie du mot ἔγραψε, et le vers entier devient :

[τοῦτο δ' ἔγραψε Γ]έμελλος ἀμοιβαδὶς, ἐνθά[δ' ἀνελθών.]

Le sens de ἀμοιβαδὶς n'est pas bien clair; je crois qu'il ne veut rien dire autre chose que *à son tour*, soit qu'on le joigne avec ἔγραψε, soit qu'on le fasse dépendre de ἀνελθών; Gemellus annonce qu'il *est venu* ou qu'il *a écrit* ces vers *à son tour*, après tant d'autres qui sont venus voir le Colosse, et ont écrit sur ses jambes ou son piédestal, le 13 Pachôn de l'an XI ou XII d'Antonin (le 8 Mai 149 ou 150 de notre ère).

XXXVII. 23.

Voici la plus récente de toutes celles dont la date est connue sûrement.

La copie de Pococke est un peu moins claire que celle de Salt, pour les parties qui n'offrent aucune difficulté; mais dans la 3e ligne, qui est la plus importante puisque là se trouve le nom de l'Empereur, la copie de Pococke offre quelques traits de plus. On l'avait lue fort inexactement. Je l'ai rétablie en entier dans mes Recherches (p. 264), en me fondant sur l'inscription du Nilomètre d'Eléphantine, où il est question d'un *Ulpius Primianus*, préfet d'Egypte sous Septime Sévère; j'ai fait voir qu'il faut la lire :

M. VLPIVS. PRIMIANVS
PRAEF. AEG.
VI. KAL. MARTIAS. D. N. IMP. SEV
ERO. AVG. COS. ITERVM. HORA
DIEI. SECVNDA. AVDI
VI MEMNONEM
BIS FELICITER.

Leçon adoptée par M. Labus. Septime Sévère ayant été consul pour la seconde fois en l'an 194, c'est le 24 Février de cette année que M. Ulpius Primianus entendit le Colosse.

Dans la copie de Pococke, on lit à côté de la quatrième ligne, en petits caractères, les mots EGI GRATIAS, que j'ai rapportés au même person-

nage ; il les aura mis à côté, étant empêché par l'inscription suivante de les placer au-dessous : Salt n'a pas vu ces mots, à moins que ce ne soit le fragment suivant :

XXXVIII. 54.

. . . COMMESSALINA . . . .
. . . . NONIS AVDIETEGIGRATIAS.

Ce qui a dû être :

[N. N. .] *cum Messalinâ* [*uxore*
[*vocem Mem*]*nonis audi et egi gratias.*

" N. N. J'ai entendu la voix de Memnon avec ma femme Messaline, et j'en ai " rendu grâces."

Si les mots *egi gratias* de la copie de Pococke appartiennent à ce fragment, ils tiennent certainement à une inscription différente de celle de M. Ulpius Primianus.

XXXIX. 50.

Je rapporte à la même époque une inscription latine copiée par Pococke, sans faute, et depuis par M. Jomard. Jablonski, qui l'a citée, n'en a expliqué ni la date, ni le seul mot qui soit difficile et présente de l'intérêt.

V. NONAS.[1] MARTIAS[2]
FELIX. AVGG. LIBERTVS
PROCVRATOR. VSIACVS
HORA. PRIMA. SEMIS
MEMNONEM
AVDIVIT.

Dans la copie de Salt le deuxième G, du mot AVGG., *Augustorum*, n'est pas bien formé ; il est parfaitement clair dans celle de Pococke. Cette circonstance prouve que l'inscription ne peut être plus ancienne que Septime Sévère et Caracalla, puisque l'usage de désigner les deux Augustes par le signe AVGG. ne s'est introduit que sous leur règne ;[3] elle serait donc

[1] NANAS copie de M. Jomard.
[2] Les trois copies portent MAPTIAS, P pour R.
[3] Eckhell. D. N. VIII. p. 358.

postérieure à l'an 198 de notre ère, époque où Caracalla reçut le titre d'Auguste. Dans ce cas, elle pourrait appartenir également au règne des Gordiens, des Philippes, de Trajan Dèce, Tribonien, Volusien, &c.; mais la circonstance qu'aucune des inscriptions du Colosse ne descend au-delà de Septime Sévère, et la place de celle-ci au milieu de la jambe droite, sont des motifs suffisans de croire qu'elle n'est point postérieure au règne de Septime Sévère et de Caracalla; et doit avoir été écrite entre l'an 198 et l'an 208.

Il reste à expliquer la qualité de cet affranchi des Augustes, celle de *Procurator Usiacus.* Ce mot VSIACVS est parfaitement clair dans les trois copies, et il n'y a pas moyen d'y faire de changement; cependant il ne se trouve dans aucun lexique. Ce mot me paraît ne pouvoir être que l'adjectif grec οὐσιακὸς latinisé, formé de οὐσία, qui signifiait proprement ce qui appartient à l'Empereur. Cet adjectif οὐσιακὸς n'est pas non plus dans les lexiques, mais on le trouve dans la grande inscription de l'Oasis, où μισθώσεις οὐσιακαὶ comprend les fermes publiques des diverses *propriétés impériales,* tant *impôts* (τελωνεῖαι, *conductio vectigalium*) que *terres impériales* (*agri vectigales et publici*).[1] Comme on appelait οὐσία Καίσαρος, ce qui était du *domaine de l'Empereur,* l'adjectif οὐσιακὸς joint au titre de *procurator,* ἐπίτροπος, peut avoir désigné le *conductio agrorum vectigalium.*[1] Ainsi le *procurator usiacus,* en grec ἐπίτροπος οὐσιακὸς, titre que prend Felix *l'affranchi des Augustes,* désignera un fonctionnaire chargé de l'administration de quelque partie des biens impériaux, sous l'autorité du *procurator rei privatæ,* qui embrassait cette administration toute entière, celui que Strabon appelle ἴδιος λόγος,[2] c'est-à-dire *ratio privata* pour *rationalis rei privatæ,* comme on a trouvé dans une inscription, *ratio patrimonii* pour *rationalis patrimonii.*

On voit par un passage de Strabon que les affranchis de César, ἀπελεύθεροι Καίσαρος, étaient chargés de fonctions financières en Egypte, et la 2ᵉ inscription de l'Oasis nous représente un de ces affranchis nommé *Basilide,* duquel relevaient les greffiers royaux, les greffiers des bourgades, κωμογραμματεῖς, et des villages, τοπογραμματεῖς, de la Thébaïde. Cet affranchi paraît avoir été l'administrateur général de la province.

Outre le passage cité de la grande inscription de l'Oasis, l'adjectif οὐσιακὸς se trouve encore dans Harménopule .. αἱ δὲ, εἰς κτίσεις (l. κτήσεις) τινὰς καὶ οὐσίας καὶ καλοῦνται οὐσιακαί.

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[1] Digest. XLIX, l. XIV, § 3, 5.

[2] Strab. XVII. p. 797.

SECONDE PARTIE.—INSCRIPTIONS NON DATÉES.

SECTION I.—*Inscriptions Grecques.*

Je commence par trois inscriptions qui ont été écrites par la même personne, nommé *Cecilia Trebulla*.

XL. 22.

C'est la plus élevée de toutes celles de la jambe gauche; elle est immédiatement au-dessus de celle de Julia Camilla (N° XIX).

Copiée par Pococke, elle a été restituée par Jablonski et M. Jacobs; mais on en avait mal lu les derniers mots. La leçon de Jablonski est ridicule; celle de M. Jacobs ingénieuse, mais fausse. D'après la copie de Salt, il n 'y a nulle difficulté à lire complètement les deux lignes dont elle se compose:

Τρεβούλλης.
τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀκούουσα φωνῆς Μέμνονος,
ἐπόθουν σε, μῆτερ, καὶ ἐξακούειν εὐχόμην

[vers] de Trebulla.

" Entendant la voix sacrée de Memnon, je t'ai désirée, ma mère, et j'ai fait des vœux " pour que tu pusses l'entendre aussi."

Le sentiment est louable, mais les vers ne le sont pas; car Trebulla paraît avoir réellement voulu écrire des vers. Le premier est hors de toute mesure; quant au second, en admettant la crase *κἀξακούειν*, comme plus bas *κἀσαφῆ* pour *καὶ ἀσαφῆ* (N° XLI), on a un vers iambique passable.

Τρεβούλλης, comme *Καμίλλης* pour *Καμίλλας* (N° XIX).

XLI. 58.

Celle-ci est de la même personne, qui, ayant entendu Memnon une seconde fois, a voulu répéter son hommage.

M. Jacobs a parfaitement bien lu cette inscription, d'après la copie de Pococke; celle de Salt confirme sa leçon, que M. Welcker a reproduite, parce que M. Jacobs n'avait pas inséré l'inscription dans l'Anthologie Palatine.

On peut être surpris seulement que ce savant critique ait fait une inscription à part des trois lignes qui précèdent les vers. Elles en sont évidemment le titre. Il est vrai que Pococke les a distinguées par un N° différent. Mais son erreur saute aux yeux. Voici le texte:

Καικιλία Τρεβούλλα
δεύτερον ἀκούσασα
Μέμνονος.
Αὐδῆς τὸ πρόσθεν μοῦνον ἐξακούσαντας,
νῦν ὡς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ἠσπάζετο
Μέμνων ὁ παῖς Ἠοῦς τε καὶ Τειθωνοῖο·
Αἴσθησιν ἆρα τῷ λίθῳ φθέγματα
ἡ φύσις ἔδωκε δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων;

" Cecilia Trebulla, ayant entendu une seconde fois Memnon, [a écrit ces vers.]
" Auparavant Memnon, fils de l'Aurore et de Tithon, nous a seulement fait entendre " sa voix; maintenant il nous a salués comme connaissances et amis. La nature, " créatrice de toute chose, a-t-elle donc donné à la pierre le sentiment et la voix?"

Cecilia a mieux réussi cette fois: excepté la pénultième de *Τειθωνοῖο*, qu'elle a pu faire brève, et le mot *ἐξακούσαντας* qui rend le vers choliambe, les trimètres ne sont pas mauvais. M. Jacobs et Welcker, en lisant *ἠσπάσατο*, avaient prêté une faute grave à notre poète; la copie de Salt, qui porte distinctement *ἠσπάζετο*, l'en disculpe. D'après le sens d' *ἆρα*, *num*, j'ai cru devoir donner à la phrase, la tournure interrogative. L'orthographe *ΦΘΕΙΓΜΑΤΑ* est dans les deux copies. On la retrouve au N° suivant, v. 5.

La place qu'occupe cette inscription, tout-à-fait au bas de la jambe gauche, tandis que la précédente est tout-à-fait en haut, montre que toutes deux sont d'une époque postérieure à celles qui sont intermédiaires; autre-

ment Trebulla n'aurait pas laissé entre elles deux un intervalle aussi considérable. La première fois, Trebulla, n'ayant que deux lignes à écrire, les fit mettre au-dessus de toutes les inscriptions qui existaient déjà. La seconde fois, il n'y eut pas moyen d'en faire autant, parce qu'on ne pouvait atteindre plus haut ; on fut donc obligé de prendre la place qui restait libre beaucoup plus bas.

Cette observation, qui n'est pas inutile à l'histoire du Colosse de Memnon, prouve que les inscriptions de Trebulla sont postérieures au règne d'Adrien.

XLII. 55.

Le titre de cette pièce en avait été séparée : mais ici la séparation était un peu autorisée par la copie de Pococke, dans laquelle ce titre est mêlé avec une autre ligne qu'on pouvait croire en faire partie.

On en a trois copies par Pococke, M. Hamilton, et Salt ; elles s'accordent sur la leçon *Καικιλία Τρεβούλλας ἔγραψα ἀκούσασα τοῦδε Μέμνονος.*

Le génitif *Τρεβούλλας* après le nominatif *Καικιλία* me fait douter que ce soit la même personne que *Cecilia Trebulla* qui a écrit les deux N^os^ précédens. D'ailleurs, celle-ci a écrit d'abord deux vers ; puis cinq autres, après avoir entendu une seconde fois, *δεύτερον ἀκούσασα.* Cette pièce-ci aurait donc été tracée après que Trebulla aurait entendu Memnon une troisième fois ; mais alors, pourquoi n'aurait-elle pas mis *τρίτον ἀκούσασα* ? L'expression *ἀκούσασα τοῦδε Μέμνονος* annonce qu'elle n'a entendu Memnon que cette seule fois. Je crois donc que l'auteur est la fille de *Cecilia Trebulla*, portant le même prénom que sa mère ; et je traduis : " Moi, Cecilia fille de [Cecilia] " Trebulla, j'ai écrit [ces vers], ayant entendu ce [fameux] Memnon."

Quant aux vers, la copie de Pococke est assez exacte. Cependant Leich n'en avait lu que quelques vers ; Jablonski s'était trompé, comme lui, sur le sens de l'inscription entière, dont Pott, Buttmann et M. Jacobs ont rectifié presque tous les passages ; et j'ai peu de chose à changer à la leçon que ce dernier en a donnée dans l'Anthologie.[1] Les corrections proposées en dernier lieu par M. Welcker[2] ne sont point fondées :

ἔθραυσε Καμβύσης με τόνδε τὸν λίθον
βασιλέος ἐφοῦ εἰκόν' ἐκμεμαγμένον·
φωνὴ δ' ὀδυρμὸς ἦν πάλαι μοι, Μέμνονος

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[1] *Anth. Palat. Append.* N° 391.

[2] *Sylloge Epigr.* p. 292.

τὰ πάθη γοῶσα, δὴν ἀφεῖλε Καμβύσης·
ἄναρθρα δὴ νῦν κἀσαφῆ τὰ φθέγματα
ὀλοφύρομαι τῆς πρόσθε λείψανον τύχης.

" Cambyse m'a brisé, moi cette pierre que voici, représentant l'image d'un roi de " l'Orient. Jadis, je possédais une voix qui déplorait les malheurs de Memnon. " Depuis long-temps, Cambyse me l'a enlevée. Maintenant mes plaintes ne sont plus " que des sons inarticulés et vagues, triste reste de ma fortune passée."

J'ai rétabli la crase *εἰκόν' ἐκ* et *κἀσαφῆ*. Au vers 4, on avait lu *γοῶσα, ἣν ἀφεῖλε*; mais, il y a au-dessus de l' A de ΓΟΩCA un Δ; M. Boissonade pense qu'il faut le joindre avec HN pour en faire l'adverbe ΔHN, leçon que j'ai adoptée, en joignant *δὴν* avec *ἀφεῖλε* plutôt qu'avec *γοῶσα*, parce que cet adverbe se met le plus ordinairement avant le verbe, dont il modifie le sens.

XLIII. 40.

Ces trois lignes sont placées immédiatement au-dessous de l'inscription d'Hermogène (No. XXIX); et, d'après la copie de Pococke, on serait tenté de l'y réunir, si l'on ne voyait facilement qu'elle forme une inscription distincte.

Quoique la copie de Pococke soit complète, personne n'en avait essayé la restitution. D'après cette copie, la première ligne commence par ΥΔHENTA, et la seconde par NOCIΔHTHC; c'est pour chacune, trois lettres de plus que dans la copie de Salt; on y découvre deux vers qui se lisent ainsi:

[Α]ὐδήεντά σε, Μέμνον, ἐ[γὼ] Πανι[ων] ὁ σιδήτης,
τὸ πρὶν ἐπυνθανόμην, νῦν δὲ παρὼν ἔμαθον.

" Moi, Panion de Sidé, j'avais appris auparavant, mais je sais maintenant, pour en " avoir été le témoin, ô Memnon, que tu es doué d'une voix."

Ce qui manque au nom propre, doit être une brève et une longue finissant par un N. Ces conditions sont remplies par le mot ΠAN[ΙΩN], qui n'a rien que de naturel; du nom de ΠAN, génitif ΠANOC, on a pu dériver ΠANΙΩN;

comme du diminutif ΠΑΝΙCΚΟC dérive le nom propre ΠΑΝΙCΚΙωΝ,[1] ou des noms de divinités, Isis, Sarapis, Apis, Plutus, Cronus, les noms propres *Ision, Sérapion, Apion, Plution, Cronion.* Il ne m'en vient pas, en ce moment, d'exemple ; mais il doit s'en trouver. La première de *Παν*ίων doit être longue. Mais il ne faut être trop scrupuleux quand il s'agit de noms propres. *Ὁ σιδήτης, natif de Sidé,* ville de Pamphylie, est une leçon indubitable. Cet ethnique est connu.[2] Antiochus VII avait pris de cette ville son surnom de Sidétès.

XLIV et XLV. 49.

Cette inscription est du petit nombre de celles dont Pococke a donné une copie plus complète et plus exacte, en certains points, que celle de Salt. Néanmoins les efforts de Jablonski et de M. Jacobs sont restés tout-à-fait infructueux.

Pococke a réuni en une seule inscription les six premières lignes, et en a formé une seconde des deux dernières ; division que M. Jacobs a adoptée.[3] Quant à Jablonski il n'avait pris que le vers contenu dans les lignes 4, 5, et 6, négligeant tout le reste ;[4] les auteurs de la Description de Thèbes,[5] et récemment M. Welcker,[6] n'ont fait que reproduire ce même vers.

On s'est entièrement trompé sur tout ceci. Il est évident, au contraire, que les deux premières lignes forment une inscription distincte en deux vers ; et les six autres, une seconde inscription en trois vers. Je divise donc le N° 49 en deux, qui seront les N°s XLIV. et XLV.

XLIV.

La première ligne se lit sans difficulté :

Ὁ σαρδιηνὸς Παρδάλας δὶς ἤχουσα.

Ce Pardalas de Sardes a laissé un souvenir dans les Syringes de Thèbes, (V. le N° 2 des inscriptions des Tombeaux des Rois, commençant par *Παρδάλας Σαρδιανός.*) Il est encore question d'un Pardalas, sur un monument cité par Gori.[7] La forme *Σαρδιηνὸς* annonce des vers. Cette ligne est en effet un

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[1] V. mes *Recherches sur l'Egypte*, p. 328.

[2] Arrian. *Anab.* 1, 26, 6. (Σιδίτης).—Steph. Byz. v. Σίδη. cf. Frœlich. *Annal. Syr.* p. 70.

[3] *Denkschrift. Königl. Akad. von Mün.* p. 65. [4] *De Memnone*, p. 111.

[5] p. 115. [6] *Sylloge Inscr.* p. 253. [7] *Columb.* N° 282.

vers choliambe passable. La seconde ligne sera probablement un vers de même nature. La copie de Pococke donne :

MEMNHCOMCCCEYKANCMHCIBIB —

ce qui revient à celle de Salt :

MEMNHCOMNCEYKANΘIIHICIBYB.

M. Jacobs a lu :

Μέμνονος ὁμοῦ σὺν τῇ ἐμῇ συμβίῳ.

Mais cela est bien loin du texte, duquel je tire, sans nul changement,

Μεμνήσομαι σεῦ κἀν ἐμῇσι βίβ[λοισι ou *βύβλοισι*]

autre vers choliambe, comme le premier. Tous deux signifient : " Moi, le Sardien Pardalas, j'ai entendu deux fois. Je ferai mention de toi, [, Memnon,] dans mes livres."

Si l'on prend le mot *livres* à la lettre, on en conclura que Pardalas était quelque auteur qui se proposait d'écrire la relation de ses voyages. Mais peut-être que *βίβλοι* ne veut dire ici que les *tablettes*, le *carnet* du voyageur, comme le *libellus* des Latins. Dans ce cas, Pardalas promet à Memnon de ne le point oublier sur ses tablettes.

XLV.

Ces six lignes forment, si je ne me trompe, trois vers, deux hexamètres et un pentamètre. Le second n'offre nulle difficulté ; c'est celui que Jablonski a lu, et qu'on a reproduit d'après lui. Le premier est tronqué à la fin. M. Jacobs a suppléé *τοτ' ἄνδρες* : mais les lettres CEON de la copie de Salt repoussent ce supplément. On lirait *λίθον* ou *θεὸν* si la mesure ne s'y opposait ; ou *δέμας σον*, si la suite ne montrait qu'on ne s'adresse pas à Memnon ; les conditions voulues sont remplies par la leçon suivante :

Εἰ καὶ λωβητῆρες ἐλυμήναν[το κολο]*σσόν.*

On voudrait voir l'article devant *κολοσσόν* ; mais il ne faut pas tant exiger de vers improvisés par un romain.

Le second ne renfermait pas plus que le premier le nom de celui qui les a faits. C'est dans les lignes suivantes qu'il faut chercher ce nom ; cette seule observation montre qu'on ne doit pas les séparer de ce qui précède,

comme l'a fait M. Jacobs, qui lit ΕΚΛΥΟΝ ΑΥΔΗϹ ΚΑΤΟΥΛΟϹ...ΘΗΒΑΙΟϹ. Mais la copie de Pococke et celle de Salt donnent ΗϹ et non ΑΥΔΗϹ; le premier a lu en outre Ο ΘΗΒΑΙΔΟϹ, et le second ΘΗΒΑΙΔΟϹ. Quant à ΤΑΓΟϹ, dont M. Jacobs n'a su que faire, c'est le terme poétique *ταγὸς* signifiant *chef, gouverneur*. De-là se tire naturellement le pentamètre

ἔκλυον ἧς Κάτουλος ταγὸς ὁ Θηβαΐδος.

ἧς pour *αὐτῆς* rapporté à *ὀμφὴν*, qui est plus haut. La pénultième de *Κάτουλος* est brève, comme dans le latin *Catulus;* ce qui a lieu très souvent pour l'*u* des Latins, quand il est bref; ainsi *Πόστοῦμος*,[1] *Ποῦδενς*;[2] les trois vers réunis seront:

εἰ καὶ λωβητῆρες ἐλυμήναντ[ο κολο]σσὸν,
θειοτάτου νύκτωρ ὀμφὴν ἔπι Μέμνονος ἦλθον·
ἔκλυον ἧς Κάτουλος ταγὸς ὁ Θηβαΐδος.

" Quoique des mutilateurs aient brisé ce Colosse, je suis venu la nuit pour entendre la " voix du très divin Memnon. Je l'ai entendue, moi, Catulus, chef de la Thébaïde."

Catulus veut dire probablement: " Quoique le Colosse ait éprouvé des " mutilations, il n'en a pas moins conservé une voix que je suis venu en- " tendre." Mais notre Romain n'était peut-être pas assez maître de la langue grecque pour dire précisément ce qu'il voulait. Le choix du mot *ὀμφὴ*, proprement *voix divine*, qu'on pouvait remplacer par *αὐδὴ* ou *φωνὴ*, a été amené par l'épithète *θειοτάτου*. Le second vers présente la même idée que la prose de Lucien: *ἐπὶ τὸν Μέμνονα ἐλθών*.[3]

Le titre de *ταγὸς Θηβαΐδος* ne peut désigner que le chef suprême de la Thébaïde, qu'on appelait, dans le langage administratif, *ἐπιστράτηγος*.[4] Cet exemple doit se joindre à tous ceux que j'ai cités, pour montrer que ces épistratèges étaient toujours des Romains. Il en est encore un autre qui ne m'a été connu que par les inscriptions des Tombeaux des Rois, recueillies par Salt; le N° 9 (p. 71.) fait mention d'un épistratège du nom de *Titianus*. Jusqu'ici, je ne connais qu'une seule exception fournie par une inscription de Philes; mais elle appartient à l'an XI d'Auguste, c'est-à-dire à une époque où l'Egypte sortait à peine de la domination des Lagides.

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[1] *Anth. Gr.* II, 126.—*Anth. Pal.* II, 266.
[2] Cf. Welcker, *Sylloge Epigr.* p. 108.
[3] *Philops.* § 33.
[4] V. mes *Recherches*, &c. p. 275, 279.

XLVI. 69.

La copie de Salt est un peu plus complète que celle qu'a donnée Pococke ; mais elle est encore bien mutilée. Il est évident, par le dessin de Pococke, que la pierre est en cet endroit fort endommagée. Cela est d'autant plus regrettable qu'à en juger par plusieurs traits, cette inscription nous transmettait une circonstance dont il n'existe aucune autre trace dans l'antiquité.

D'abord, il est évident que ce sont des vers hexamètres ; les fins de ligne ne permettent point le doute là-dessus. Une analyse exacte conduit à une restitution bien probable des trois premiers.

D'abord, le commencement *οὐκ ἀκάρηνος* est certain. L'auteur disait que jadis Memnon n'était pas, comme maintenant, privé de sa tête. Au second vers, la leçon **ΗΜΕΡΙΗΔ** est certaine ; ce qui donne *ἠμερίῃ δὲ*, et appelle un substantif féminin, qui se trouve en effet après la lacune ; car, **ΝΤΟΛΗ** ne peut être que *ἀντολίῃ*, et le mot qui suit **ΧΕΛΙΟΙΟ**, que *Ἠελίοιο* ; ils terminent très-bien l'hexamètre, *ἀντολίῃ ἠελίοιο* : il y a une crase comme dans *εἰλαπινὴ ἠὲ μέγας*.[1] Enfin, au 3ᵉ vers, on distingue parfaitement *θεσπίζων* ; puis *μέρος ὤν* : ces derniers mots font évidemment allusion à l'état de mutilation du Colosse, par opposition à ce qu'il était autrefois : ensuite, on peut lire *ὠδὶ προσάϋσεν*, ce qui finit le vers. Dès-lors, il devient probable que l'on a voulu opposer la voix qu'il possédait, étant brisé, avec le silence qu'il gardait lorsqu'il était entier. Toute autre analyse des vestiges conservés me paraîtrait incomplète et inexacte.

Si telle est l'idée qui était exprimée dans le premier vers, quelles que soient d'ailleurs les termes que l'auteur avait employés, on pourrait lire ainsi le commencement :

οὐκ ἀκάρηνος ἔ[ην ποτὲ,[2] *μήδ' ἐβόησεν ἐῴος]*
Μέμνων· ἠμερίῃ δ' [εἶτ' ἀ]ντολίῃ ἠελίοιο
θεσπίζων, μέρος ὤν θ' . . . . . ὠδὶ προσάϋσεν.

" Jadis l'oriental Memnon n'était point privé de sa tête, et ne résonnait pas : mais " ensuite, réduit à une partie de lui-même, et rendant un oracle chaque jour au lever " du soleil, ... il retentit de cette manière . . . . . "

Le fait qui ressort de cette restitution est précisément celui qui résulte des recherches consignées dans le Mémoire dont j'ai déjà parlé. J'ai prouvé que

[1] Hom. *Odyss.* A. 226.

[2] Ou bien *πάλαι, οὐδ'*.

le Colosse de Memnon n'a point fait entendre de voix, tant qu'il est resté intact. Mais, comme cette circonstance n'est mentionnée nulle part dans l'antiquité, il serait peut-être étrange que l'auteur de ces vers fût le seul qui l'eût connue : c'est ce qui me donne des doutes sur le sens de cette inscription.

On pourrait croire, et ce serait plus naturel, que l'auteur a voulu dire que maintenant Memnon ne rendait plus un aussi beau son qu'autrefois, quand il n'était pas brisé; idée que Cecilia Trebulla a exprimée (N° XLII); et on lirait, en conséquence, *οὐχὶ προσάϋσεν* au 3e vers. Mais j'avoue que, tout bien pesé, le sens me paraîtrait manquer de suite et d'ensemble ; et je m'en tiens à la première leçon, quelque improbable que me paraisse à moi-même l'énoncé du fait qui en résulte.

XLVII. 67.

C'est l'inscription gravée sur la partie antérieure du piédestal, et dont Pococke a donné une assez bonne copie. Leich, D'Orville, Toup, Buttmann et M. Jacobs s'en sont occupés successivement ; le texte que ce dernier en a donné dans ses deux éditions de l'Anthologie, ne laisse rien à désirer ; je n'y fais qu'un seul changement.

Ζώειν, εἰναλίη Θέτι, Μέμνονα καὶ μέγα φωνεῖν
μάνθανε, μητρώῃ λαμπάδι θαλπόμενον,
Αἰγύπτου λιβυκῇσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσιν, ἔνθ' ἀποτάμνει
καλλίπυλον Θήβην Νεῖλος ἐλαυνόμενος.
Τὸν δὲ μάχης ἀκόρητον Ἀχιλλέα μήτ' ἐνὶ Τρώων
φθέγγεσθαι πεδίῳ, μήτ' ἐνὶ Θεσσαλίῃ.

" Apprends, ô Thétis, toi qui résides dans la mer, que Memnon, échauffé par le " flambeau maternel, élève sa forte voix, au pied des montagnes libyennes de l'Egypte, " là où le Nil, dans son cours, divise Thèbes aux belles portes ; tandis que ton Achille, " insatiable de combats, reste muet dans les champs des Troyens, comme en " Thessalie."

Voilà enfin une pièce remarquable par la pensée et l'expression. On y sent un homme pénétré de la lecture des bons modèles. On s'en étonne peu, lorsqu'on sait qu'elle a pour auteur un poète de profession, Asclépiodote, qui a pris le soin de se nommer en tête. Dans la copie de Salt, on lit ΠΟΙΗΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ, ce qui est d'une incorrection choquante ; au moins faudrait-il *Ἀσκληπιοδότου τοῦ ποιητοῦ*. Mais, dans la copie de Pococke, et dans celle de M. Hamilton, on ne lit, en tête de l'in-

scription, que ΑCΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ; c'est à la fin, c'est-à-dire après le sixième vers, qu'on lit ΠΟΙΗΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ. C'est-là certainement la vraie leçon. Salt se sera trompé ; peut-être qu'en remettant sa copie au net, il aura oublié que la ligne ΠΟΙΗΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ est placée à la fin. Au reste, le mot ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟC placé ainsi tout seul doit s'entendre du *Procurator Cæsaris*, *ἐπίτροπος Καίσαρος*. Notre poète Asclépiodote était donc, en même temps, *procurateur de César*.

Le seul changement que j'ai fait à la copie de Pococke est au troisième vers. Toup avait lu *ἔνθ' ἀποτάμνει*, comme Brunck et M. Jacobs dans sa première édition de l'Anthologie. Depuis, ce dernier a reçu *ὧν ἀποτάμνει*, correction de Buttmann. La copie de Salt portant ωNΘΑΠΟΤΑΜΝΕΙ, j'ai dû rétablir *ἔνθ' ἀποτάμνει*, dont le sens a une grande précision géographique. En effet, le poète ne parle pas ici de la *Thèbes Romaine*, *Διόσπολις*, qui, située sur la rive droite du Nil, était réellement séparée des *montagnes libyques* par le Nil : il parle, en général, de *Thèbes*, de la ville antique qui s'étendait sur les deux rives du fleuve, et conséquemment qu'il traversait par le milieu ; c'est le sens de *ἔνθ' ἀποτάμνει . . . . Θήβην . . . Νεῖλος*. Ainsi Denys le Périégète dit du Tibre : *ὃς ἱμερτὴν ἀποτέμνεται ἄνδιχα Ῥώμην.*[1] L'expression est ici d'une propriété remarquable.

XLVIII. 62.

Inscription déjà publiée par M. Hamilton, et expliquée par moi dans le Journal des Savans,[2] où j'ai montré qu'elle se compose de vers entiers tirés d'Homère ; et fait voir que cet art de traiter un sujet avec des vers de l'Iliade ou de l'Odyssée, auxquels on ne changeait rien, était celui qu'exerçaient une classe de poètes qui se qualifiaient, comme celui-ci, de *poètes homériques*.

Ὦ πόποι, ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀ[φθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι.[3]*]*
ἦ μάλα τις θεὸς ἔνδον, οἳ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,[4]
ἤϋσεν φωνήν· κατὰ δ' ἴσχεθε λαὸν ἅπαντα,[5]
οὐ γάρ πως ἂν θνητὸς ἀνὴρ τάδε μηχανόφτο.[6]

" Grands Dieux ! quel prodige étonnant frappe mes regards ! C'est quelque dieu, l'un " de ceux qui habitent le vaste ciel, qui, enfermé là-dedans, vient de faire entendre sa

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[1] V. 364. cf. v. 230, 661, 1094. Ce poète n'emploie que le moyen *ἀποτέμνεσθαι*.
[2] *Ann.* 1823. p. 751—758. [3] Il. N. 99. O. 286. Γ. 344. Φ. 54. *Odyss.* T. 36.
[4] *Odyss.* T. 40. [5] *Odyss.* Ω. 530. [6] *Odyss.* Π. 194.

" voix, et retient tout le peuple [assemblé]. En effet, jamais un mortel ne pourrait
" produire de telles choses."

Après ces vers, on lit, *'Αρείου 'Ομηρικοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐκ μουσείου* : et dans la copie de M. Hamilton,

ΑΡΓΕΙΟΥ ΟΜΗΡΙΚΟΥ ΠΟΙΗΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΥ
ΑΚΟΥΣΑΝΤΟΣ.

La leçon *'Αρείου* doit être la meilleure. Le nom *Argius* est douteux ; celui d'*Arius*, au contraire, fort connu. Quant au participe *ἀκούσαντος*, qui manque à la copie de Salt, je le retrouve en tête de l'inscription suivante, où il ne se rattache à rien. Il est évident que celle-ci est placée au-dessous de l'inscription homérique d'Arius ; de manière que Salt, ou celui qui a copié pour lui les inscriptions, aura pu rapporter à l'inscription inférieure, le mot *ἀκούσαντος*, qui appartenait réellement à l'autre.

Nous traduirons le titre : " Arius, poète homérique du Musée, [a écrit ces " vers], ayant entendu [Memnon]."

XLIX. 18.

Inscription inédite, placée, comme on vient de le dire, au-dessous de la précédente.

Les vers se lisent assez distinctement.

Τούτοις τοῖς ἐλέγοις Πετρωνίανός σε γεραίρω,
αὐδήεντι θεῷ μουσικὰ δῶρα διδούς,
Πατρόθεν οὔνομ' ἔχων 'Ασιηνὸς (?), 'Ιταλὸς ἀνήρ.
'Αλλὰ σύ μοι ζώειν δηρὸν, ἄναξ, χάρισαι.
Πολλοὶ ἅμα στείχουσι δαήμεναι, ἢ ῥ' ἔτι Μέμνων
τοῦ λοιποῦ γήρυν σώματος ἐντὸς ἔχει.
Αὐτὰρ ὅ γε στείνων, κεφαλῆς τ' ἄτερ ἥμενος, αὐδᾷ,
ὕβριν Καμβύσεω μητέρι μεμφόμενος.
Αὖτ' ἂν δ' ἠέλιος φαέθων ἀκτεῖνας ἀνίσχῃ
ἦμαρ σημαίνει τοῖς παρεοῦσι βροτοῖς.

" Moi, Petronianus, qui tiens de mon père le nom d'Asianus, et Italien, je t'honore
" par ces vers élégiaques, en faisant à un dieu, qui me parle, un présent poétique.
" Mais [en retour], ô roi, accordes-moi une longue vie.

" Beaucoup viennent [en ce lieu] pour savoir si Memnon conserve une voix dans la
" partie du corps qui lui reste. Quant à lui, assis [dans son trône,] privé de sa tête,
" il résonne, en soupirant, pour se plaindre à sa mère de l'outrage de Cambyse : et
" lorsque le brillant soleil lance ses rayons, il annonce le jour aux mortels ici présens."

V. 1. La pénultième de *Πετρωνιανὸς* est prise pour brève ; licence qu'on se permet souvent dans de tels noms ;[1] à moins qu'on n'admette la synérèse, comme dans *Ἀφροδισίας*, *Ἀπολλωνίας*, *Τελευτίας*,[2] où les deux dernières syllabes n'en forment qu'une seule.

V. 2. Memnon est appelé aussi *θεὸς* dans d'autres inscriptions. *Μουσικὰ δῶρα* doit désigner cette pièce de vers elle-même.

V. 3. Le mot ΑCΤΗΝΟC est fort embarrassant : c'est ou un ethnique ou un second nom : le dernier est plus probable. Dans ce dernier cas, la leçon la plus voisine du texte est ΑCΙΗΝΟC, *Ἀσιηνὸς*, en prose *Ἀσιανός* : la mesure n'y serait pas, je le sais ; mais, grâce à la licence accordée pour les noms propres, il se peut que Petronianus ait pris celle de faire longue la dernière de *Ἀσιανὸς* devant la voyelle. La gêne du nom propre la rendrait excusable. Peut-être aussi le copiste a-t-il oublié une lettre, et l'original porte-t-il ΚΙΤΑΛΟC, (*κ' Ἰταλός*). *Asianus* est un nom propre, comme *Asiaticus ;* et c'est peut-être pour qu'on ne le confondît pas avec l'ethnique, que Petronianus l'a fait suivre des mots *Ἰταλὸς ἀνήρ*.

V. 5. *HP* peut se lire aussi *ἦρ'* pour *ἦρα* : le sens reste le même.

V. 6. Cela se rapporte à ce que la moitié supérieure du Colosse était brisée.

V. 7. La particule *γε* est souvent employée ainsi après *αὐτάρ* : *ἀτὰρ δοκεῖ γέ μοι.*[3] *Κεφαλῆς τε ἄτερ*, sans la crase, comme on a vu *εἰκόνα ἐκμεμαγμένον* (N° XLI) ; *δέκα ἔχοντι* (N° XXXV).

V. 8. *Μέμφεσθαι* ne doit signifier ici que *se plaindre ;* ce verbe n'emporte pas toujours l'idée de reproche.[4]

V. 9. ΑΥΤΑΝ est embarrassant. J'ai lu *αὖτ' ἄν* : mais le sens serait plus net avec *εὖτ' ἄν*. Les lettres ΦΛΕΕΩΝ ne peuvent être que *φαέθων*. Quoique *ἥλιος ἀνίσχει* soit une expression consacrée pour dire que le soleil se lève, je ne doute point qu'ici *ἀνίσχῃ* ne soit pris comme verbe transitif, et n'ait pour régime *ἀκτεῖνας* ; ainsi *ἡ γῆ βοτάνας ἀνίσχει,*[5] *la terre pousse en haut les plantes.* On a voulu exprimer le moment où le soleil, s'élevant de dessous l'horison, commence à montrer son disque et lance ses rayons dans les régions élevées du ciel.

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[1] Jacobs *ad Anthol. Pal.* p. 396, 582.—Welck. *Præf. ad Syll. Epigr.* p. XXVI.

[2] Jacobs, p. 939. [3] Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1136.

[4] Jacobs *ad Anthol.* X, p. 289.

[5] Ap. H. Stephan. *Thes. L. G.* col. 3936. C. *ed. Londin.*

Quel que soit ce Petronianus, ses vers ne sont pas mal tournés, et sa pièce est à-peu-près la meilleure après celle du poète Asclépiodote (N° XLVII).

L. 10.

Déjà connue par les copies de Pococke et Norden, de MM. Hamilton et Jomard.

Ἡλιόδωρος Ζήνω-
νος Καισαρείας Πα-
νιάδος ἤκουσα $\overline{Δ}$ καὶ
ἐμνήσθην Ζήνωνος
καὶ Ἀϊανοῦ ἀδελφῶν.

" Moi Héliodore fils de Zénon, de Césarée Panias, j'ai entendu quatre fois, et je me " suis souvenu d'Æanus et de Zénon mes frères."

Le dernier nom AIANOY avait paru douteux. Leich lisait *Κ. Αἰλιανοῦ*, D'Orville *Γαϊανοῦ*, et M. Boissonade *Ῥιανοῦ*: la leçon *Ἀϊανοῦ*, qui est dans toutes les copies, est encore confirmée par une inscription que le même Héliodore a fait inscrire à Philes, et que j'ai publiée.[1]

LI. 13.

C'est un simple titre qui appartenait à un nom propre effacé: *ἔπαρχος Λεγεῶνος.*

LII. 29.

Fragment qui me paraît appartenir à deux inscriptions mutilées.
La première doit être :

Ἀπώνιος ὥρᾳ Α
ἤκουσα [καὶ] Ἀφροδιταρίου τὸ προσκύνημα γέγραφα.

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[1] *Recherches* &c. p. 467.

La leçon ΑΠΩΝΙC est aussi clairement dans la copie de Pococke; ce doit être le nom romain *Aponius:* on trouve ΤΙΤΟC ΑΠΩΝΙΟC dans une inscription d'Athènes,[1] et ΑΠΩΝΙΑ dans une de Khalapsché.[2]

" Moi, Aponius, j'ai entendu à la première heure, et j'ai écrit le proskynéma " d'Aphroditarius."

La ligne d'après est le commencement d'un vers iambique: *ἐμῆς δάμαρτος ἦν ἔχοι . . . . φθέγγη* . . début d'une pièce métrique qui tenait peut-être à la précédente.

Pococke avait mis la ligne ΕΜΗΝΔΑΜΑΡΤΟC au bout des lettres ΚΑΙΚΙΛΙΑΤΡΕΒΟΥΛΛΑC (N° XLII), et l'on avait dû croire qu'elle y tenait.

LIII. 31.

Donnée par M. Hamilton, exactement, au nom près qu'il a lu ΕΜΙΛΙΟC, tandis que la copie de Salt porte ΓΕΜΙΝΟC, qui est la vraie leçon :

Κλαύδιος Γέμινος
ἀραβάρχης καὶ ἐπιστράτη-
γος Θηβαΐδος ἤκουσα,
ἀναπλέων ὥρας $\overline{\Gamma}$
καλαπλέων ὥρας $\overline{B}$.

" Moi, Claude Géminus, arabarque et épistratège de la Thébaïde, j'ai entendu, " en montant, à la 3e heure; en descendant, à la 2e."

J'ai déjà dit (p. 56) ce qu'était l'épistratège de la Thébaïde;[4] on lui donnait aussi le nom d'arabarque, parce que sa juridiction s'étendait sur tout le pays situé entre la Thébaïde et la Mer Rouge, qui, chez les anciens, était considérée comme faisant partie de l'Arabie.

Claude Géminus parcourant la Thébaïde passa à Thèbes; en allant, il entendit le Colosse à trois heures; en revenant, il l'entendit à deux: l'ex-

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[1] Chandl. *Inscr. Ant.* II, No. 63.
[2] Gau, *Ant. de la Nubie*, pl. III. No. 15.
[3] Jacobs, p. 64.
[4] V. mes *Recherches* &c. p. 274.

pression *ἀναπλέων* montre qu'il faisait sa résidence plus bas que Thèbes, sans nul doute à Ptolémaïs, qui, sous les Grecs et les Romains, fut le chef lieu de la Thébaïde et le centre de l'administration. Après *ἥκουσα*, on pourrait croire que le mot *Μέμνονος* se trouvait, mais la longueur des autres lignes s'y oppose : ce complément manque aussi dans les N^os^ L et LII.

LIV. 33.

Donnée par Pococke. M. Jacobs en a essayé la restitution ; mais il n'en a pu déchiffrer que quelques mots.

On peut, je crois, la lire ainsi :

Ἀχιλλεὺς προσκυνήσας ἱερώτατον Μέμνονα, καὶ [μετὰ]
Εὐμένους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐσακούσας θείου
φθέγματος, ἀπέρχομε καταλιπὼν τῷ ἰδίῳ
υἱῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ τὸ ὑπὸ ἀειμνήστῳ λίθῳ [τὴν]
πεπραγμένην φωνὴν [ἀναμνῆσαι ou *ἀναγράψαι]*

Si on ne supplée pas *μετὰ* à la fin de la première ligne, il faudra reconnaître bien des fautes ici : *Εὔμενος* pour *Εὐμένης* ; *τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ* pour *ὁ ἀδελφός* ; et *ἐσακούσας* pour *ἐσακούσαντος* ; car le sens ne pourrait être que, *καὶ Εὐμένους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐσακούσαντος κ. τ. λ.* ; mais l'autre leçon me semble préférable.—L. 3. *ἀπέρχομε* pour *ἀπέρχομαι*, comme *κὲ* pour *καί*.—L. 4. Le texte est peu distinct. Au reste, tout ce grec est bien mauvais.

Le sens est :

> " Achille ayant honoré le très saint Memnon, et ayant entendu la voix divine avec
> " mon frère Eumène, je m'en suis allé, laissant à mon fils Ammonius le soin de men-
> " tionner, au-dessous de la pierre immortelle, la voix qu'elle a rendue."

LV. 68.

Voici encore un témoignage de la présence d'un stratège ; il est inédit.

Le nom ne se lit pas distinctement ; la finale seule est certaine. ΑΛΕΙΝΟC peut être *Μεσσαλεῖνος*. Dans tous les cas, c'est un nom romain, comme celui de tous les épistratèges. La 3e ligne est presque effacée ;

mais ΒΙΩ ne peut provenir que de *συμβίῳ*; et l'on distingue avant le mot CωCIAI. Je lis :

. . . . . *Μεσσ*]*αλεῖνος*,
ἐπιστράτηγος Θηβαΐδος,
σὺν Πουβλίᾳ Σωσίδι τῇ συμ-
βίῳ, ἤκουσα Μέμνονος
. . . . . *παχὼν δὶς Ā*

" Moi . . . . . Messalinus, épistratège de Thébaïde, avec ma femme Publia Sosis, " j'ai entendu Memnon, l'an . . . . . au mois de Pachôn, deux fois, à 1½ h."

Le quantième du mois a été omis, comme dans le N° XXVI. Pachôn répond à Avril—Mai.

LVI. 53.

Fragment inédit. Le premier mot ΑΡΜΕΙΝΟΣ nous cache peut-être *Ἀρμένιος*, le nom d'un préfet qui se trouve dans une inscription des Syringes (No. 38). Dans la suite, on n'aperçoit que *ἐμῆς Καμβύσης . . . γὰρ . . . μητέρα . . . . . σε δ' ὑπὲρ*, ou *δ' ἄτερ*, mots qui semblent avoir appartenu à des vers.

LVII. 45.

Ce n'est qu'un nom propre de femme, *Σατορνίνης*.

LVIII. 46.

Fragment acéphale, dont il y a peu de chose à tirer. Peut-être : [*ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοκράτορος . . . . .*] *τοῦ κυρίου Διονυσίας τὸ προσκύνημα* [c. à d. *ἐγράφη·*] *πολλάκις δ' ἀκούσεται*. On peut lire *Διονυσιὰς* au nominatif; alors ce sera : *Διονυσιὰς τὸ προσκύνημα* [*ἔγραψε* ou *ἔγραψα*]. En tous cas, cette *Dionysia* ou *Dionysias* semble se promettre qu'elle entendra plusieurs fois le Colosse.

LIX. 21.

Inédite. Dans cette courte inscription, un seul mot est douteux. C'est

ΕΝΑΡΧΟC ; ce ne peut être qu'un nom propre ; puisque la fonction est indiquée après. Ce nom est grec, et sera *Ἔπαρχος, Εὔαρχος, Ἔξαρχος*, ou tout autre de ce genre.

Βαλβεινιανὸς Ἔ . . αρχος ἐθαύμασεν ἀρχιδικαστής. Le nom grec de cet archidicaste confirme la remarque faite plus haut (p. 38).

Section II.—*Inscriptions Latines.*

LX. 65.

Fragment inédit d'une inscription en vers, suivie d'un nom propre avec des qualifications. On y distingue la fin d'un hexamètre et un hexamètre entier :

. . . mini bruto,
auribus ipse meis cepi, sumpsique canorum.

Il pourrait y avoir eu :

PRAEFECTVS. ITEM. RE[RVM. AV]
GVST. IVLIVS. QVINTIVS

Suétone parle d'un *præfectus rerum Augusti.*[1] Au reste, tout cela est incertain.

LXI—LXIII. 5—7.

Ces trois fragmens sont de la même époque, et peut-être de la même main. Ils ne sont pas difficiles à lire ; mais je ne comprends ni la première ligne du N° 5, ni la seconde du N° 6.

Le N° 5 semble appartenir à des vers trochaïques :

Memnonem vatis (ou *vates*) *canorum Maximus . . . .*
Audit et donat . . . . . Musa nam cara Deis.

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[1] In *Vitellio*, § 2.

Ces vers sont peut-être d'un poète nommé *Maximus*, dont le nom se retrouve plus bas, *vatem Maximum*.

Au N° 7 on lit distinctement :

M. FRONTINVS. MEMNONEM. SOLVS. AVDI.

LXIV. 1.

Inédite. Ce doit être M. HERENNIVS. FAVSTVS. ET IVLIVS. FADIVS. COH. VII.

LXV. 4. LXVI. 52.

Deux inscriptions gravées par un personnage de même nom. La seconde est inédite.

L'une peut être *Caius Calpurnius speculator legionis* XXII *Memnonem audivi*. Cependant la sigle 7 devant LEG. indiquant le grade de centurion, la leçon *speculator* est fort douteuse.

L'autre pourrait être *Caius Calpurnius cent.* XXII. La copie porte COH. XXII, mais la leçon COH. est peu vraisemblable, puisque la légion n'avait que *dix* cohortes. Quand il s'agit de cohortes urbaines ou de cohortes de volontaires, le chiffre x est bien souvent dépassé.[1] Mais ce ne peut être ici le cas.

LXVII. 28.

Il s'agit d'un *Claudius Maximus*, soldat ou centurion de la XXII^a^ légion, qui a entendu Memnon à la 1ère heure.

La XXe légion n'étant point stationnée en Egypte, j'ai dû lire XXII, comme porte la copie de M. Jomard.[2]

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[1] Murat. 454, 819 ; 778, 4 ; 848, 4 ; 1015, 2 ; 1030, 7, &c.

[2] *Descr. Egypt. Antiq.* T. v. pl. 55. No. 43.

LXVIII. 34.

Il s'agit encore ici d'un *Claudius Maximus*, peut-être le même que le précédent. On y remarquera les lettres grecques *A*, *T*, *H* pour L, V, E. Déjà publiée par Pococke et dans la Description de l'Egypte.[1]

LXIX. 42.

Déjà publiée par Pococke. Après LEG. $\overline{\text{XXII}}$, il y a les lettres DIECC. La copie de Pococke porte DEIOT. C'est la vraie leçon. La légion $\overline{\text{XXII}}$ est appelée *Dejotariana*, dans une inscription de Gruter,[2] sur quoi l'on peut voir les observations de M. Dilthey.[3] Julius Mithridaticus, tribun de la XXIIe légion *Déjotarienne*, avait entendu Memnon le XIII des Calendes de Juillet à 1 heure. L'année manque.

LXX. 43.

Inédite. Ecrite à côté de la précédente, obliquement, parce que la place gênait le graveur. Ce doit être *C. Cornelius ... tianus coh.* $\overline{\text{VII}}$. *Itur. audi. horâ ...* Il est question d'une *cohors* $\overline{\text{II}}$ *Iturœorum*, dans une inscription de Dekkeh;[4] et la Notice de l'Empire place cette seconde cohorte dans l'Egypte moyenne.[5] Il est donc possible que le chiffre V n'existe pas sur l'original.

LXXI. 48.

Publiée par Norden; copiée ensuite par M. Hamilton et M. Jomard. Jablonski a lu le premier mot C. AEMILIVS: mais toutes les copies portent CAMILIVS, nom qu'on trouve sur quelques inscriptions.[6]

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[1] *Antiq.* T. v. Pl. 55. No. 44. [2] P. 373. n. 4. [3] *De Legione Rom.* XXII. p. 73.
[4] V. mes *Recherches*, &c. p. 477. [5] p. 204. [6] Muratori, 1526, 4. Gruter. 384, 6.

LXXII. 71.

Inédite. La plus grande partie est effacée. La deuxième ligne commence par un mot qui exprimait l'espèce de préfecture dont T. Helvius Lucanus était chargé. Ce personnage, préfet d'Egypte ou de légion, a entendu la voix de Memnon avec sa femme et d'autres personnes, peut-être ses enfans.

Restitution des Inscriptions Grecques recueillies par Salt dans les Tombeaux des Rois à Thèbes, avec de courtes Observations.

No. 1 et 50.—Ὁ δᾳδοῦχος τῶν Ἐλευσινίων Νικαγόρας Μινουκιανοῦ Ἀθηναῖος ἱστορήσας τὰς θείας σύριγγας ἐθαύμασα.

J'observerai que les deux formules, " *ἱστορήσας ἐθαύμασα*," et " *ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα*," sont employées indifféremment dans ces inscriptions, et avec le même sens. Ἱστορεῖν y signifie donc *visiter, venir voir, examiner.* Les anciennes gloses en effet donnent *ἱστορέω, viso;* et Suidas, *ἱστορῆσαι, θεάσασθαι.*

L'époque de cette première inscription est fixée par celle du No. 50, qui a été tracée par le même personnage dans une autre tombe royale; je la lis de cette manière :—Ὁ δᾳδοῦχος τῶν ἁγίων τῶν [peut-être τῶν ἁγιωτάτων] Ἐλευσινίων (ou Ἐλευσῖνι pour ἐν Ἐλ.) μυστηρίων [Νικαγόρας] Ἀθηναῖος, ἱστορήσας τὰς σύριγγας πολλοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις μετὰ τὸν θεῖον Πλάτωνα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ἐθαύμασα, καὶ χάριν εἶχον τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ, τῷ τοῦτό μοι παρασχόντι. " Moi, Dadouque des très-saints mystères Eleusiniens, Nicagoras, fils de Minucianus, Athénien, étant venu visiter les syringes, bien longtemps après Platon d'Athènes, je les ai admirées, et j'ai rendu graces aux Dieux, ainsi qu'au *très-pieux* roi Constantin, qui m'a procuré cette faveur."

Cette inscription est remarquable à plusieurs égards : je me contenterai ici de relever, 1°. le titre de *très-pieux*, donné à Constantin par le Dadouque des mystères d'Eleusis; nouvelle et curieuse preuve de la tolérance de ce prince envers le paganisme : 2°. l'expression *qui m'a procuré cette faveur*, d'où l'on peut conclure que c'est en vertu d'une permission, d'un congé, que le Dadouque est venu visiter l'Egypte.

Quant à Platon, il est fort douteux qu'il ait pu voir ces *Syringes*, ou *Tombeaux des Rois*, à l'époque où il a visité l'Egypte. L'entrée devait en être fermée aux profanes : et Nicagoras n'aura voulu que faire un rapprochement

entre le voyage en Egypte et à Thèbes, de lui Athénien, et celui d'un autre Athénien si fameux.

No. 2.—Παρδάλας [ὁ] σαρδιανὸς ἦλθον [καὶ] ἐμνημόνευσ[α] τοῦ υἱοῦ Κέλερος (?) καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Le même personnage a inscrit son nom au Colosse de Memnon (plus haut, p. 54).

No. 3 et 42.—Ces deux Nos. contiennent le signe de présence du même personnage dans deux tombes différentes, qu'il a visitées le même jour : à moins qu'il n'ait tracé deux fois l'inscription dans la même tombe. Ποτάμων ἱστορήσας σὺν Ποτάμωνι πατρί· L. τ. Τραιανοῦ καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, μεσορὶ ΚΘ, καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ τῆς κυρίας μητρὸς, καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς . . . Puis des caractères illisibles, du moins, pour moi.

Ces deux inscriptions sont identiques ; on y trouve les mêmes fautes—μεσορὰ pour μεσορὶ, et μετρὸς pour μητρός. Ce Potamon était un homme du commun. La date répond au 22 Août de l'an 103 de notre ère.

No. 4.—Τὸ προσκύνημα . . . . . παρὰ Ἀμενώθῃ· ὁ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν [πρ]ώτων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐνθάδε θεοὶ [ἐμὲ σώ]οιεν.]

Cette inscription est difficile à lire et à comprendre. Le nom Ἀμενώθης, est le même que Ἀμενὼθ avec une désinence Grecque, qui se lit dans une inscription métrique du Colosse (plus haut, p. 35); ce qui revient au Φαμενὼθ qu'on voit dans un autre (p. 28) : c'est le nom Egyptien de Memnon.[1]

La tombe où cette inscription a été gravée était sans doute à cette époque considérée comme consacrée à Memnon. Il serait intéressant de savoir si c'est la même, comme je le pense, où a été trouvée une autre inscription que je ne vois point parmi celles de M. Salt, mais qui est publiée dans les Transactions de la Société Royale, Vol. I. Part I. p. 227 : Ἑρμογένης μὲν ἄλλας [au lieu de ἄλλας μὲν] σύριγγας ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα, τήνδε τοῦ Μέμνονος ταύτην εἰσορήσας ὑπερεθαύμασα. Selon l'indication donnée par M. Cooke, qui a copié cette inscription, elle se trouve dans la tombe royale qui est la troisième sur le côté ouest de la vallée des Tombeaux ; mais il dit n'avoir vu aucun des symboles qui se trouvent sur le Colosse de Memnon.

No. 5.—Je ne lis que quelques mots de cette inscription ; mais pas assez pour faire un sens. Dans les 3e et 4e lignes, les mots υἱὸς ἱκετεύων τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ἵλεον καὶ εὐμενῆ ἔγραψα ressortent assez clairement des lettres qu'on y distingue.

La date est également trop peu distincte : les noms κυρίων Σεβαστῶν pourraient s'appliquer à Marc-Aurèle et Lucius Vérus, aussi bien qu'à Septime Sévère et Caracalla. On peut hasarder de lire M. Αὐρηλίου [καὶ Λ. Οὐήρου τῶν] κυρίων σεβαστῶν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ.

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[1] Le sens des mots qui suivent ne me paraît pas clair. L'expression ὁ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν πρώτων se rapporte-t-il à Memnon ? cela n'est pas impossible.

No. 6.—[Τήνδε τὴν σύριγγα ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα καὶ . . . . . ἐ]μνήσθη[ν] Ἀσκληπιάδης ἰατρὸς Λεγεῶνος $\bar{B}$ Τραιανῆς ἰσχυρᾶς. L. $\bar{ι}$. Ἀντωνείνου, μεχεὶρ A.

" Moi, Asclépiade, médecin de la 2ᵉ Légion Trajane Forte, j'ai visité cette sy-
" ringe, et me suis souvenu de . . . . la Xe année d'Antonin, le 1er de méchir."

La date répond au 26 Janvier de l'an 147 de notre ère.

No. 7.—Ce sont deux mauvais vers, dont le second offre une énorme faute de quantité.

Θαύματα συρίγγων ὀρόων μέγ' ἐθαύμασα . . . .
τήνδε μάλιστ' ὀρόων ἐθαύμασα Μέμνονος ἐσθλὴν,
Ἡρακλίδης.

C'est l'idée exprimée en prose dans l'inscription d'Hermogènes (No. 4.)

No. 8.——Πτολεμαῖος Βουσειρείτης ἱστορήσας σὺν γυναικὶ Κυπρίᾳ καὶ τέκνῳ Πτολεμαίῳ [ἐθαύμασε], ἐμνήσθη Μεν[ουθ]ιάδος καὶ Πάφου τέκνων.

Le nom de *Menuthias* doit être celui d'une femme, et provenir d'un des surnoms d'Isis qui avait un temple à *Menuthis*, bourgade près de Canope; d'où elle était appelée Ἶσις Μενουθιὰς ou ἡ ἐν Μενούθι. Peut-être, au lieu de Πάφου, faut-il lire Ἐπάφου.

No. 9.—Τιτιανὸς ἡγεμὼν Θηβαΐδος ἱστορήσας ἐθαύμασεν . . . . . .
. . . . . τῶν σοφῶν Αἰγυπτίων.

Si la leçon Θηβαΐδος est exacte, l'expression ἡγεμὼν Θηβαΐδος pourrait répondre à *l'Epistratège de la Thébaïde*, qui est devenu plus tard *le Duc de la Thébaïde*. Je ne distingue pas les mots qui précèdent τῶν σ. Αἰγ. et qui doivent être le régime de ἐθαύμασα.

No. 10.—Φιλάστριος φιλόσοφος τὸ $\bar{B}$. θεασάμενος.

No. 11.—Ἰάσιος (?) καὶ Συνέσιος ἐκ Τήν[ου] ταύτην σύριγγα ἰδόντες ἐθαυμάσαμεν.

Les lettres EK THN doivent, ce me semble, tenir à l'indication de la patrie de ces personnages. Ce sera donc ἐκ Τήν[ου], ou tout autre nom de lieu commençant par les mêmes lettres. On pourrait lire aussi ἕκτην ταύτην σύριγγα, *cette sixième syringe.*

No. 12.—Πούπλιος Αἴλιος Φιλόδαμος ἐθεώρησα . . . . . τὸ προσκύνημα καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

No. 13.—Μαξιμιανὸς ἐθαύμασα.

No. 14.—Θεοχάρης σχολαστικὸς Ἠπειρώτης ἐθαύμασα. " Théocharès, scholastique (c. à d. *avocat*), Épirote," &c.

No. 15.—Διονύσιος.

No. 16.—Πετρώνιος Ἀνδρομάχου ἐθαύμασα L. $\bar{ϛ}$ Ἀδριανοῦ, τυβὶ $\bar{Α}$. La date répond au 30 Décembre de l'an 122.

No. 17.—Πορφύριος ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα.

No. 18.—Παπίριος Δομίτιος Ἀπιανὸς στρατηγὸς Ὀμβείτου ἱστορήσας καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα ἐποίησα τῆς συμβίου καὶ τῶν τέκνων L. ΙΕ. θὼθ ΙΘ.

Si Ἀπιανὸς est écrit par un seul Π, c'est un dérivé du nom Egyptien grécisé Ἀπίων; si par deux Π, c'est le dérivé du nom Appius. Le nom de l'empereur manque après la date; on ne peut la déterminer.

No. 19.—Φίρμος.

No. 20.—Αἰδέσιος ἐθαύμασα τὴν σύριγγα τοῦ Μέμνονος.

No. 21.—" Marcus Ulpius Antiochianus Pulcher, d'Emésa, tribun militaire de la Légion VIIe
" Gemina, Felix, et de la Légion VIIe Auguste, j'ai visité [ces grottes], sous le
" consulat d'Apronianus et de Paullus, la veille des ides de Novembre, heureuse-
" ment, accompagné d'Epictète, acteur."

Les prénoms Marcus Ulpius annoncent que l'époque n'est pas antérieure à Trajan. Il y eut un consul du nom d'Apronianus en l'an 118 et en l'an 123. Mais le collègue du premier s'appelait Quinctius Niger; et celui du second, Pætinus. Je ne trouve le nom de Paullus nulle part. L'original porterait-il PAETINO au lieu de PAVLLO?

Le mot *actor* est bien vague: un des sens qu'on lui donnait était *exigendis pecuniis præpositus*, répondant au πράκτωρ des Grecs; ce que nous appelons un *percepteur*.

No. 22.—Ἀντωνία Ἀγριππείνα ὑπατικὴ ἱστόρησα. Le mari de cette Antonia avait été consul.

No. 23.—Ἀρποκρατίων ἱστορήσας. No. 24.—Ἀντώνιος Τιτιανός.

No. 25.—Κλαύδιος Κομμοδιανὸς χειλιαρχικὸς [Λεγιῶνος Γ] Κυρηναϊκῆς τὰς [σύριγγας] ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα L. ΙΑ. Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου τοῦ κυρίου, ἀθὺρ ιτ.

La restitution de la troisième ligne est fondée sur une des inscriptions du Colosse (plus haut, p. 9 et 10), où il est fait mention de la IIIe Légion Cyrénaïque.

Commode n'ayant régné que 13 ans, le chiffre ne peut être un K, comme on pourrait le croire au premier abord; le trait qui suit la lettre I, est le crochet d'un alpha. J'ai lu IA; et la date répond au 12 Novembre de l'an 189 de notre ère.

No. 26.—Κλήμ[ης] Ἑρήμου ἱστορήσας L. Ε. φαμ[ενώθ].

No. 27.—Ἕλενος Ῥούφιος.

No. 28.—Ἰουλιανὸς Γ. Le Γ signifie peut-être que Julien a visité ces grottes trois fois.

No. 29.—Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπαρχος ὁ Θηβῶν ἰδὸν καὶ ἐθαύμασα.

No. 30.—Ἐλπίδιος Ε[ὐτυ]χοῦς σχολαστικὸς ῥητορικὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἱστορήσας ἐθαύμασα.

On pourrait lire *σχολαστικὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας.* La première leçon est plus voisine du texte. Je crois qu'ici *σχολαστικὸς* a le sens du *scholasticus* des Latins, et signifie *declamator, sophista,* (Wouwer. ad Petron. Satyr. VI.) et que *σχολαστικὸς ῥητορικὸς* répond à notre *professeur de Belles-lettres.* Elpidius a cru devoir ajouter *ῥητορικὸς,* parce que l'on aurait pu prendre *σχολαστικὸς,* tout seul, dans le sens d'*avocat.*

No. 31.—Χοσρόης Ἀρμένιος ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα.

No. 32.—Ἰούλιος Δημήτριος χειλιαρχὸς ἱστορήσας, ἐμνήσθην τῆς [συμβίου ou ἀδελφῆς].

No. 33.—Πανόλκιος ἡλιουπολίτης ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα καὶ ἐμνήσθην τῶν ἐμῶν πάντων.

No. 34.—Θεοδώρα ἀνκυρανὴ, γυνὴ . . . . ἼΔρν καὶ [ἐθαύμασα L.] ΙΖ. Χοϊὰκ Α. "Théodora d'An-
" cyre, femme de . . . . j'ai vu et admiré l'an XVII, le 1 de Choïac."

No. 35.—Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος.

No. 36.—Εὐρίων Τεύχους (?), θεραπεύων πάσας τὰς σύριγγας τεθαύμακα.

Le mot *θεραπεύων* doit être pris probablement ici dans le sens de *honorer, vénérer, être plein de vénération.* " Eurion, fils de Teuchès, plein de vénération, a admiré toutes les syringes."

No. 37.—Εὐτυχὴς ἱστορήσας ΛΙΘ Τραιανοῦ καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου . . . . .

No. 38.—Ἀρμένιος Ἀρμενίου Καππαδόκης Ὀρεστιάδες τὸ γένος, ἡγεμὼν τῆς ἐπαρχίας [τὰς] σύριγγας [πάσας], καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἐθαύμασα.

Il faudrait Ὀρεστιάδης τὸ γένος, ou τὸ Ὀρεστιάδες γένος, ou bien encore τὸ γένος τὸ Ὀρεστιάδες. Cette particularité me paraît indiquer que le Cappadocien Arménius était de *Comana;* car elle se rapporte à l'opinion reçue, que le culte de Bellone y avait été apporté par Oreste et sa sœur Iphigénie, et que le nom de *Comana* venait de la chevelure de deuil, déposée par Oreste dans le temple de cette déesse, (Strab. XII, 535). Au dire de Dion Cassius, il existait dans cette ville une famille qui se prétendait issue d'Agamemnon (καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀγαμεμνόνειον δεῦρο ἀεὶ ἔχειν, XXXII, 11); elle avait pris le nom d'*Orestiade,* Ὀρεστιάδες γένος, dont le nom se retrouve encore dans un passage de la Vie d'Isidore de Gaza, par Damascius; il y est question d'une femme, vivant sous le règne de l'empereur Léon, et qui tirait son origine des *Orestiades,* établis près du mont Comane, en Cappadoce; ils se prétendaient descendans de Pélops, par Oreste et Agamemnon, (Damasc. *ap. Photium,* cod. 242. p. 340. *ed.* Bekker.) Strabon nous apprend que les prêtres étaient pris dans la même famille que les rois: ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ἦσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. Serait-ce pousser trop loin la permission de

faire des suppositions dans une matière obscure, que de conjecturer que cette famille était celle des *Orestiades*, dont l'origine se rattachait à la fondation du culte? L'expression *ἡγεμὼν τῆς ἐπαρχίας* nous montre que cet Arménius était gouverneur de l'Egypte. Son nom manque dans la série des préfets connus; mais on sait qu'elle offre de grandes lacunes.

No. 39.—*Αἴλιος Αὐρήλιος . . . .*

No. 40.—Est déjà publiée dans la Grande Description de l'Egypte. Le barbarisme *mirevi* est singulier. Ce *Januarius* était *Primipilaris* (P.P.) d'une légion.

No. 41.—*Παμώνθης Παμώνθου*: nom Egyptien fort commun dans les monumens.

No. 42.—Voyez No. 3.

No. 43.—Je ne lis que *Πλάτων καὶ ἐνταῦθα*, mots qui étaient suivis probablement de *ἐμνήσθην τοῦ*, &c. Les premières lettres paraissent être les restes du mot *βασιλέως*.

No. 44.—*Νεκτάριος Νεικομηδεὺς ὁ λαμπρότατος καθολικὸς Αἰγύπτου ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα.*

Le *Καθολικὸς* de l'Egypte était le *rationalis*, le *procurator fisci*. On ne le trouve pas avant les Antonins.

No. 45.—*Τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀμβροσίας τῆς . . . .* "Proscynema d'Ambrosia fille . . . ."

No. 46.— . . . *ἐμνήσθη Θεόκριτος ὁ σφαιράρχης.* Ce dernier mot se lit distinctement; le sens naturel est, *qui préside aux jeux de balle:* mais je n'entends pas ce que cela veut dire; à moins que ce nom n'indique une fonction analogue à celle du *γυμνασιάρχης*, comme qui dirait *ὁ τῇ σφαιρομαχίᾳ ἐπιστάτης. Σφαιρομαχία* répond exactement au mot *boxing*.

No. 47.—*Φλάβιος σοφιστής.*

No. 48.—*Αἴλιος Διονύσιος καὶ Λάμπων φιλόσοφος εἴδομεν.*

Cet Ælius Dionysius est-il le grammairien de ce nom, natif d'Alexandrie? Cela n'a rien d'invraisemblable.

No. 49.—*Τὸ προσκύνημα τῶν τέκνων Ἀρτεμιδώρου καὶ . . . .*

No. 50.—Voyez No. 1. p. 69.

No. 51.—*Βουρίχιος σχολαστικὸς ἀσκαλωνίτης ἱστορήσας, κατέγνων ἐμαυτοῦ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐγνωκέναι τὸν λόγον . . . . ἀπεδεξάμην . . . .* Je ne puis lire que ces mots: mais je ne sais pas ce que ce *Bourichius* (ou Burrichius, car son nom est écrit plus bas avec deux ρ), *avocat d'Ascalon*, a voulu dire: on diroit qu'il *se reproche de n'avoir pas connu, d'avoir ignoré la raison, ou le récit*, &c.

No. 52.—C'est la seule inscription Chrétienne que contienne cette collection. Je lis : *τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δεσπόζοντος ζῶντάς δε* (pour *τε*) *καὶ νεκροὺς θεοῦ προνοίᾳ ἐχρήσατο ἡ μακαρία σοῦ ψυχὴ δούλη* (?) *ἐν τέλει τοῦ βίου τούτου, μηνὶ φαωφὶ* Ī *ἰνδικτιώνος* τ̄· *ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύσει ἐν σκηναῖς ἁγιωτάταις* (ou *ἁγίων*)· *ἀμήν.*

Δε pour *τε* est dû à une prononciation vicieuse : l'iotacisme a causé l'orthographe *προνίᾳ* et *ἀναπαύσι* : la sigle inconnue ⚘ me paraît se composer d'un Δ et d'un Ψ, et représenter *ψυχὴ δούλη*, expression si commune dans les monumens Chrétiens. *Προνοίᾳ ἐχρήσατο* est comme *βοηθείαις χρᾶσθαι* dans S. Paul (1 Cor. VII, 21), et *ἐν σκηναῖς ἁγιωτάταις* ou *ἁγίων* est calqué sur les *αἰώνιοι σκηναὶ* de S. Luc : *ἵνα δέξωνται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς* (XVI, 9).

Cette inscription prouve que les Syringes ont quelquefois servi de sépulture aux Chrétiens.

No. 53.—*Σπούδασις* (f. *Σπουδαῖος*) *Παλατῖνος υἱὸς Φίλωνος* (?) [*δι*]*κολόγου Αἰγύπτου ἐθεασάμην.* La restitution—*δικολόγου* laisse peu de doute. Je crois que ce *δικολόγος* répond au *δικαιοδότης* de Strabon (XVII, 797), qui est le *juridicus* du Digeste. *Δικολόγος Αἰγύπτου* doit être identique avec le *Juridicus Ægypti* d'une inscription de Gruter, p. 373. No. 4. Vide Reines. ad II, 26. p. 271.

On the late Discoveries of Ancient Monuments in various parts of Etruria. *By* JAMES MILLINGEN, Esq. Royal Associate.

Read May 19th, 1830.

THE discoveries recently made of ancient works of art, in various parts of Italy, formerly belonging to the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans, have excited the attention of the learned throughout Europe. Important from the additional information they afford to our archæological knowledge, these discoveries are in the highest degree interesting, by the light they throw on the history of Etruria, and, by consequence, on that of the early times of the Roman republic. A short account of them will, therefore, I trust, be acceptable to this learned society.

TARQUINIA.

The first in order of time are those made near Corneto, a town of the Roman state, about eleven miles distant from Civita-Vecchia, and four from the sea. About two miles to the N. E. of this place stood the ancient city of Tarquinia on a steep hill, which still retains the name of *Tarchina*, and where some remains are seen.

Some authors ascribe the foundation of Tarquinia to the Tyrrheni,[1] others to the Pelasgi or Thessalians,[2] and Freret[3] supposes with great probability that its name was originally Trachinia. It afterwards became celebrated in Roman history, from having received a Corinthian colony under Demaratus, the father of Tarquin, which introduced the first knowledge of letters

[1] Strabo, lib. v. page 219. edit. Casaubon. Tarchon, the supposed founder of Tarquinia, is no other than ἄρχων, *the leader* or *commander*, with T, perhaps the ancient form of the article, prefixed. V. Lanzi, Ling. Etrusca.

[2] Justinus, lib. xx. cap. 1.

[3] Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tome xviii. pag. 103. Thus, the ancient name of Tarracina was Τραχῖνα, according to Strabo, lib. v. pag. 233. This name indicates that both cities were of Thessalian or Pelasgic origin.

and of the fine arts into Etruria. The name of the modern city *Corneto*, or by transposition of a single letter *Corento*, appears also a corruption of *Κορίνθιος*, probably the ancient appellation derived from the Corinthian colony in question.[4] The situation is very strong, and has all the appearance of having been formerly a fortress.

On the summit of a hill adjoining to the modern town of Corneto, and about four or five miles in circumference, is the necropolis or burying-ground of the ancient Tarquinians.

This hill, composed of tufo, was in all probability a stone quarry, whence materials were excavated for the neighbouring city: the whole surface of this hill is covered with sepulchres, disposed in various directions. In some parts, the rock is cut into trenches or hypæthral galleries, and on the perpendicular faces on both sides are doors more or less ornamented, and leading to the tombs excavated in the solid rock; having thus the appearance of the streets of a troglodyte city, like some of the same kind at Syracuse, and other Greek cities. In other parts, the tombs are at a considerable depth below the surface, and the access to them is by steps all cut out of the rock. The site of these hypogæa is generally indicated by barrows or tumuli of earth, of more or less height. Sometimes the lower part of the tumulus has a circular basis of masonry[5] (*κρηπίς*). Instead of sepulchral chambers, the dead were sometimes simply deposited in a grave, a few feet under ground.

Many of the hypogæa of Tarquinia are similar to those found in Egypt; containing a number of rooms and corridors branching out into various directions; and when the rooms are of a large size, the roof is supported by square pillars. The walls of many are coated with stucco and ornamented with paintings, representing sometimes the arrival of the soul in Hades, and the punishments inflicted on the guilty; but, in general, mythological, heroic, and civil subjects.

The greatest number of the tombs, particularly those on the faces of

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[4] It was customary with Greek colonies, in order to preserve the memory of their origin, to give to their new establishments local names derived from the parent country. Thus the Tarentines gave the name of Eurotas to the Galesus; and we find a gate called Temenis, a barrow called the tomb of Hyacinthus, and other Lacedæmonian appellations at Tarentum. Polybius, lib. viii. excerpt. 7.

[5] The barrow (*χῶμα*) of Alyattes, near Sardes, was encircled by a similar basement of masonry (*κρηπίς*). Herodot. lib. i. cap. 93.

the hill, have been previously visited, and their contents taken or wantonly destroyed. Those under ground being difficult of access, are often inviolate, and contain fictile vases and figures, ornaments of attire in gold, arms, and a variety of objects, in brass, ivory, and other materials.

Among the objects in brass, two shields are deserving of notice: they are about three feet diameter, and divided into three circular bands, or zones, in which are many figures of men and horses, chased in low relief. It is probable that the author of the description of the shield of Achilles, in the Iliad, had in view a work of this kind. Even before the arts were cultivated in Greece, such objects may have been introduced there by the Phœnician traders.

The hypogæa of Tarquinia had been long celebrated for their magnificence. Buonarotti, in his Supplement to Dempster, has described and given engravings of the paintings of a sepulchre excavated in 1699. From time to time, accounts have appeared of subsequent discoveries; and, among others, one of our countrymen, Mr. Wilcox, in 1763, sent to the Royal Society drawings and a description of paintings, which are inserted in the Philosophical Transactions.[6] Mr. James Byres made also drawings from a tomb opened in 1780, and it is much to be regretted that he has not executed his intention of making them public, as the originals, from exposure to the air and dampness, have almost entirely disappeared.

Since this time, no discoveries of any consequence took place, till the year 1824, when Lord Kinnaird undertook an excavation, which proved deservedly successful, and many valuable fictile vases, with other ancient objects, were brought to light. This success gave an impulse to other undertakings of the kind: and last year, in particular, a fortunate discovery took place of various tombs, richly ornamented with paintings and inscriptions in the Etruscan language:[7] they have been copied by Baron Stackelberg, and will shortly be made public. The researches are still in progress, and promise the most favorable result.

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[6] Vol. liii. page 127.

[7] These inscriptions are of a later period, when the Greek population, with its language and institutions, had disappeared. The Chevalier Kestner, Chargé d'Affaires of the king of Hanover, at Rome, who, jointly with Baron Stackelberg, caused several tombs to be opened, has published a learned and interesting account of the discovery, in the Annali dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica: Roma, 1829. tome i. pag. 101.

Volcium.

But the most important by far of the late discoveries are those made in an extensive plain, called from a neighbouring abbey Piano dell' Abbadia, on the banks of the Arminia, near the ancient city of Volcium,[8] the capital of the Volcientes, of which the site is determined by the modern appellation of *Vulci distrutta*. The agents of the Prince of Canino, proprietor of a large part of the plain, discovered accidentally in 1828 a sepulchral chamber containing a great number of painted fictile vases, remarkable for their size and beauty, which they sold clandestinely to Mr. Dorow, a Prussian counsellor, then travelling in Italy on a scientific mission.

This circumstance having been disclosed, the prince was induced to undertake excavations on the same spot and on a large scale. The success exceeded his most sanguine anticipations; and in the course of a few months, he found a great number of objects in gold, brass, and ivory, and more than 2000 vases, of which the merit, in point of subject, and every other respect, may be seen by the catalogue of them, which has been published by the prince.

The example of the prince has been followed by other proprietors of land on the same spot, and equal success has attended them. The fictile vases are particularly deserving of attention. In point of varnish and design they may vie with those of Nola and Agrigentum. Their forms are in general like those of other Greek cities, but of greater size: they are also ornamented with a greater number of figures, and many have three rows or orders one above the other. The paintings offer mythological or heroic representations, sacrifices, religious ceremonies, processions, games, funeral ceremonies, gymnastic exercises, and an infinite variety of subjects relating to civil life; many of which appear for the first time. But what distinguishes particularly these vases, is that many of them are inscribed with the names of the artists and of the manufacturers. Hitherto we only knew the names of three painters of vases, while at Volcium alone seven or eight have been found. Some vases have the names both of the manufacturer and painter; the former designated by the term ἐποίησε, the latter by ἔγραψε,

[8] Ὅλκιον Stephanus Byzant. ex Polybio: Οὔολκοι Ptolemæus: *Volcentini* and *Volcientes* Plin. lib. iii. cap. 8.

a distinction not previously observed. Many also have inscriptions indicating the names of the personages represented, or of the proprietor of the vase. Some offer entire sentences, such as ΧΑΙΡΕ ΣΥ: or ΚΑΛΟΣ ΕΙ: or ΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΕΥΩ: and we find frequently the usual acclamation, ΗΟ ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ or ΗΕ ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΕ.

The succinct notice of some of the most remarkable subjects, which is subjoined, will remind the reader of those represented on the chest of Cypselus, on the throne of Hyacinthus at Amyclæ, or of the paintings in the Leschè of Delphi, severally described by Pausanias: many of the subjects are the same, and probably copied from those celebrated originals; and frequently the personages are likewise distinguished by inscriptions.

PAINTINGS OF FICTILE VASES.

Jupiter hurling his thunder at Typhon, who is represented terminating in two serpents.

Minerva combating Enceladus.

The birth of Minerva.

Neptune pursuing Æthra, the mother of Theseus.

Neptune, in company with Apollo, Diana, Mercury, and a female divinity (Latona).

Neptune hurling a rock against Polybotes.

Mercury carrying the infant Hercules.

Perseus and Medusa.

Hercules strangling the Nemæan lion (a subject frequently repeated).

carrying the Erymanthian boar to Eurystheus.

wrestling with Antæus. Minerva and Mercury are present.

contending with Apollo for the Delphian tripod. Minerva and Diana are present.

kills Alcyoneus, one of the giants. Apollo and Mercury assist.

punishes Busiris.

contending with Nereus.

combating the Centaurs. Alcmena, Minerva, and Mercury are present.

combating the Amazons. Their names are Andromache and Lycopis.

Hercules with Nessus and Deïaneira.

with Iolăus in a quadriga. Minerva and Mercury assist.

Theseus killing the Minotaur (a subject frequently repeated).

carrying away Antiopea in a quadriga. Phorbas and Peirithoüs follow.

(The same subject.) Neptune protects Theseus.

punishing Sinis, Pityocamptes, and Procrustes.

taming the Marathonian bull.

Medea and Jason.

Atalanta receiving the head of the boar from Meleager. Peleus and seven other personages are present.

Thetis and Peleus, Pontomeda a Nereid, and Chiron, who is represented with human fore-feet.

Thetis and Peleus, with four female figures.

Judgment of Paris.

Dispute of Achilles and Agamemnon.

Hector arming for war. Hecuba presents to him his armour. Priam and Paris assist.

Combat for the body of Patroclus; Diomedes, Ajax. Antilochus and Phœnix are opposed to Hector and Æneas. Iris is present.

Death of Troïlus. Achilles presents his head to Hector, who is accompanied by Æneas and Deiphobus; Minerva and Mercury protect Achilles.

Achilles draws the body of Hector round a barrow or tumulus, on which is the ghost (εἴδωλον) of Patroclus.

Combat for the body of Achilles, which is carried off by Ajax. Æneas is opposed to Neoptolemus, Menelaüs to Paris. Nireus lies dead at the feet of Æneas.

The taking of Troy. A view of the city with its walls and towers, a great variety of personages expressing the confusion and dismay inherent to such a calamity. In the fore-ground, Ulysses and Neoptolemus dash the head of Astyanax against the altar of Apollo; Minerva, who is present, turns with horror from the sight. A great number of inscriptions enhance the merit of this interesting composition.

Menelaüs combating two Trojan warriors.

Two warriors in a suppliant posture, before the statue of Minerva (a frequent subject).

Æneas bearing Anchises; he is followed by Creüsa and two of his sons.

Palamedes and Thersites playing at dice.

Ægisthus and Clytemnestra killed by Orestes.

Ulysses, tied to the mast of his ship, is passing by the Seirens, who are figured as androcephalous birds.

Ulysses, under the belly of the ram, escapes from Polyphemus.

Minos with Ariadne and Theseus.

Love (ΕΡΟΣ) in a swing put in motion by Playfulness (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ), personified by a female figure.

Ten or eleven Panathenaïc amphoræ, of the same form and with the same figure of Minerva, as that found at Athens by Mr. Burgon; they are also inscribed ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ.

On the reverse are representations of the various exercises of the games at which the vase was given as a prize; wrestling, boxing, horse, chariot, and foot races: in one is the inscription ΣΤΑΔΙΟ ΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΝΙΚΕ.

The names of painters are Pheidippos, Doris, Euthymides, Phintias, Epictetos; those of potters Andocides, Æschylos, Euxitheos, Hiero, Euphronios, Deiniades, Hypsis, Nicosthenes, Python, Telis, Tleson, besides others not correctly transcribed in the catalogue.

From this short account some notion may be formed of the importance of the discoveries made. In fact, in the course of a year, a single district of ancient Tyrrhenia has produced a number of painted vases, which are equal in every respect to those deposited in the various collections of Italy or Sicily during the space of a century. When they are made known by engravings, it will be found that their value is not here overrated.

The vases hitherto described are all Greek; with them, others of Etruscan manufacture were also found. They are different in every respect from the Greek, and resemble those of Clusium and other towns of the Etruscans. This sort of pottery was evidently in use among the lower orders of the indigenous population.

AGYLLA, OR CÆRE.

Though so many accounts of Italy have been published, the interior of the country is perhaps not so well known as that of Greece. An instance of this is afforded by the town above named, which though extremely celebrated in history, and only twenty-two miles from Rome, has not, I believe, been noticed by any travellers.

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A projecting part of the hill appears to have been the site of a temple, where, two or three years ago, a subterranean chamber was found, probably one of those called *Favissæ*,[11] which served as repositories for objects offered to divinities, but which in lapse of time had become useless. Here were a great quantity of terra cotta figures of all sizes, some as large as life, pro-

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bably votive offerings: these objects recall to mind the fictile statues and ornaments of temples used at Rome before the conquest of Asia, and which were all brought from Etruria.

Near Agylla or Cære, were several other Hellenic towns, among others Alsium, Pyrgi, and the port of the Agyllæans, where a celebrated temple of Eilethyia stood. At San Severo, the site of the ancient Pyrgi, considerable remains of the walls of a fort, or the peribolos of a temple, formed of stones seven or eight feet in length, are still seen.

About four miles from Cervetri is a small town which bears also the name of Ceri; and near it, is a necropolis of great antiquity, where many objects of art are found. Similar discoveries have been made at Castel d'Asso, probably the ancient Axia, near Viterbo; at Cossa, the harbour of the Volcientes,[12] and various other places in this part of the country. At Veii are a great number of sepulchres and tumuli, like those of Tarquinia and Agylla; and if researches were made, monuments of Greek art would probably be obtained.

CLUSIUM.

This city, now called Chiusi, was celebrated from being the residence of Porsena, and the capital of Etruria. In its neighbourhood a great number of vases of Etruscan fabric have been lately found: they differ from the Greek in point of shape, varnish, quality, design, and subjects: they are painted, but the figures are in relief and have been cast in a mould; the clay is coarse, of a dark colour and not baked; some only have a light varnish given by fire; none of them have inscriptions. This discovery is of the more consequence, as vases of this kind were previously very rare and little known. The greater part of them have been acquired by the grand-duke of Tuscany, and placed in the Royal Gallery at Florence, where accurate engravings of them with illustrations will be shortly published by the learned and judicious Abbé Zannoni, director of the gallery. At the same time as these, a few Greek vases were also found, evidently brought from Greek cities as objects of luxury for the higher orders.

After this brief account of the recent discoveries, I shall offer some re-

[12] "Cossa Volcientium," Plin. lib. iii. cap. 8.

marks on the inferences which may be deduced from them. Our present knowledge of the ancient history, literature, and arts of Etruria is extremely deficient. Etruria had no native historians, and the accounts given us by Greek writers are full of contradiction and improbability. In Roman writers we find the same ignorance of Etruscan history as of their own.

This deficiency, and the great utility of monuments in supplying the place of records, are strikingly exemplified on the present occasion. No mention occurs, except in geographical writers,[13] of the city of Volcium and the Volcientes, and no particulars of their history have been preserved.

By the remains newly brought to light, and by a fragment of the triumphal Fasti fortunately preserved in the Capitol at Rome,[14] we discover, however, that the Volcientes[15] must have been, during a long period of time, one of the most opulent and powerful states of Etruria, eminent for their valour and perseverance in defence of their liberty and independence; and that, although so near to Rome, they continued the contest with that invincible city till the year 283 before our era, when the greatest part of Italy had already submitted to the yoke. They were then deprived of a portion of their territory; and Cossa, their naval port, receiving a Roman colony, they were precluded from foreign commerce.

What appears indubitable from the concurring testimony of the most respectable authorities, is that Pelasgic colonies established themselves in various parts of Italy, where they introduced civilization and the use of letters. It is equally certain that a people called Tyrrheni, probably a Pelasgic tribe, settled in that part of the same country, to which, from them, the name of Tyrrhenia was given by the Greeks.

Respecting the epoch and the circumstances of these colonies, whether they came by land or by sea, and whether the Tyrrheni migrated from Lydia, we have no information deserving of confidence; and as these questions relate to an age anterior to written history, it is most probable they never will be resolved.

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[13] See Note 8.

[14] ..... VNCANIVS. TI. F. TI. N. COS... E VVLSINIENSIBVS ET VVLCIENTIBVS. AN. CDLXXIII.

[15] The Volcentes of Lucania were probably a branch of the same people, which settled there when the Tyrrhenians were in possession of Campania.

Without engaging, therefore, in any discussion of the various systems advanced by the moderns on this subject, I shall only observe that no historical foundation appears for the opinion of a learned writer, who distinguishes between the Tyrrhenians and Etruscans, and supposes the latter to have been a people entirely different, who expelled the former at an early period. Hence he infers, that if Greek authors give the name of Tyrrhenians to the Etruscans, it was only in consequence of these last having taken possession of Tyrrhenia, and become masters of those Tyrrhenians who remained in their homes after the conquest.[16]

All historical evidence is contradictory of such an hypothesis, and there is every reason to think that no distinction of the kind existed; the names Etrusci and Tusci being merely corruptions by the Romans of Tyrrheni or Tyrseni.

From either of these denominations, (*Τυρσηνοὶ* or *Τυῤῥηνοὶ*,) but most probably from the latter, the form *Τυρησκοὶ* is easily obtained. The termination in *σκοι* seems, in fact, to have been peculiar to the Pelasgi, with whom the Tyrrhenians had so much affinity. We find it accordingly in the names of Bromiscus, Drabescus, Doriscus, Myrgiscus, and other towns in Thrace, which was the early seat of the Pelasgi, and where their language was longest retained. Many instances of it are also observable in Italy, as in the names of Opsci, Volsci, Falisci, Gravisca, &c. From *Τυρησκοὶ* the Latins formed *Trusci*, or with the E prefix *Etrusci*, and by subsequent alterations *Tusci* and *Thusci*. At the same time the name of the country, Tyrrhenia, was changed into *Etruria* and *Tuscia*. Many analogous examples occur of the alterations which names experienced in passing from the Greek to the Latin language; it suffices to mention *Ὀπικοὶ* into Opsci and Osci, *Ποσειδανία* into Paistanum and Pæstum, and *Πολυδεύκης* into Poloces and Pollux.

Before proceeding farther, the reader is requested to keep in view the synonymy of the terms Tyrrhenian and Etruscan; and at the same time, to recall to mind what has been previously stated, that the Tyrrhenians who inhabited that part of Italy called Tyrrhenia, were composed of various peoples, of different origin, manners, and language.

[16] Niebuhr, History of Rome, 1828. vol. i. page 32. The learned author (page 92) repeats the assertion, and adds, that the Etruscans had no more title to the name of Tyrrhenians, than the English to that of Britons, or the Spanish Creoles to that of Mexicans and Peruvians.

To discriminate them severally would however be foreign to the present purpose, and only tend to create confusion. It will be sufficient therefore to divide them into two classes: 1. the Greek colonists and their descendants; 2. the indigenous population, probably Umbri, who occupied the country before the arrival of the Greek colonists, and who remained in it after the Greek population had been exhausted by wars or compelled to emigrate. In the remarks which follow, for want of a better nomenclature, I have been obliged to use the term of Hellenic, or Greek-Tyrrhenians, when speaking of the former; whilst I give the name of Umbro-Tyrrhenians to the latter.

Among the numerous inferences deducible from the late discoveries, I shall at present confine myself to notice the following:

I. That in the S. E. parts of the country, called Tyrrhenia by the Greeks, and Etruria by the Romans, an extensive territory, included between the Tiber, the Arminia, the Ciminian forest, and the sea, was inhabited during a period of about 250 years, (from the year 600 to the year 350 before our era,) by a people whose language, arts, literature, institutions, and religion, were pure Hellenic.

This fact is attested to the fullest extent by the works of art found there, especially the fictile vases, which, though supposed by many antiquaries to have been imported from Sicily and Magna Græcia, were undoubtedly (with some exceptions) manufactured in this district. It coincides, moreover, with the testimony of historians respecting the settlements made in this part of Tyrrhenia by the Pelasgi and other Greek colonies; and is further confirmed by reference to the names of the principal cities within the district in question; Agylla or Cære, Tarquinia (*Τραχῖνα*), Faleria (Aleria), Falisci (Alisci, from Alos), Pyrgos, Alsium (*Ἄλσος*), Gravisca (Graia), Volcium (Olyca or Iolcos), Cossa,[17] Veii (*Ἠϊὼν*), all Hellenic, but principally from those parts which were the seat of the Pelasgi.

Of the vases in question, some are of the earliest kind, usually called Egyptian, because imitated from those of Egypt, which were brought by the Phœnicians, who at an early period carried on a considerable trade with

[17] Or Cosa. The name of this city may be derived from Thrace. The coins, with the inscription ΚΩΣΣΩΝ, struck by Brutus in that country, previously to the battle of Philippi, show the existence of a place of this name in Thrace.

Italy and Spain; some of the archaic Greek style; whilst others indicate the period when the arts had attained to the highest perfection.

Hence we may trace the gradual progress of the arts by the same steps as in Greece itself; a proof of the continual intercourse of the colonies with the parent country. The treasury of the Agyllæans at Delphi, the relations of Tarquinia with Corinth, the extensive commerce and alliances of the Tyrrhenians, all attest this intercourse.

II. At the early period of the first settlements of the Pelasgi in Italy, they could not have introduced into it the fine arts, which did not yet exist in the country whence they migrated. Their introduction may, therefore, be ascribed, more probably, to the Corinthian colony under Demaratus.

It appears, however, that other Greek colonies established themselves at various periods in this district, and contributed to its civilization. Among them, were probably Athenians and Chalcidians, two people, who jointly or separately formed so many settlements in Sicily and the south of Italy. Among the reasons for this opinion may be alleged:—

1. The dialect of the inscriptions of the greatest number of vases, shows the influence of a people of Ionian origin, whereas we should expect to find the Æolic dialect chiefly employed by colonies of Thessalian and Pelasgic descent.

2. The vases with the inscription, **ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ**, evidently imitated from the Panathenaic amphoræ, show the existence of Athenian institutions among the Volcientes. Similar amphoræ have been found also at Nola. The great resemblance, indeed, which many of the vases of Volcium bear to those of Nola, and some with the same names of artists and potters, showing them to have been of the same manufactures, proves the great connexion existing between the Nolani and Volcientes, and which resulted as well from the Tyrrhenians having been for a long time masters of Campania, as from a common origin.[18]

3. A great proportion of the names of artists and proprietors inscribed on the vases of Volcium, are Athenian, as may be seen by the list given.

4. The story of the migration of Malæotis, a Tyrrhenian king, from the neighbourhood of Cossa to Attica, and various other accounts of the same

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[18] Strabo, lib. v. page 224. The author of the history of Cuma asserted, that the Aborigines from Athens, after making some stay at Sicyon and Thespia, passed into Italy. Pomp. Festus, voc. *Roma*.

kind, however improbable, seem derived from some relation between the Athenians and the Tyrrhenians.

III. The greatest part of the Greek monuments under consideration, are of an early style, and anterior to the 94th Olympiad, or the year 400 before our era. Those of a later age are in much less proportion, and probably none are more recent than the year 350, or at the utmost 300, B. C. About the same time the Greek language fell into disuse, and was superseded by that of the indigenous population, usually called Etruscan.

These circumstances coincide with the account of historians. In the sixth, and the first half of the fifth century before our era, the prosperity of the Tyrrheni was at its highest point. It then began to decline; they lost gradually their maritime superiority, and were deprived of their possessions in Campania. In 453 B. C. the Syracusans took the island of Æthalia, and committed great ravages in Tyrrhenia: in 445 the Tyrrheni were defeated with great loss by Hiero before Cuma; and in 438 Capua was taken from them by the Samnites. In 395, Veii, one of the principal cities of the Tyrrhenian confederacy, was taken. The invasions and ravages of the Gauls in 403, and 388 when they burnt Rome, the long and sanguinary wars with the Romans, internal divisions, and great luxury and corruption,[19] were the causes of the farther decline of Tyrrhenia in the fourth century.

The power, and probably the greatest part of the land, was possessed by the Greek colonists, either by right of conquest, or by the influence which superior knowledge and civilization always confer; and the condition of the indigenous population which remained was probably similar to that of serfs, in the same manner as the English after the Norman conquest.

As in ancient republics those who had property were almost exclusively charged with the defence of the country, the Greek population must have been gradually reduced in numbers and finally exhausted, amidst the many calamities which assailed them on every side.

Neglecting learning and the arts, their attention, under such circumstances, would have been wholly devoted to war; and though often defeated, we find them renewing the contest with great obstinacy and valour, till, pressed on every side, they were at length overpowered, and obliged to submit to Rome in 281.

[19] The licentious representations on some of the vases of this people, justify, unfortunately, too well the imputation of immorality and corruption, which some ancient authors have attributed to the Tyrrhenians. Athenæus, lib. xii. page 517.

IV. The great question relating to Tyrrhenian or Etruscan art, may be now considered as fully resolved. The numerous monuments which have been recently brought to light in the south of Etruria are pure Greek, similar in every essential point to those of Sicily, Magna Græcia, and Greece itself. As the Æginetan, Ionian, or Sicilian schools are esteemed branches of the Greek, and called by that name, so is the Tyrrhenian. To call it differently would be the same as to give the name of Indian, or American, to the productions of European artists, because executed in those countries.

The indigenous or Umbro-Tyrrhenian population cultivated also the arts; but their proficiency was very limited, and their productions, though offering some characteristic peculiarities, are evident but inferior imitations of the Greek school. The difference appears most clearly in comparing their respective productions. The elegance of shape, the beauty of design and manufacture of the former, contrast with the rudeness and coarseness of the latter, in the same manner as the fine Dresden or Sèvres porcelain, with the pottery in ordinary use.

The erroneous opinion entertained hitherto on the subject, originated with the Romans. As all the monuments and works of art at Rome were derived from the neighbouring country Tyrrhenia, and executed by Tyrrhenian artists, it is natural they should have been called by that name: and as most of these productions were of an archaic and rigid style, the Romans, who, even in later times, paid little attention to questions of this nature, considered this style as peculiar to Tyrrhenia or Etruria. All the works of art which came to Rome, after the conquest of Greece and Asia, being of a more recent style, confirmed the Romans in the opinion that the archaic manner was peculiar to the Tyrrhenians; and we may infer from a passage of Pliny,[21] that they even went so far as to believe, that the statues of an early style which they saw in Greece, were made in Tyrrhenia.

V. Various questions here present themselves.

In so many opulent and powerful Greek cities, where the arts of painting, modelling, and architecture were carried to such perfection, and where literature must have been cultivated (since they evidently possessed the writings of Homer and Hesiod, with many of the mythological and cyclical

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[21] "Signa quoque Tuscanica per terras dispersa, quæ in Etruria factitata non est dubium." Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. cap. 16.

poets now lost); whence comes it that these cities did not, like other Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily, produce historians, poets, legislators, or any other eminent men, whose names should have been transmitted to us?

To what causes are we to attribute the want of coinage among a Greek people whose naval power and commerce were so extensive? Among the cities of a different origin, Populonium[22] alone struck silver coins. Volaterra had cast coins of brass, which seem to have been peculiar to the Umbrians;[23] but are not of an earlier period than the year 300 before our era. To what causes must be attributed such anomalies?

To prevent any misconception, it is necessary to observe here, that the preceding observations apply, almost exclusively, to the district situated within the limits specified; and that, for the present, we do not yet possess sufficient means of information respecting the other parts of Tyrrhenia.

From the connexion which must always exist between conterminous states, in proportion to their relative power, it is impossible that Rome should not have experienced the influence of such powerful neighbours as the Tyrrhenians; and the present inquiry derives additional interest from the light it reflects on a question so much discussed.

The accounts transmitted to us of the first centuries of that celebrated city, are generally, and justly, esteemed fabulous or romantic. The Romans appear to have had no annals; or if any existed, they were destroyed when the city was taken by the Gauls.

In the absence of historical records, monuments of art, if rightly consulted,[24] may afford us much information; and removing in some degree the

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[22] Populonium does not appear to have been a Greek colony; and it is probably with a view to its different origin that Strabo calls it the only Tyrrhenian city near the sea. Otherwise, he would have overlooked Cossa, Gravisca, Pyrgi, Alsium, and Pisa. Lib. v. page 223.

[23] Brass coins, on the Roman model of the As and its divisions, are found of Tuder and Iguvium in Umbria, and of Hadria and Asculum in Picenum, besides many without inscriptions, and consequently uncertain. It would be interesting to ascertain where these last are usually found, and thus to discover the place of their origin. Hitherto, this class of coins has not been sufficiently attended to.

[24] The writers of Roman history who refer occasionally to the testimony of ancient monuments, display, in general, a great want of judgment and criticism. Dionysius, in particular, seems to have relied on the credulity of his readers, when he alleges monuments of such notorious falsehood, as tripods, craters, and pateræ inscribed with ancient characters, and dedicated in various temples by Æneas, lib. i. cap. 16. 41. 45. &c. Polybius, usually so judicious, was

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Ten or eleven Panathenaïc amphoræ, of the same form and with the same figure of Minerva, as that found at Athens by Mr. Burgon; they are also inscribed ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ.

On the reverse are representations of the various exercises of the games at which the vase was given as a prize; wrestling, boxing, horse, chariot, and foot races: in one is the inscription ΣΤΑΔΙΟ ΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΝΙΚΕ.

The names of painters are Pheidippos, Doris, Euthymides, Phintias, Epictetos; those of potters Andocides, Æschylos, Euxitheos, Hiero, Euphronios, Deiniades, Hypsis, Nicosthenes, Python, Telis, Tleson, besides others not correctly transcribed in the catalogue.

From this short account some notion may be formed of the importance of the discoveries made. In fact, in the course of a year, a single district of ancient Tyrrhenia has produced a number of painted vases, which are equal in every respect to those deposited in the various collections of Italy or Sicily during the space of a century. When they are made known by engravings, it will be found that their value is not here overrated.

The vases hitherto described are all Greek; with them, others of Etruscan manufacture were also found. They are different in every respect from the Greek, and resemble those of Clusium and other towns of the Etruscans. This sort of pottery was evidently in use among the lower orders of the indigenous population.

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About half a mile to the west, and separated by a deep ravine, is another hill, three or four miles in circumference, which was destined for the burying-ground of the inhabitants. The tombs are disposed here in the same manner as at Tarquinia, and many of them are richly ornamented. There are also on the same hill two very large and many small barrows, probably monuments of distinguished personages. No systematic researches have been made here, owing to the suspicious and avaricious temper of the proprietors of the estate; but either accidentally or by clandestine excavations, painted vases are frequently found, precisely of the same kind as those of Tarquinia, Volcium, and the other Greek cities in this district; and there is no doubt that many others might be brought to light.

A projecting part of the hill appears to have been the site of a temple, where, two or three years ago, a subterranean chamber was found, probably one of those called *Favissæ*,[11] which served as repositories for objects offered to divinities, but which in lapse of time had become useless. Here were a great quantity of terra cotta figures of all sizes, some as large as life, pro-

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Love (ΕΡΟΣ) in a swing put in motion by Playfulness (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ), personified by a female figure.

Ten or eleven Panathenaïc amphoræ, of the same form and with the same figure of Minerva, as that found at Athens by Mr. Burgon; they are also inscribed ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ.

On the reverse are representations of the various exercises of the games at which the vase was given as a prize; wrestling, boxing, horse, chariot, and foot races: in one is the inscription ΣΤΑΔΙΟ ΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΝΙΚΕ.

The names of painters are Pheidippos, Doris, Euthymides, Phintias, Epictetos; those of potters Andocides, Æschylos, Euxitheos, Hiero, Euphronios, Deiniades, Hypsis, Nicosthenes, Python, Telis, Tleson, besides others not correctly transcribed in the catalogue.

From this short account some notion may be formed of the importance of the discoveries made. In fact, in the course of a year, a single district of ancient Tyrrhenia has produced a number of painted vases, which are equal in every respect to those deposited in the various collections of Italy or Sicily during the space of a century. When they are made known by engravings, it will be found that their value is not here overrated.

The vases hitherto described are all Greek; with them, others of Etruscan manufacture were also found. They are different in every respect from the Greek, and resemble those of Clusium and other towns of the Etruscans. This sort of pottery was evidently in use among the lower orders of the indigenous population.

AGYLLA, OR CÆRE.

Though so many accounts of Italy have been published, the interior of the country is perhaps not so well known as that of Greece. An instance of this is afforded by the town above named, which though extremely celebrated in history, and only twenty-two miles from Rome, has not, I believe, been noticed by any travellers.

Agylla, or as it was called by the Romans Cære, was a Greek city founded by Pelasgi,[9] probably Thessalians. By its commerce, it became in the sixth century a great naval power, and its opulence was such that it had a treasury at Delphi. The assistance which the Agyllæans afforded to the Romans after the destruction of their city is well known; they attacked the Gauls during their retreat, and recovered the booty which they had taken.[10] The modern town of Cervetri (Cære Vetus) occupies a small portion of the hill, on which Agylla or Cære anciently stood. It was fortified in the middle ages, and its appearance at a distance is very picturesque; the interior, however, is dirty and filthy, and its miserable hovels form a contrast with its ancient opulence and splendour.

The ancient city appears to have been about five or six miles in circumference, and occupied the summit of a hill on all sides difficult of access, either by nature, or being made steep by art. In many parts, considerable remains of the old walls appear: they were constructed of tufo blocks two feet square; one of the gates of the city is also discernible.

About half a mile to the west, and separated by a deep ravine, is another hill, three or four miles in circumference, which was destined for the burying-ground of the inhabitants. The tombs are disposed here in the same manner as at Tarquinia, and many of them are richly ornamented. There are also on the same hill two very large and many small barrows, probably monuments of distinguished personages. No systematic researches have been made here, owing to the suspicious and avaricious temper of the proprietors of the estate; but either accidentally or by clandestine excavations, painted vases are frequently found, precisely of the same kind as those of Tarquinia, Volcium, and the other Greek cities in this district; and there is no doubt that many others might be brought to light.

A projecting part of the hill appears to have been the site of a temple, where, two or three years ago, a subterranean chamber was found, probably one of those called *Favissæ*,[11] which served as repositories for objects offered to divinities, but which in lapse of time had become useless. Here were a great quantity of terra cotta figures of all sizes, some as large as life, pro-

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[9] Strabo, lib. v. pag. 219. [10] Strabo, ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. cap. 117.

[11] "Sunt autem qui putant Favissas esse in Capitolio cœliis cisternisque similes, ubi reponi erant solita ea, quæ in templo vetustate erant facta inutilia." Pompeius Festus de Verb. Signif.

Palamedes and Thersites playing at dice.

Ægisthus and Clytemnestra killed by Orestes.

Ulysses, tied to the mast of his ship, is passing by the Seirens, who are figured as androcephalous birds.

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style, probably engraved on scarabus, and hitherto unpublished. In one we see the Acheloüs figured as a man, with the horns only of a bull, precisely in the same manner as on the coin of Metapontum, represented in my former Memoir. In the other the river god appears, as in the painting we are now considering, as a humanized bull, which Hercules is strangling in his arms. [13]

These gems, of an early epoch, afford another proof of the liberty taken by ancient artists in varying the forms of what may be called allegorical personages. Thus the Harpies and the Sirens sometimes appear simply as winged females, and at other times with the upper part only human, and the lower part, or even the body, of birds.[14] Hence we must not be surprised if on Sicilian coins, particularly those of Catanea and Gelas, rivers appear under different forms, sometimes as a bull, sometimes as the Acheloüs, and frequently as a young man with horns on the forehead.

A fictile vase in the collection of the Duke de Blacas, affords a subject which has great reference to that under consideration. A bull with a human head is standing near a fountain: on his back a female figure is seated, holding a vase. A male winged figure placed above, presents her with a wreath and apple. On the other side of the fountain is another female figure, holding a mirror and a libatory vase. The Androcephalous figure is, in all probability, a river,[15] and the female seated on him a nymph, characterised by a vase or urn, the usual attribute of fountains and rivers.

I regret to be unable to offer a copy of this interesting subject, but hope it will soon be made public, with the whole collection of its possessor.

Since my preceding Memoir relating to the present question was presented to the Society, M. Avellino has published a new edition of his Dissertation on the subject,[16] with various additional arguments.

The learned author premises by stating "that from what had been "previously said, it might perhaps appear that all doubts respecting the "signification of the Androcephalous Bull are not entirely removed. Be-

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[13] Vide supra, Not. 9.

[14] Vide Millingen, Antient Unedited Monuments, Series 1. p. 39.

[15] In a bas-relief, dedicated to the Nymphs in a grotto of the island of Paros, the river god is figured with the horns of a bull. Stuart, Antiq. of Athens, Tom. iv. pl. 51.

[16] Oposcoli Diversi di F. M. Avellino, etc. etc. Napoli, 1826. Volume Primo, p. 81. seqq.

" cause, though the authority of ancient writers and monuments may be " adduced in favour of Bacchus, yet we must confess that, independently " of the arguments alleged by many archæologists, the coins of the " Acarnanians are in favour of the Acheloüs and of rivers.

" Hence, though we are disposed to adopt rather the former of these two " opinions, we are nevertheless persuaded that it must be considered, as " Eckhell has qualified it, as merely probable (*verisimile.*)

" If then it is useless to recur to the testimony of authors, let us try if " with the assistance of the coins themselves we may obtain means to " fortify, in some degree, our conjecture. It appears to me that this end is " attained by those among the coins of Naples which present the fore- " part only of the Androcephalous animal with a star impressed on its " side.

" This star cannot be considered as a mere accessory symbol, like those " of the mint or of magistrates usually seen in the field of coins, but it is " placed on the bull itself, as indicating a peculiar emblem or attribute.

" If this is admitted by the reader, two consequences arise in favour of " our opinion; 1st, that the figure cannot represent a river, since the star " would in that case be an emblem wholly unsuitable; 2nd, that we recog- " nize herein Bacchus Hebon, to whom no symbol could be better appro- " priated than a star."

The learned author, after quoting various testimonies to show that Bacchus was the same divinity as the Sun and Apollo, thus concludes: " But " supposing even that all other arguments in favour of our opinion were " wanting, the sole expressions of Macrobius would be sufficient to esta- " blish it. We are told by this writer, that an aged and bearded divinity " was worshipped by the Neapolitans; and in fact, the bull with the " human head is the only divinity of this kind which appears on the coins " of Naples. A peculiar and special name (Hebon) is assigned to this " divinity, and hence it probably received a form wholly distinct, by which " its peculiar denomination should be expressed. This divinity was in- " tended to denote by its wings the variations of the Sun; and we find " accordingly the star of the Sun represented on the bull on the coins of " Naples. What correspondence and relation result then from these " considerations between the Androcephalous Bull and the Hebon of Ma- " crobius? "

In reply to these new arguments of M. Avellino, I shall observe, 1st, that on the coins of Naples with the figure in question, we find in the field a great variety of objects, probably the symbols or ἐπίσημα of the mint-master or the magistrate who superintended the coinage: such are a caduceus, a vase, a bunch of grapes, and also a star. Hence, it is possible that on the coins alluded to by M. Avellino, the star may be only a mark of this kind. Sometimes in fact initial letters are thus placed; as for example, on the flank of a bull on the coins of Thurium, and on the Pegasus of coins of Ambracia, besides other instances. It should be noticed, moreover, that among the numerous coins of Naples, abounding in every collection, scarcely one out of a hundred presents the mark placed on the side of the animal; and, therefore, no general inference can be deduced from what must be considered merely as an exception.

But allowing that the emblem was peculiar to the principal figure, no inference could be drawn in favour of Bacchus. The type might represent the celestial or zodiacal bull: or it might be a river, for there is no reason why the Neapolitans should not have placed the Sebethus among the constellations in the same manner as the Eridanus and Oceanus or Nile were placed by some astronomers. The divine honours paid to rivers by the ancients are too well attested to be called in question.

2. It is true that, according to the Orphic doctrines, Bacchus was identified with Apollo and the Sun. But these doctrines were introduced into Greece at a late period, they were confined to a sect, and never formed part of the religion of the state.

3. The conclusions drawn from the passage of Macrobius do not appear admissible. Because Hebon was venerated at Naples *barbata et senili specie*, it does not follow that he was the only divinity of the kind in that city. Jupiter, Neptune, Pluto, Mercury, and Æsculapius were, without doubt, also worshipped there, and figured in the same manner, *barbata et senili specie*. Nor can it be implied that, because the only bearded figure on the Neapolitan coins is a humanized bull, that it must represent Hebon. It might be Jupiter or Neptune thus metamorphosed.

4. Were we to admit the conclusions of M. Avellino, it would be evident, from the authority of Macrobius, that Hebon being a divinity entirely peculiar to Naples, he would be represented in the special manner alluded to by the Neapolitans alone. What explanation have we then to give of

the same figure on the coins of many other cities of Italy, Sicily, Greece, and even of Asia, in all of which Hebon was wholly unknown?

5. But the strongest of all arguments against the opinion of M. Avellino is deducible from the expressions of Macrobius himself, when attentively considered. "Item Liberi Patris simulachra partim puerili ætate, partim "juvenili fingunt, præterea barbata specie, senili quoque, uti Græci ejus "quem Bassaria, item quem Brisea appellant, et ut in Campania Nea- "politani celebrant Hebona cognominantes."[17] These expressions prove clearly, that the Hebon of the Neapolitans was figured as an aged personage, and was no other than the Indian or Bassarian Bacchus, of which we have so many representations on ancient works of art. The expressions of Macrobius apply exclusively to a human form, and never could be attributed to the Androcephalous monster.

I hope that these observations will appear satisfactory, especially when supported and confirmed by the various monuments of which faithful representations are hereto annexed.

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[17] Macrobius, lib. i. cap. 18.

IV. *On Panathenaïc Vases, on their official Inscription, and on the Holy Oil contained in them, which was given as the Prize to the Victors in the Panathenian Games: with particular reference to some Vases of that description now in London.—Letter addressed to* MR. HAMILTON, *by* CHEV^R^. P. O. BRÖNDSTED.

Read December 7, 1831.

I.

TO WILLIAM RICHARD HAMILTON, ESQ.

London, Sabloniere Hotel,
November 17, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,

ALLOW me to address to you a few observations, occasioned by our conversation the other day, on three or four remarkable Greek painted Vases now in London, and more particularly on their curious Inscription, which, though short, and apparently not very difficult, has occasioned so many conflicting opinions, that it may still be looked upon as an interesting object of discussion.

The first of these Vases is that well-known Panathenaïc amphora (*ἀμφορεὺς Παναθηναϊκὸς*), which *Mr. Burgon* found by excavation at Athens, in the year 1813, near the ancient gate of Acharnæ, on the left side of the road now leading from Athens to Thebes, and which has been published several times, but most carefully, and with many learned remarks, by *Mr. Millingen*.[1]

This earthen vessel, which, from its size,[2] and the classic spot where it was found, may be called the principal Panathenaïc Vase hitherto disco-

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[1] In his *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, First Series, (London, 1822, in 4to.) Plates I. II. and III. with pages 1—10, and *Additional Observations*, pages 95—97.

[2] It measures two feet in height, and its greatest circumference is a little more than four feet four inches.

vered, represents, ON ONE SIDE, the *Goddess of Athens*, in Archaïc style and warlike array. She bears, as usual, her *ægis* and helmet, and steps forward with a long spear, elevated in a horizontal position, and ready to be darted from her right hand, and with a round shield, of which the device (ἐπίσημον) is a dolphin, on her left arm. She is, in short, what is often called by ancient poets *Ἀθήνη Νίκη*,[3] and by modern antiquaries *Minerva gradiens*. Before the goddess appears, in very clear, but rather Archaïc, letters, and written from right to left, the inscription which forms the subject of the present observations :*

THE REVERSE of the Vase presents to us a young man seated in a car, drawn by two horses (συνωρὶς, δίφρος) at full speed, which he directs not by reins, but by a short goad in his right hand, and by a long wand in his left. Of this wand, long enough to pass beyond the heads of the animals, the bent extremity, with two small shells (of metal) attached to it, was used for *pulling up* the horses, by means of a short but strong string or thong, which is not visible, (the painting being in profile,) but which must, of course, be imagined as belonging to the head-stalls, and fastened to the mouths of both horses. Over this group, and on the neck of the Vase, is an *owl*, (the usual emblem of Minerva,) corresponding to a fantastical bird with a human head, the well-known type of a *Siren*, on the other side of the neck, and over the figure of the goddess. As neither the reverse of the Vase, nor the smaller emblems on the neck of it, form the subject of this Memoir, I shall not dwell on them. I shall only observe, that the *Siren* appears certainly now and then, but not often, as one of the emblems of the god-

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[3] You know that Minerva Polias or Πολιοῦχος of Athens was essentially a *Minerva Victory*; wherefore the *Athenian* poet makes *Ulysses* say (*Sophocl.* Philoct. v. 135):

Ἑρμῆς δ' ὁ πέμπων δόλιος ἡγήσαιτο νῷν,
Νίκη δ' Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιὰς, ἣ σώζει μ' ἀεί.

And the *Rhetor Aristides*, who composed his declamations in honour of Minerva chiefly according to *Athenian* ideas and traditions, says on this subject (Opp. ed. S. Jebb, Tom. I. page 13): Τῆς μὲν οὖν δυνάμεως τί χρὴ μεῖζον εἰπεῖν σημεῖον, ἢ τὸ νικᾷν πανταχοῦ; οὐ γάρ ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς Νίκη κυρία, ἀλλ' Ἀθηνᾶ Νίκης ἀεί.

* This copy is an exact *fac-simile* traced upon the vase, and imitating the colour of the Original; but the size and distances of the letters have been reduced one third.

dess of Athens. The most striking instance of the kind I know, is a great Panathenaïc Vase, (found, I believe, at Vulcia, and belonging to Messrs. Campanari and Fossati,) on which the shield of Minerva has, as ἐπίσημον, *a Siren playing on the double flute.*[4]

The two other and very similar Vases belong to the fine collection now exhibiting in London, and containing one hundred and four ancient painted earthen vessels, of various forms and workmanship, which are part of the very numerous and highly remarkable Greek Vases, found, during these last years, by means of excavations undertaken by Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino,[5] at Canino, Vulcia, la Cucumella, and other places of ancient Etruria, in the vicinity of the modern town of Viterbo. Both these Vases are exactly of the same form, and one of them is exactly of the same size, as the Athenian ἀμφορεὺς of Mr. Burgon; the other is somewhat smaller; and both are without any other emblems on the neck but the usual double row of flowers. On the principal side of both is a similar *Pallas Athene*, or *Minerva gradiens*, in Archaïc style, between two lofty but rather thin columns, with Doric capitals surmounted by cocks;[6] and before the goddess, between her and one of the columns, is written nearly the same inscription, but by one word shorter, and traced from left to right:

ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ

The representations on the reverses are different; one of them displays three figures, viz. *two naked wrestlers*, the one of whom has seized the left

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[4] See the notice of *M. Gerhard* in the Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Vol. II. page 219. No. 12.

On the subject of the Siren on the neck of the Athenian amphora, *M. Inghirami* has, in his Monumenti Etruschi, &c. Tom. V. Part II. page 367, the following extraordinary and, to me, almost unintelligible observations: " Io tengo quei mostri per tutt' altro che Sirene ed Arpie. Dissi esser quella un antica maniera di rappresentare l' anima umana spogliata del corpo mortale, allorquando gli è concessa la bevanda mirabile dell' immortalità che alle anime pure viene accordata dall' alto dei cieli. Non è uccello ne umana figura, ma un aggregato di parti atte a trasmetterci un idea catenata di chi ne fu l' esecutore."

[5] Who has already published part of his fine collection in a book which I shall quote here, as it is rather a curious one and very little known in England: *Museum Etrusque de Lucien Bonaparte, Prince de Canino.* Fouilles de 1828 à 1829. Vases peints avec Inscriptions. Viterbe, chez Camille Tosoni, imprimeur, 1829, in 4to. (210 pages and 40 plates with inscriptions.)

[6] Both columns and cocks are well-known emblems of the *stadium* and *palæstra*, and of the exercises performed in them.

leg of the other to throw him down, and a *master of the games*, or Agonothetes, easily recognized by his wide cloak and the long stick, split towards the upper end, in his right hand, standing close by, and attentively watching the movements of the two wrestlers.[7] The reverse of the Vase presents to us five naked young men running at full speed, and with a similar, almost symmetrical movement of their arms and feet, the left arms and left legs being stretched out and advancing, whilst the right arms and legs are behind, and the latter touching the ground.

Finally, a Panathenaïc Vase of M. *Campanari's*, which is about half the size of one of the amphoræ and without inscription, may be thus shortly described:—

The figures are painted in black and white on a yellow ground.

On THE PRINCIPAL SIDE is the *Minerva gradiens* armed, as usual, with her Ægis and high-crested helmet, with elevated spear and round shield

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[7] The long stick being the official mark of the Agonothetes, the terms ῥαβδοῦχος and ῥαβδονόμος have become synonymous in the Greek language with βραβευτὴς or ἀγωνοθέτης, and even the verb ῥαβδονομεῖν frequently occurs in the signification of *fixing the rules of the contest* (disponere certamen). So says, for instance, *Deïaneira*, speaking of the contest between her suitors, which *Venus* herself had disposed and regulated (*Sophocl.* Trachin. v. 525):

—— —— μόνα δ'
εὔλεκτρος ἐν μέσῳ Κύπρις
ῥαβδονόμει ξυνοῦσα.

And you will recollect from our visit to the Canino collection of vases now exhibiting in London, that on a most beautiful cup (κύλιξ) of one foot three inches diameter, among the fourteen figures which adorn its splendid outside, and all of which allude to the various exercises of the gymnasium (being wrestlers, runners, players on the double flute, discoboli, &c.) there is actually one *measuring the ground with a long stick* in order to fix the spot of a *term* or *limit* (ὅρος, σκοπὸς) consisting of two smaller sticks united in a perpendicular position, and of this form ⊤, which the young man who follows holds in his hands. Of course this figure, when appearing (as it often does,) especially on Greek vases, as the ἐπίσημον of warriors' *shields*, must not be taken for the letter T or any thing else but an *emblem of exercises of the palæstra or stadium*, of which other symbols, equally often appearing as marks on shields, have also been misunderstood, as for instance *the upper part of a car* (δίφρος, ὄχος); *three discs* (δίσκοι) often quoted as balls (globi); the *triquetra*, which is by no means only a *Sicilian* emblem, but a very common symbol of the *race-course* (δρόμος); the *single leg*, which has exactly the same signification; the *pentagon*, which alludes probably to the πενταέθλον of the palæstra. The moveable *term* or *limit*, of which I speak, has often on vases this form and signifies always the same thing, it being a constant symbol of the δρόμος.

(of which the ἐπίσημον is a triquetra,[8]) advancing between two lofty columns with Doric capitals, surmounted by cocks. The face, arms, and legs of the goddess, as well as the triquetra, the usual emblem of speed in the δρόμος, on her shield, are, as usual, white. She wears a long black tunic (χιτὼν) fastened with a belt round the waist, and embroidered with stars and borders neatly traced with the needle on the surface of the clay. On the REVERSE—a young bearded man, dressed in a long white tunic, stands upright in a *quadriga*, conducting his four horses with two reins, one in each hand, and holding a long wand (the μάστιξ) in his right. The reins go through the yoke, which is fastened to the end of the pole, and which rises into a semicircular knot behind the neck of the two middle horses. From this semicircular part of the yoke a short bar (of bronze or iron) stands in a perpendicular direction, communicating, by a long string or thong in horizontal direction, with a longer bar (of bronze or iron) fastened in front of the chariot, and being of course between the two reins. These two bars, united by a strong thong, were evidently intended to prevent the chariot from any irregular motion either forward or back.

Round the neck of the vase is the double row of flowers, common on vessels and utensils destined for sacred use, and from which the usual ornaments of the antefixa on many Greek temples have evidently been imitated, on some (as on those of the temple of Egina,) *with colours alone on a flat surface;* more often (as on the Parthenon, the temple at Bassæ, &c.) in *sculpture, and (not seldom) painted afterwards.*[9]

This is almost all I wished to state to you, preliminary to the principal object of my letter, viz. the inscription.

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[8] See, for the signification of this mark, Note 7.

[9] We do not exactly know what plant it was from which these sacred ornaments so frequently appearing on the antefixa of temples, and on the vases, were copied; but there can be no doubt that it was a plant of a *mythical* signification, that is to say, in some connexion or other with religious ideas or traditions; and Dr. *Clarke* is perfectly right in what he has, sensibly and ingeniously, stated in the preface to the last edition of his work, (pages VII—X.) about the religious allusions of the plants and flowers appearing on so many Greek vases destined for sacred use. The research necessary for clearing up this part of Grecian Archæology would require an intimate acquaintance with the Botany of ancient Greece. It is to be regretted, that the late learned *Dr. Sibthorp* was not sufficiently conversant with Greek Archæology to illustrate certain parts of his splendid and valuable work on the *Greek Flora*, by reference to the monuments of ancient art, which may in their turn often afford peculiar and historical light to scientific pursuits.

Every one who examines the ancient inscription (of which each character is most clear and certain) on the Athenian amphora of Mr. Burgon, must confess, that if we consider these characters AΘENEΘN according to the general use of the Greek Alphabet, nay to the analogy resulting from the inscription itself, this second word of this inscription (AΘENEΘN,) becomes absolutely illegible. In fact, if the second character of this form (Θ,) like the first Θ in the same word, and a third Θ in the following (AΘΛON) be a *Theta*, the whole of this word (AΘENEΘN) becomes a monstrous combination which no one can pronounce, or tell the meaning of. This circumstance has induced the learned and ingenious author of the *Ancient Unedited Monuments*[10] to believe that the second Θ may be no *Theta*, but *a long* O, and to propose reading AΘENEON, which, according to another reference,[11] would be equivalent to *Ἀθηναιῶν*, the genitive of *Ἀθήναια*, which was the early name of the festivals afterwards called *Παναθήναια*;[12] the result of these combinations being, therefore, that the inscription should be read and explained as follows:—*Τῶν Ἀθηναιῶν ἄθλον εἰμί*: "*I am the prize of the Athenæa*," that is to say, of the Panathenaïc games.[13]

This explanation, though ingenious and better supported than several other opinions hitherto adopted in the study of Grecian Archæology, is subject to many doubts and difficulties, which it is not now my intention to expose.[14]

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[10] L. l. page 4.

[11] From some instances where, in the ancient Attic dialect, E took the place of the diphthong AI. (See Ancient Unedited Monuments, page 4. note 20.)

[12] See Ancient Unedited Monuments, page 4. note 21.

[13] Ibidem, l. l.

[14] As this letter has no polemical tendency whatever, and as I write it almost without my books before me, I shall not enter into any details except those immediately relating to the inscription in question; but I think it right to add here, from one of my papers, a short notice which may be of some use for reference to other opinions or researches on the subject:

The first short notice ever printed, I believe, of the Athenian Amphora and its inscription, was that trifling one in a letter from *M. Fauvel*, published in Millin's Magazin Encyclopédique, 1813, Tom. V. page 363. Almost at the same time the inscription of the Vase was better noticed by *Mr. Millingen*, in his "Peintures de Vases Grecs," (Rom. 1813. Introduction, p. ix. note 2.) Some time after, *Dr. E. D. Clarke* spoke of both the vase and its inscription, (with some remarks on the latter by the Rev. C. J. Blomfield, and the late Mr. Payne Knight,) in his Travels in Various Countries, in the last (*fourth*) edition in 8vo. London, 1818, Vol. 7th, preface, page x—xiv. Then *Mr. Dodwell* alluded to it, and gave a fac-simile of the inscription, but without any attempt to explain it, in his *Tour through Greece*, (2 vols. 4to. 1819,)

It would, moreover, be quite superfluous to start any critical objection against the reading of ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ, "*Ἀθηναιῶν*," as the author's own reliance on it was shaken, shortly after its publication, by the discovery of a similar vase from Nola,[15] with the inscription ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ; and as we have now no less than *twenty*, nay, more than twenty, similar Panathenaïc vases, of which *two* were found at Nola, and *eighteen* or more in the Canino and Vulci excavations,[16] all with the same inscription ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ, forming as many *material* proofs that the second Θ of the inscription on the Athenian amphora was by no means intended to be either a short or a long Ο, but in fact a *Theta*, and that the monstrous composition ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ

Vol. 1st, page 457. The inscription was also mentioned, with a few observations on the subject, by the *Rev. R. Walpole*, in Memoirs relating to Turkey, &c., London, 1817, 4to. page 453, and in the second volume: Travels in Various Countries, &c., London, 1820, page 597. *M. L. Dissen*, Professor at the University of Göttingen, afterwards spoke of the inscription in his very valuable Explicationes ad Nemea Pindari (in A. Bœckh's edition, Tom. II. Part II. page 468.) Then followed the publication of the vase and its inscription in the Ancient Unedited Monuments by *Mr. Millingen* (see note 1 of this Letter). Millingen's explanation was repeated with too many superficial additions of his own, by *M. Inghirami*, in his Monumenti Etruschi, &c., Tom. V. Part II. (Poligraphia Fiesolana, 1824,) pages 347—369. In an article on the work of Mr. Millingen, inserted in the Journal des Savans, (August, 1825,) *M. Raoul-Rochette* proposed another explanation of the inscription occasioned by a similar vase found at Nola. The principal point of M. Raoul-Rochette's explanation, *τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν*, "*ceux d'Athènes*," i. e. "*des Athéniens*," was refuted by Mr. Millingen in the *Additional Observations* to his Ancient Unedited Monuments, page 95. The inscription was published again, with excellent remarks, in *A. Bœckh's* Corpus Inscriptionn. Græcc. Vol. I. (Berol. 1825, in folio,) No. 33. pages 49—50. *M. Raoul-Rochette* spoke again of Panathenaïc vases with similar inscriptions, in the Journal des Savans for March, 1830. *M. Gerhard* published another, but very similar Panathenaïc vase (found at Nola, now in Berlin,) in his "*Antike Bildwerke*," Taf. V—VII. Prodromus (Stuttgart, 1828) page 117—138, where he also speaks of the Athenian vase and inscription; and so he did likewise in an able Notice on all Panathenaïc Vases hitherto found, in the *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, Vol. II. pages 209—224, 1830.

[15] See, in *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, the *additional Observations*, page 95. This vase, which belonged to the late General Koller, and is now in the Royal Museum at Berlin, was first described in *Kunstblatt*, 1825, No. 61, pages 241—242, and has been lately published by M. Gerhard (see the preceding note 14).

[16] See the notice of *M. Gerhard*, quoted in notes 4 and 14. I say, according to Gerhard's notice, "eighteen," adding "or more," because the author of the lately published *Museum Etrusque du Prince de Canino*, when speaking of the Panathenaïc Vases with the usual formula ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ, found in his excavations, says himself, page 48: "*On peut en voir dans le Museum dix entiers, et plus de vingt en pièces.*"

owes its origin to nothing but a mistake, not seldom met with in Greek inscriptions, the copyist having omitted an E between the second Θ and the following N,[17] after the insertion of which the word becomes both an easy one and a common one, AΘENEΘEN, that is to say, *Ἀθήνηθεν*, the whole inscription being the same as on all other Panathenaïc amphoræ hitherto found, except that the one found in Athens has one word more, EMI, that is to say, *εἰμί*.[18]

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[17] Besides the omission of a letter, another circumstance has also struck me, viz. that this remarkable Vase has *not* the usual emblems of the stadium—I mean the two columns surmounted with *cocks* (most frequently), sometimes with *vases* (symbols of the prizes), or with *panthers* (a Bacchic emblem).

[18] It is rather singular that this verb (EMI), not being found on the Canino vases, has thrown a suspicion into the mind of the Prince of Canino, that the word on the Athenian amphora is owing to some modern fraud. He says, on this subject (Museum Etrusque, page 51): "Nous finissons par observer qu'un des vases de Minerve illustré dans le bel ouvrage de M. le Chevalier Inghirami (I think he ought to have said, 'de M. Millingen,' see note 14 of this Letter,) comme venant de Thèbes, (this is a blunder of M. Inghirami's; see his Monumenti Etruschi, Tom. V. page 361,) porte l'inscription accoutumée, mais avec la terminaison EMI; toutes nos inscriptions de Minerve étant uniformes, nous supposons, sans l'affirmer, que le dernier mot de l'inscription du vase soi-disant Thébain fait partie de la restauration moderne à laquelle on nous assure qu'il a été soumis; et en vérifiant ce fait avec l'eau forte, le possesseur actuel de cette Minerve rendrait à la science un véritable service." The fact is, that all the *eau forte* existing at Canino could not wash away the EMI, which is perfectly good, and old, and of the same kind as the EMI on well-known inscriptions; as for instance on the *Delian Pedestal*, "*Ταὐτοῦ λίθου εἶμ' ἀνδριὰς καὶ τὸ σφέλας*," and on the *Sigean Pedestal*, "*Φανοδίκου εἰμὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους*," &c. (Cf. *Bœckh's* Corpus Inscriptt. Græcc. Tom. I. No. 10 and No. 8.) The inscription on the votive hare found at Samos, which I have published, (Voyages et Recherches en Grèce, Vol. I. planche XXI. with the explanation, page 128.) and which Col. Leake has also illustrated in the 1st Volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, is in the same category: "*τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πριηνῆϊ μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἡφαιστίων*." But the most brilliant example of the kind is the inscription on Phidias's great statue of Jupiter at Olympia: "*Φειδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖός μ' ἐποίησε*." (See Pausan. l. v, cap. 10. § 2.) With reference to the above-mentioned doubts of the Prince of Canino, as to the genuine integrity of the inscription, I shall here insert the following letter, which I have just received from Mr. Burgon, especially as it contains some curious circumstances connected with the discovery of the Athenian amphora:

"MY DEAR BRÖNDSTED,

"In the course of our last conversation about my Athenian Prize Vase, you expressed a wish, that I should communicate to you, in writing, all the circumstances of its discovery, as well as the particulars of its contents and condition when first found; and knowing so well the great degree of interest which you take in every thing that may assist in forming a correct opinion of this curious monument, I feel peculiar pleasure in giving you the following statement.

"The Vase was found, in my presence, on the 16th of May, 1813, in the course of an excavation which occupied about two months, on some waste ground outside the ancient wall of Athens, close to the Portæ Acharnicæ, about one hundred and sixty yards north-east of the modern gate called *Gribos-kapesi*.

"This ground is bounded on the east by the road leading to Thebes, and on the southern side by a chasm, forming the bed of a torrent. The exact position of the spot may be seen by referring to the 'Plan of the Antiquities of Athens,' among the plates illustrative of Lieutenant-Colonel Leake's interesting 'Topography of Athens,' published in 1821.

"The Vase in question was found about thirty yards north of the spot where the initial letter A (of the word Acharnicæ) stands on the plan referred to.

"That this ground had been anciently a cemetery, is proved by my having explored an area of nearly two hundred yards in circuit, and found there about forty-five well-defined tombs of various kinds.

"It was among these tombs that the Vase was discovered, deposited in the earth, about three feet below the surface, in a nearly upright position; and having a heavy rude slab, of schistus rock, about three inches thick, and twelve inches square, placed on its mouth. It retained its shape and position perfectly, after the earth was cleared away around it, although it was cracked all over in every direction, and was taken up in about forty pieces.

"As I have no doubt of the Vase having been deposited entire, and broken some centuries afterwards in its position in the earth, I must here give you my opinion of the cause of its fractured condition.

"On removing the fragments of the Vase, a complete and solid cast of the interior surface presented itself to view, formed of a hard compact mass of the finest earth. It would appear that this earth (mixed with water from the rains) had introduced itself, by slow degrees, into the mouth of the Vase, during a long succession of winters; and that the evaporation in the summer months had occasioned a gradual deposit, which ultimately filled the Vase with the mass just described. The expansion of this mass, on being suddenly wetted, after a very dry summer, no doubt burst the Vase; and thus we are enabled to account more satisfactorily for the condition in which I found it, than by supposing any accidental superincumbent pressure to have been the occasion, as such a circumstance would, no doubt, have altered the position of the fragments, which was not the case.

"On carefully examining the earth, to ascertain whether any thing had been deposited in the Vase, I found some remains of bones, which appeared to have been burnt, and also six earthen vessels. They consisted of three black two-handled cups of different sizes,—a small bottle-shaped vessel of yellow earth,—a pitcher-shaped vase with a handle,—and, lastly, a *Lecythus*, of inelegant form, on which is painted, in very rude ancient style, a runner or dancer between two standing figures.

"I might here close this narration; but as the recent discovery of so many Panathenaïc prize-amphoræ in Italy, with inscriptions analogous to that on mine, has given rise to discussions, in some of which the genuineness of my Vase (especially its inscription) has been called in question, it becomes necessary for me to state that I washed and joined the fragments myself, with the greatest care, at Athens. The Vase was never out of my possession, and has not been *restored*, in the Italian sense of the word; the inscription is, therefore, in every respect genuine,

and is exactly as engraved, on a reduced scale, in the valuable work of our friend Millingen. (Unedited Monuments, Series 1. Plate 1.)

" It is also to be observed that this Vase, when found, was complete. The fragment wanting on the neck of the Horses, was crumbled by the blow of a small pick-axe, at the first moment of its discovery. The larger and more unfortunate deficiency between the Charioteer and the Horses, was occasioned at the same instant by the labourer having detached, and carelessly thrown away, two or three of the fragments, while I was occupied in removing the earth; these pieces I could never succeed in recovering, although the most diligent search was made for them.

" In adverting to this misfortune, I must explain, that the labourer was under an impression that the amphora was not worth preserving,—as no painted vase had ever been discovered of so large a size, and previous experience had induced the common belief among the excavators, that thick and large vases were always of ordinary red earth and coarse fabric. It was, therefore, usual to disregard them, when any such were found, and they were consequently never washed or examined.

" In fact, I had myself imbibed this erroneous notion, and did not suspect this amphora to be painted, till, on scraping off the earth from one of the fragments, I saw the legs of the Horses. This circumstance alone led to its preservation; for the calcareous incrustation, which attaches itself to vases deposited so many centuries in the earth, had almost precluded the possibility of seeing its surface.

" I have detailed all these particulars, in order to explain how it happened that, nineteen days before, I had found and thrown away (without washing) four amphoræ, exactly similar to this in size and shape, each containing burnt bones and smaller vessels of various forms. These last were preserved and washed; and from a subsequent consideration and comparison of these objects, with those already described as having been found in my Vase, I was led to the mortifying conclusion that four Panathenaïc prize amphoræ had been destroyed, owing partly to the incrusted condition in which they were found, but principally to the erroneous notion just explained.

" This circumstance I shall never cease to regret, and only relate it to you, because it leads to the reasonable hope that future excavations at Athens may bring to light more of these interesting monuments.

" I cannot omit mentioning to you on this occasion, that a few days after the discovery of my prize amphora, I purchased of an Albanian peasant at Athens, an ancient silver coin, having a similar amphora represented on it. I have no doubt that this is an Athenian coin, and intend to publish it on a future day, with others of my collection. As however this new and curious type will be much illustrated by your interesting Dissertation on Panathenaïc Vases, I shall be happy to send you a drawing of the coin, if you would like to have it engraved as a vignette to your Memoir.

" Hoping that this long letter may not be found too tedious, believe me to be, my dear Bröndsted,

" Yours very sincerely,

" THOS. BURGON."

" 11, Brunswick Square, November 26th, 1831."

" *To the Chevalier Bröndsted, &c. &c. &c.*"

II.

After having examined the different opinions on the subject, contained in the publications which have been quoted in the 14th note, I think I must abandon them all, it being my full conviction that the inscription on the Athenian amphora of Mr. Burgon is to be read—

Τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων εἰμί

and explained—

"I am (one) of the prizes from Athens;"

and that the other inscription (omitting the word ΕΜΙ) on twenty or more similar painted vases found in Italy, is to be read—

Τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων

and explained—

"Of the prizes from Athens;"

there being no word whatever, neither *ἀγώνων* nor any other, to be understood, in either of these two formulæ, which are, in my opinion, perfectly substantiated by their own words, and with reference, less to the earthen vessels themselves, which could be made anywhere, than *to their contents*, namely, *the holy oil, which was necessarily brought from Athens;* the inscriptions on these Panathenaïc vases being, in that respect, quite analogous to that of the Sigean base or pedestal,[19] to that on the sepulchral Stele painted on a vase which belongs to M. Carelli, and which has been published by Mr. Millingen,[20] . . . . "*κόλπῳ δ' Οἰδιπόδαν Λαΐου υἱὸν ἴχω,*" and to others of the same kind. And with respect to the peculiar form of the inscription, it is quite analogous to the expression which *Pindar*, the purest example of simplicity and sublimity united, applies to the sweet

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[19] Quoted in the preceding note 18.

[20] Ancient Unedited Monuments, I. plates 35 and 36, with page 86, a. f.

song, "the Reward of Victory," τὸ καλλίνικον μέλος χαρίεν, merely, *that it comes from Delphi* (Πυθωνόθεν).[21]

This circumstance, *that the holy oil from Athens was the principal object, the real prize of the victor*, the Παναθηναϊκὸν ἔπαθλον, whilst the earthen vessel containing it was only a subordinate or secondary part of the prize, and that the vase, wherever it appears on Athenian monuments, was only the *symbol of Victory* or the *emblem of its prize, not the prize itself*, has not, I believe, been hitherto pointed out in its real extent and bearing. It is, however, of some interest in an historical point of view; and it is certainly the source of a right understanding of the inscriptions in question.

Every one knows the immense importance of the olive-tree for the wholesome food[22] and manifold comfort of the inhabitants of countries of certain latitudes: the pretension of the Athenians, that the first olive-tree ever existing on earth was that produced by *their* mighty goddess on the rock of Athens, is equally well known. The benefits resulting from this most useful plant were early identified, in the minds of the Athenian people, with the most solemn favours of their protecting Divinity; and from this identification arose many religious sayings and traditions, poetical tales, and even political institutions, of which we know much, and may conjecture more from analogy and probable inference from what we know. Hence, for instance, the celebrated tale of the *contest* between Minerva and Neptune, for possession of the Attic land, decided by the wonderful production of the holy tree on the Acropolis; hence the saying, that the grove of the holy olive-trees, called *Μορίαι*, near the Academy, originated altogether, by transplantation,

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[21] Pind. Pyth. v. 105. Compare *Nem.* III. towards the end, "Ἐπιδαυρόθεν τ' ἀπὸ καὶ Μεγάρων," with *Dissen's* Explicationes, p. 379, ed. Bœckh.

Another example of the same simplicity in an official inscription, is that on the fine helmet found by *Mr. Morritt*, at Olympia, which is now in the British Museum:

that is to say, τοι (οἱ) Ἀργεῖοι ἀνέθεν (ἀνέθεσαν) τῷ Διὶ τῶν Κορινθόθεν (of the spoils from Corinth). After a careful examination of this curious monument, I am convinced that it is impossible to read and to explain its inscription in any other manner than *M. Bœckh* has done (in the Corpus Inscriptt. Græcc. I. No. 29, page 47.), to whom I refer.

[22] *Sophocles'* expression, γλαυκᾶς παιδοτρόφου φύλλον ἐλαίας, (Œd. Col. 733.) is indeed literally true.

from the primitive olive-tree on the rock; hence such hymns as the beautiful ode of Sophocles to the praise of the first olive-tree, and the sacred grove which sprang from it, the φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον, αὐτόποιον, *ever watched by the great eye of Jupiter Morios, and by the blue-eyed goddess herself:*[23] hence the story of the sudden and marvellous reproduction of the sacred tree on the Acropolis, burnt by the Persians;[24] hence likewise the very old institution, which especially concerns our present object, that the double prize for the victors in the various contests of the Panathenaïc festivals was always, down to the very latest epochs of their celebration in Athens, a wreath of the foliage *and a certain measure of oil from the sacred olive-trees, called Μορίαι.*[25] Whatever may be the origin of this name, *Μορίαι*, whether from its

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[23] SOPHOCL. *Œdip. ad Colon.* v. 726—739, (edit. posthum. Musgraviana) with the *Scholiast*, who has the following interesting notice, concerning the origin of the holy olive-trees surrounding the *ἱερὸν* of Minerva near the Academy:—

"Ὁ δ' Ἴστρος καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν (τῶν Μοριῶν) δεδήλωκε, γράφων οὕτως," ... (the cipher is lost, but we know from *Suidas'* compilation, voc. *Μορίαι*, that they were originally *twelve*: "ἦσαν δὲ πρῶτον ΙΒ' τὸν ἀριθμὸν αἱ μεταφυτευθεῖσαι ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν.") ... "εἶναι δὲ κλάδον τῆς ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ ἐλαίας, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀκροπόλει φυτευθῆναί φασιν." The whole passage of the ancient interpreter on the verses 720 and following, "Ὅτι ἀπέσχοντο τῶν ἐλαιῶν τῆς Θεοῦ, &c." is very remarkable, because the information it contains is evidently borrowed from four of the most distinguished authors on Athenian Archæology, viz. from *Philochorus, Androtion, Istros*, and *Aristotle.*

Before leaving this matter concerning the origin of all *μορίαι* from the primitive olive-tree on the Acropolis, I must observe that *Meursius's* opinion (in his *Cecropia*, cap. XXII. Opp. ed. Lami, Tom. I. page 439,) that there were *two* holy trees on the Acropolis, (the one in the temple of Minerva Polias, and the other in that of Pandrosos,) is evidently a mistake, occasioned by a false interpretation of a fragment of *Philochorus*, (preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and by the anonymous chronologist of the Olympiads,) who spoke, as all ancient authors did, of the Pandroseum as *a part* or *a wing of the Polias temple.* No really ancient Greek author ever mentioned more than *one* sacred olive-tree on the Acropolis, that is to say, the primitive and most holy one in the temple of Minerva Polias: the "ἀστὴ ἐλαία ἡ ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ἡ καλουμένη πάγκυφος διὰ χθαμαλότητα." (*Hesychius*, voc. ἀστὴ ἐλαία. Compare especially the quotation of an ancient comedy, probably of Aristophanes, "ἀστῆς ἐλαίας τῆς ἐν Πόλει," in *Pollux* Onomast. l. IX. segm. 17, with l. VI. s. 163, and *Eustath.* in Odyss. ά. ed. Rom. p. 1383, line 5.) The reading in one of Aristophanes' Scholiasts, (ad Nubes, v. 1001,) "αἱ ἱεραὶ ἐλαῖαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει, Μορίαι ἐκαλοῦντο," is only a common blunder of the copyist,—read, ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ. The verse of Aristophanes himself, "ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν κατιὼν, ὑπὸ ταῖς μορίαις ἀποθρέξει," which the Scholiast is explaining, proves that it is so.

[24] Herodot. VIII. 55; *Pausan.* l. I. cap. 27. § 2. &c.

[25] Most of the passages in ancient authors concerning the double prize of the Panathenaïc

connexion with the tale about the *fatal* punishment and death (μόρος) of Halirrhotius,[26] or from its reference to μοῖρα, μορία (part, partage,) which other ancient interpreters seem to prefer,[27] or from the grammatical reasons which *Zeno, the Myndian,* alleged,[28] or finally (which I am inclined to prefer) from the worship of an *awful Jupiter,* a Dis inferus, Pluto, (Ζεὺς καταιβάτης and μόριος,) who had his altar near the Academy and watched the holy grove,[29] there can be no doubt of its general signification, these *Μορίαι* being the *only chosen and holy trees, consecrated by traditions, and by the general religious belief, to produce alone the holy oil destined for the Panathenaïc sacrifice,*[30] *and for the prizes in*

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victors, have been collected by Meursius in the 11th chapter of his Panathenæa (Opp. ed. Lami, Tom. II. p. 568-571).

With respect to the assertion in the text, that a certain measure of the sacred oil continued always to be the prize in the Panathenæa, down to a late Roman epoch, it may be of some interest to compare *Simonides,* Epigr. LXIX. Antholog. ed. F. Jacobs, Tom. I. page 72, and *Pindar,* Nem. Od. X. v. 33-36 (ed. Bœckh), with *Plinius,* H. N. XIII. 1: "Panathenaïcon suum (unguentum) Athenæ perseveranter obtinuere."

[26] As we are told by one of the scholiasts to *Aristoph. Nubes,* v. 1001; by *Suidas* voc. Μορίαι, &c.

[27] So says, for instance, another of the scholiasts to Aristophanes (Nub. v. 1001): that they were called Μορίαι . . . . διὰ τὸ πάντα ἄνθρωπον κεκτημένον ἐλαίας (lege ταύτας τὰς ἐλαίας, the necessity of this emendation will be shown afterwards) ἀναγκάζεσθαι μέρος τι παρέχειν εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια. SUIDAS and ETYMOL. *Magn.* have almost the same derivation. The former says (voc. Μορίαι) . . . "ἐμερίζοντό τε καὶ ἐνέμοντο τὸ ἔλαιον τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν (from these trees) Ἀθηναῖοι ἅπαντες." The latter (voc. Μορίαι) . . . "τὰς ἱερὰς τῇ Θεῷ ἐλαίας, ὅτι δημοσίαν μοῖραν ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν ἐλάμβανον."

According to this etymology, the Ζεὺς Μόριος watching the holy trees (Sophocl. Œd. Col. l. c. v. 737) would be a Ζεὺς Μοιραῖος or Μεριστής.

[28] "Ὅτι τὸ βρύον τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἐκάλουν μόρον· ἔνθεν αἱ ἀνθοῦσαι ἐλαῖαι μορίαι ἐλέγοντο." (Etymologic. Magn. voc. Μορία.)

[29] According to *Apollodorus,* quoted by the Scholiast to Sophocl. Œd. ad Colon. v. 734: Μόριον Δία εἶπε τὸν ἐπόπτην τῶν Μοριῶν ἐλαιῶν· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ λεγόμενος Μόριος Ζεὺς περὶ Ἀκαδημίαν, ὡς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος· "Περὶ Ἀκαδημίαν ἐστὶν ὅτε τοῦ Καταιβάτου Διὸς βωμὸς, ὃν καὶ Μόριον καλοῦσι, τῶν ἐκεῖ μοριῶν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἱδρυμένων."

[30] It should not be forgotten that the Panathenæa were originally nothing but a great *sacrifice,* (. . καὶ Παναθήναια θυσίαν ἐποίησε κοινὴν, says *Plutarch* in Theseo, cap. 24) : compare the expression "Ἀθηναίῃ ἐν θυσίαις," for the Panathenæa, in the Skolion Athen. XV. p. 695. B., and that all the ceremonies connected with them originated from the religious wish and intention to do what might be acceptable to the Goddess of Athens; of course the oil offered to herself, by the sacrifice, and to her favourites (because all victory proceeded from her) from the prizes, was *from her own favourite trees.*

the games connected with that national festival, or, to use the very words of an ancient interpreter, these trees being, "*αἱ ὄντως ἱεραὶ ἐλαῖαι τῆς Θεοῦ, αἱ καλοῦνται Μορίαι, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ἔλαιον τῶν Παναθηναίων.*"[31]

For this curious fact, viz. that no other oil but that from the *Μορίαι* could be used as *Παναθηναϊκὸν*, we have not only the testimony of scholiasts and interpreters of low times, but the most certain evidences in great writers from centuries when the Athenian Panathenæa were still celebrated with all their classical splendour. *Aristotle* says "that the victors in the Panathenæa received oil produced by the *Μορίαι*;"[32] and *Lucian* confirms this information in a remarkable passage, where Anacharsis, on seeing the tumult of a Greek gymnasium and its various exercises, asks Solon: "*τὰ δὲ ἆθλα τίνα ὑμῖν ταῦτά ἐστιν;*" and Solon answers: "'*Ολυμπιάσι μὲν στέφανος ἐκ κοτίνου, Ἰσθμοῖ δὲ ἐκ πίτυος, ἐν Νεμέᾳ δὲ σελίνων πεπλεγμένος· Πυθοῖ δὲ μῆλα τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ θεοῦ· παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς Παναθηναίοις τὸ ἔλαιον τὸ ἐκ τῆς μορίας.*"[33]

You see, Sir, that there was no question, either by Aristotle or by Lucian, of the *Vases* containing the oil, but only of the *holy oil itself* being the prize of Panathenaïc victories—a fact which, even without evidence from books, might be inferred from the circumstance that the Athenians, who traced the origin of their Panathenæa so far back as to *Erichthonius*—nay, called and represented *him* as the first who contended in the chariot-race,[34]—certainly gave a measure of sacred oil to the victors, ages (nay, centuries) *before* their art and industry were arrived at such a degree of perfection in handling the *terra-cotta*, and in painting and adorning it, that the vessel of this material could be reasonably looked upon as any thing worthy of attention, much less as a prominent part of the public prize.

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[31] *Schol. Aristoph.* (Nub. 1001.)

[32] *Schol.* ad *Sophocl.* Œd. Col. v. 733: "*Ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ τοῖς νικήσασι τὰ Παναθήναια ἐλαίου τοῦ ἐκ μοριῶν γιγνομένου δίδοσθαί φησι.*"

[33] *Lucian* de Gymnas. Opp. ed. I. T. Reitzii, Tom. II. page 887-888. One might believe, with respect to the various information we have concerning the holy Olive-grove near the Academy, that the reading in the above-quoted passage of Lucian should be *τὸ ἐκ τῶν μοριῶν*. But there is nothing to be altered, *τὸ ἐκ τῆς μορίας* being a *collective expression* for the holy produce of the primitive *μορία* and of all other trees which sprang from it by transplantation (see above, note 23).

[34] See the 15th metope of the southern side of the Parthenon, and my explanation of it in *Voyages et Recherches en Grèce*, &c., IIe livr. (Paris 1830, in 4to.) page 220.

This might very well have been the case, if the Athenians, who had no want of superstitions, had had this also, that there was some holy *earth* or *clay* particularly connected with the worship of Minerva: but no one ever heard of such a thing; and the absurdity of bringing earth from a distant country, where holy persons once lived, to a certain *Campo Santo*, was reserved to other times and other nations.

Afterwards, when, by the progress of Athenian industry, in manipulating that excellent, clean, and most durable though fragile material, the terra cotta, it was become customary to enclose the holy oil destined for Panathenaïc prizes in such handsome vases; and when, of course, that ingenious people, with the same lively feeling and spirit which shows itself everywhere in Athenian institutions, had embellished those earthen vessels with congenial religious emblems,—*then*, certainly, these receptacles were *also* looked upon as part of the victor's prize, and were occasionally mentioned as such, and as symbols of contest and victory, by several poets; as for instance, towards the middle of the fifth century before our era, by *Pindar*, when praising the Argive Theæos and his double Panathenaïc victory:[35] but even from the pompous and elegant words of the tenth Nemean Ode, it is quite evident that the poet looked upon "*the fruit of the olive*," as the real object for Theæos's exertion, and his *principal* reward. The poet does *not* say:—" and splendid pictured vases of fire-burnt earth, filled with oil, came over to Argos, &c.;" but he does say:—" as a prelude (to future victories), sweet songs twice proclaimed him victor in the sacred festivals of the Athenians, and *the fruit of the olive-tree* came over in splendid vessels of earth burnt in fire, to the manly people of Juno." And when Pindar said *the fruit of the olive-tree*, he meant of course not common oil (of which there was no need at Argos), but, which was immediately understood by every ancient Greek,

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[35] PINDAR, Nemea X. v. 33—36 (ed. A. Bœckh):

— — ἀδεταί γε μὲν ἀμβολάδαν
ἐν τελεταῖς δὶς Ἀθαναίων νιν ὀμφαὶ
35. κώμασαν· γαίᾳ δὲ καυθείσᾳ πυρὶ καρπὸς ἐλαίας
ἔμολεν Ἥρας τὸν εὐάνορα λαὸν ἐν ἀγγέων ἔρκεσιν παμποικίλοις.

with the very able and satisfactory explanation of this passage by M. *L. Dissen* in the *Explicationes*, page 468, where an absurd mineralogical tale by one of the Scholiasts, and the error into which Heyne was induced by it, are clearly refuted.

the fruit of the holy tree, of the olive-tree κατ' ἐξοχήν, that is to say, of the μορία, which, in the general belief of the Greeks, did not exist but at Athens.[16]

That this was in fact the traditional opinion, not only of the Athenians, but of the Greeks in general, is quite evident from the circumstance that,

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[16] As for Panathenaïc *vases appearing as symbols of contest and victory* on Athenian monuments, the fragment of *Callimachus* (No. 122, in *Ernesti's* edition, Lugd. Bat. 1761, in 8vo. Tom. I. page 490), quoted by the Scholiast of Pindar,

καὶ πορ' Ἀθηναίοις γὰρ ἐπὶ στέγος ἱερὸν ἦνται
Κάλπιδες, οὐ κόσμου σύμβολον, ἀλλὰ πάλης,

is very remarkable, because it contains, most likely, an indication of the ἀκρωτήρια *of the Parthenon*, of which we are not informed anywhere else. I think it is most probable that Callimachus, in the third century before Christ, by the "στέγος ἱερὸν" of the Athenians did not mean any other building than the Parthenon; if so, we learn that this great temple had *vases* as ornaments of the tympana. An analogy seems to confirm this opinion, viz. that there were likewise vases as ἀκρωτήρια of the great temple at Olympia (see *Pausan.* l. v. cap. 10, § 2): . . . ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ λέβης ἐπίχρυσος ἐπὶ ἑκάστῳ τοῦ ὀρόφου τῷ πέρατι ἐπίκειται, κ. τ. λ.

If the fragment of Callimachus had been present to my mind when I wrote a certain note in the second book of my work (Voyages et Recherches en Grèce, Vol. II. page 159, note 5), where I proposed as probable ἀκρωτήρια of the Parthenon—*a great architectural ornament on the top* (as on the temple of Minerva, commonly called that of Jupiter Panhellenius, at Ægina), and *sphinxes* on the corners of the tympana, I should of course have altered it. In my restorations of the pediments, which are now engraving, I have placed on the top of the tympanum *an owl on a* κάλπις, as on well-known tetradrachms (which certainly got their type from some great national monument, most probably from the Parthenon itself), and *amphoras or* ὑδρίας *near the angles;* and I hope you will approve of this arrangement, the more so, as the owl on a horizontal diota, when well executed, will be in perfect harmony with the two great groups in the middle of both pediments.

I have been much pleased to learn, since I wrote this note, that *Mr. Wilkins* has already inferred, from the above-quoted passage of Callimachus, that there must have been vases as Acroteria on the Parthenon. (See his *Atheniensia*, pp. 112—113.)

Whenever *Vases* appear on painted earthen vessels as *devices on the shields of Minerva*, or *upon the two columns* between which the goddess steps forward, or when they appear on ancient *coins* of Athens, I consider the signification of these emblems to be the same as that of the Vases on the roof of the Parthenon, referred to in the verses of Callimachus just quoted; viz. that they are the *symbols of contest and victory* connected with the sacred festivals of the protecting goddess of Athens.

Of the first kind of emblems, I mean of vases appearing either as ἐπίσημα on the shield of Minerva, or on the columns which represent the *metæ* of the stadium, we have already several instances on terra-cotta vessels from the late Italian excavations.

whatever may have been the variety of local sayings in different Greek countries concerning the origin and qualifications of *their Pallas Athene;* however great may have been the vanity and reciprocal jealousy of the Greeks in matters of this kind; no one (as far as I know) ever started in ancient Greece an objection against the old Athenian saying, that the Goddess produced the first olive-tree on the rock of Athens. If there had been any doubt or traditional difference among the Greeks in that respect, could the Chorus in the Œdipus Coloneus of *Sophocles* have boldly said, before thousands of Athenians and foreigners, "that they never heard that this wonderful plant sprang up, either in Asia's land, or in Pelops' great Doric isle, but that it arose, not planted by human hands, only in this country, where it flourishes wonderfully, the terror of hostile spears"—alluding to the fact of which we are informed (says the Scholiast) by several authors, and among others by *Philochorus* and *Androtion,* that when the united Lacedæmonians and Bœotians, one hundred thousand strong (δέκα μυριάσι),[37] and commanded by the king of Sparta, Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, invaded Attica, they abstained from injuring in any way the holy olive-grove of the μορίαι, but passed by, after having performed a sacrifice to Minerva?[38]

A very fair specimen of the second kind of monuments, viz. of Athenian *coins,* with the Panathenaïc amphora as the type, is an old silver didrachm in Mr. Burgon's collection, purchased at Athens, (see above, p. 111, towards the end of the letter,) which forms the *Vignette* at the end of this Memoir, and may be thus described:—

Panathenaïc ἀμφορεὺς *surrounded by a circular border,* (probably with the intention, of which many ancient Greek and Macedonian coins afford analogous examples, of making the principal side of this didrachm appear as a *round shield, having for its device the amphora.)*—AR: Four triangular indentations, so united as to form a *quadratum incusum.* AR. 5. rrrr.

When I first saw this very old and remarkable coin, I believed it to be of Ægina, and that it bore a reference to the *contest of the amphora,* (ἀγὼν ἀμφορίτης), which was performed during the national festivals of the Æginetans (τὰ Αἰακεῖα), and of which *Apollonius Rhodius* has related the origin in a curious passage of his Argonautica, l. IV. v. 1765, a. f.; but I am now persuaded that it is in fact an old Athenian didrachm, and that it was struck with some reference to the Panathenaïc festivals, the Vase on the obverse or principal side of the coin being precisely similar in form and proportions to all Panathenaïc amphoræ hitherto discovered.

[37] We may fairly suppose that this improbably large number originated from the numerical letter Δ' (*Four*) having been misinterpreted by a copyist.

[38] Sophocl. Œd. ad Colon. v. 726—738, with the Scholiasts, who also quote, according to *Istros* I believe, the circumstance, that the Lacedæmonians were deterred from touching the holy trees by the imprecations (διὰ τὰς ἀρὰς) anciently attached to them.

III.

IF we acknowledge (as I think we must) the two facts, that *the holy oil from the μορίαι was the principal object of the Panathenaïc prize*, and that *this oil could not be got any where else in Greece but from Athens*, we must also admit the necessary consequences of those facts.

The Atheuians, who left their country and settled on distant shores of the Euxine Sea and Asia Minor, of the Cyrenaïca, of Sicily, of Italy, &c. carried constantly their θεοὺς πατρῴους, and, above all, their *Panathenaïc sacrifice and its regulations* with them. Of course the holy oil, *which was exclusively Panathenaïc*, must have been procured from the mother-country; and there can be no doubt that the *exportation of this article* from *Athens* was regulated by some particular stipulations which we do not exactly know, but which we may fairly conjecture from analogous circumstances, and even infer, to a certain degree, from the old Athenian laws concerning the *μορίαι*, and from the great care which was taken at all times to preserve these sacred olive-trees, and to make their produce profitable to the state.

The state had reserved to herself, and, I believe from the very beginning of the Athenian commonwealth, the possession of all the sacred olive-trees, of whatever age they were, both of the flourishing trees, which continued to bear fruit (τῶν μοριῶν), and also of those which were decayed, or of which the *trunks* only remained (τῶν σηκῶν). That this was the real difference between *μορία* and σηκὸς, and that *J. Markland*[39] was right in this respect, I doubted for some time, because Photius's words,[40] quoted by Markland himself, are *not* favourable to his opinion, and those of an unedited Greek Manuscript Lexicon, not known to Markland, but afterwards quoted by *Ruhnken*,[41] are still less so. But it must be observed, that the gram-

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[39] Who wrote an able note on the subject in his *Conjecturæ ad Lysiam*, inserted in *J. Taylor's* edition of Lysiæ Orationes (London, 1739, 4to.) in the second volume, pages 547—548.

[40] In the *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 262, (ex recensione Im. Bekkeri, Berolini, 1824, 4to. page 489, A. line 15.): " ὁ σηκὸς δὲ νῦν εἶδός ἐστιν ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας."

[41] In Timæi Sophistæ Lex. Vocc. Platonic. ed. *Dav. Ruhnkenii*, (Lugd. 1789, 8vo.) voce σηκὸς .... ἄλλοτε δὲ (σημαίνει) τὴν ἐλαίαν τὴν πολύκλαδον.

marians and compilers of low times were themselves rather embarrassed with this word σηκὸς, and wavering about its signification, when they found it used by Lysias for an olive-tree of a certain kind, or part of it;[42] and I am now persuaded, that the author of an article in Suidas's Lexicon (voc. *Μορίαι*) and Markland are right, especially from two passages in the speech of *Lysias περὶ τοῦ Σηκοῦ*: the first, where the orator says (§. 2; ed. Bekker, page 259), that his enemies had at first accused him of having destroyed an ἐλαία, and that they went, for information, to the merchants who sell the fruits and oil from the μορίαι, but that, not having found in this way any charge against him (Lysias), they changed their minds, and accused him now of having destroyed a σηκὸς, (it is obvious from the opposition of the two words, that σηκὸς was *not* a tree bearing fruit, not what the ancients called an ἐλαία βρύουσα, *Pollux*, I. segm. 237.); the second, where Lysias says (*περὶ τοῦ Σηκοῦ*, §. 28; ed. Bekker, page 265): . . . "ἐκ τούτου τὴν μορίαν ἀφανίζειν ἐπεχείρησα τοῦ χωρίου, ἐν ᾧ δένδρον μὲν οὐδὲ ἓν ἐστι, μιᾶς δὲ ἐλαίας σηκὸς, ὡς οὗτός φησιν εἶναι . . ." words which cannot, I believe, admit any other interpretation than *the trunk of a single olive-tree*, a signification which is likewise confirmed by the words in § 5. (ed. Bekker, page 260): ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν, ἐμὸν ἔργον ἀποδεῖξαι ὡς ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον ἐκτησάμην, οὔτ' ἐλαία οὔτε σηκὸς ἐνῆν ἐν αὐτῷ . . . the word ἐλαία being here in its large signification of every *growing* and *fruitful olive-tree*, holy or common.

There must have been some peculiarity about the growth or appearance of the μορία,* or, at least, some *mythical* or *traditional mark*, (which we

[42] So says, for instance, *Harpocration*, (Lex. X. Rhetor.): "Σηκὸς . . . . μήποτε οὖν τὰς μὲν ἰδιωτικὰς ἐλαίας καλοῦσι, τὰς δὲ δημοσίας, μορίας· σηκὸν δὲ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ μορίαν ὀνομάζουσι τὴν αὐτήν." And *Suidas*, following Harpocration in his note on the word σηκὸς, is also doubtful, saying, . . . τάττουσι τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἐπὶ ἐλαίας· λέγει γὰρ Λυσίας· "ὃς δύο ἔτη ἐγεώργησεν, οὔτε ἰδίαν ἐλαίαν, οὔτε μορίαν, οὔτε σηκόν" μήποτε οὖν . . . τὴν αὐτήν. (See the above copied passage from Harpocration.)

In these words of Suidas are two mistakes; the first, that in quoting Lysias, (περὶ τοῦ σηκοῦ, § 10; in Bekker's Oratt. Græc. Oxon. 1822, Tom. I. page 261,) he omits, after σηκὸν, the word "παραλαβὼν," an omission which entirely perverts the sense of the phrase; the second (which is rather extraordinary) that Suidas forgot, when writing his note on the word σηκὸς, that he himself knew the real signification of this word, when writing his article under μορίαι, where he says, "τῆς δὲ μορίας ἐκείνης Ὁ ΣΤΕΛΕΧΟΣ σηκὸς ἐκαλεῖτο."

* The tree of that race was probably of very low or *short trunk*, as the primitive olive-tree (in the temple of Minerva Polias on the Acropolis), which for that reason was called πάγκυφος. See *Hesychius*, voc. ἀστὴ ἐλαία, with the note in J. Alberti's edition.

have now quite lost sight of,) distinguishing these trees from all others, because the state had never the former (the ἱερὰς or δημοσίας ἐλαίας) united in one great body of trees or *separate* grove, but scattered here and there, and mingled with the ordinary or private trees (ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐλαίαις). The former were only better kept, and provided with an enclosure (probably of masonry) of some feet in diameter, or somewhat larger, if the tree required it, to prevent any but the respective farmers and officers from interfering with their growth or fruits,[43] and which were, I believe, managed by the farmers, under control and orders emanating from the *Areiopagus*, who were, from the earliest times of the Athenian commonwealth, invested with the execution of the laws concerning the holy trees, and who sent accordingly, *every month*, inspectors (ἐπιμελητὰς),[44] and *once a year* superior officers called ἐπιγνώμονας,[45] to see that they were properly cultivated, to gather the portion of the fruit due to the government, and to fine culprits for any minor infringements of those laws; for instance, if any one had stolen fruit, or had broken up the ground within the enclosure.[46] The greater crime of destroying a holy tree, whether in a flourishing state (a real μορία), or only its trunk (σηκὸς), was severely punished, viz., by the culprit's *banishment for ever*, and the *confiscation of his property*.[47]

It may still be observed in Attica, that there are some very productive olive-trees of remarkably low and thick trunk, and with a foliage somewhat different from that of the other olive-trees; but my attention not having been directed, during my travels in Greece, to the principal points of the present inquiry, the circumstance did not particularly attract my observation.

[43] *Lysias* περὶ τοῦ Σηκοῦ, § 14. The circumstance, that the holy trees had always a τέμενος of a certain width, with a surrounding wall, whilst the common olive-trees were planted in symmetrical rows and without particular enclosure, was the reason why *Solon*, in his laws, has called the common olive-trees στοιχάδες. *Pollux* Onomast. lib. v. segm. 36: Σόλων δὲ καὶ στοιχάδας τινὰς ἐλαίας ἐκάλησε ταῖς μορίαις ἀντιτιθείς, ἴσως τὰς κατὰ στοῖχον πεφυτευμένας.

[44] I suppose of the ten ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου καὶ τοῦ σίτου. (See Harpocration, Suidas, and Etymol. Magn. voc. ἐπιμεληταί.)

[45] Who had the charge of regulating the taxes to be paid to the state from landed property. (Harpocration et Etymol. Magn. voc. ἐπιγνώμονες.)

[46] *Lysias*, l. l. § 25 and § 29.

[47] Lysias, l. l. §§ 15, 32 and 41. As the barren trunk of a tree remaining near a house or in the middle of a fine vineyard, was certainly a nuisance, (see *Lysias*, l. l. § 14,) one might wonder that the government did not allow the respective land-owners to do away with these unsightly objects. But it may be properly observed that the roots and trunks of dead and barren

These laws were certainly rigid; but they were, I conceive, the more necessary, as the government did not cultivate the sacred trees by its own labourers, but only superintended, by means of the above-mentioned officers, their proper culture, and fixed the proportional tax or produce to be collected after the harvest from the farmers; who were probably always, or at least in most cases, the owners or farmers of the surrounding ground. I infer this arrangement (which, by the bye, would be the most expedient in every country where the state is in possession of numerous fruit-trees, growing on a ground which is not its own) from the circumstance in *Lysias'* speech, that *his calumniators went to the Moria oil-merchants, to ascertain whether Lysias had sold them olives from a certain tree,*[48] a fact which suggests various considerations of importance to the present research. And 1st, that there existed in Athens *a legal trade with the holy oil;* 2dly, that any one who was in possession of olives producing that article, could dispose of them for his own benefit to the merchants, (because the charge against Lysias, at which his enemies first aimed, was *not* that he had sold holy olives, but that he had sold them from a tree *which he had illegally cut down.*) This same statement implies also, I believe, 3dly, the curious notice, that the *Μορία* oil-merchants, when buying olives of that kind, must have sent some of their own people to gather the fruit, or at least to ascertain their real origin; if not, how could the enemies of Lysias have expected to get from those merchants any information on the question, whether Lysias had actually destroyed any one or more of such trees?

From these considerations, and especially from the certainty we have of the two facts, 1st, that the holy oil from the *μορίαι* was *exclusively* Panathenaïc, 2dly, that there existed in Athens *a legal trade* in that article, (which could by no means be calculated upon the consumption in the Panathenaïc festivals of Athens itself, amply provided for as it was by the state, from the immense quantity of olives it received every year from

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olive-trees were the usual fuel in Athens, and are still so, (see *A. Bœckh's* Public Economy of Athens, &c. the English translation, London, 1828, Vol. I. page 58,) and that of course even the dead trees were an object for convenient care and management, especially if (which may probably have been the case) *no other fuel than that from the sacred trees* could be used in the temples, and for the vast number of public sacrifices.

[48] Lysias, *περὶ τοῦ Σηκοῦ*, § 2. . . . *οὕτω δ' ἄπορος ὁ ἀγὼν μοι καθέστηκεν, ὥστε ἀπεγράφην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐλαίαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀφανίζειν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐωνημένους τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν μορίων πυνθανόμενοι προσῆεσαν*, κ.τ.λ.

the farmers of the holy trees,) I am induced to believe that there must have been a great demand for this article, and a considerable trade carried on in it abroad, to Athenian colonies and wherever Athenians (who could not be without their Panathenaïc festivals) had settled for any time.

This view of the subject, which seems to be in harmony with all the bearings of it to which I have had access, is also confirmed by a remarkable inscription on a *Greek Terra-cotta Vase*, which was formerly in Constantinople, and which has been quoted by M. *Bœckh* in his Corpus Inscriptt. Græcarum:[49] "*Ἀγασίας ἄρχων τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων*," which, in consideration of the genitive form *ἄθλων* being the same, from *ἆθλος*, (the contest, or *game*,) and from *ἆθλον*, (the *prize*, or *reward*,) may be equally well translated: "AGASIAS, THE PRESIDENT OF THE GAMES FROM ATHENS;" or, "AGASIAS, THE PRESIDENT AT (VIZ. THE DISTRIBUTOR OF) THE PRIZES FROM ATHENS." I should, however, prefer the latter interpretation, as the inscription contains exactly the common official formula of the Panathenaïc prizes themselves (*τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων*); in both cases, perfectly equivalent as to the meaning, Agasias was the *Agonothetes* at Panathenaïc festivals, whether in a public character as a magistrate, (supposing that an Athenian community had made the provision for those festivals,) or whether this individual, by patriotism or munificence, had provided for them out of his own purse; in which latter case, the analogy quoted by Bœckh (l. c.) between this inscription and that of a bronze vase from Cumæ[50] is evident; and if the Terra-cotta Vase was found in a tomb, or in some ruin of ancient Byzantium, there can scarcely be any doubt that the inscription refers to Panathenaïc festivals celebrated at Byzantium during the short occupation of that town by the Athenians under *Alcibiades*, in the first year of the 93rd Olympiad, (B. C. 408—407.)[51]

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[49] Vol. I. page 50, in the explanation of Inscript. No. 33.

[50] Explained by M. *Bœckh* (Corpus Inscriptt. Græcc. I. No. 32, page 48—49.)

[51] See *Xenoph.* Hist. Græc. lib. I. cap. 3. § 8—13. Comp. *Clinton's* Fast. Hellen. ad Olymp. 93. I am curious to know if my opinion coincides with that of M. Bœckh on the subject. This great connoisseur in Greek Epigraphic style in general, when quoting, occasionally, this inscription, says of it, (Corp. Inscriptt. page 50, No. 33): "Constantinopoli olim fuit vas fictile, cujus *inscriptio suo a me loco reponetur*: *Ἀγασίας ἄρχων τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων*: unde conjicias Byzantii aliquo tempore, quum id Athenienses obtinerent, Atticos ludos celebratos esse," &c.: but I am not aware of its having been explained afterwards in the Corpus Inscriptionum; if so, it has escaped my observation.

That the Athenian government alone, or exclusively by its own agents, carried on this trade in the holy oil, can *not* be presumed, because, if such a monopoly had existed, this government would not have found any persons disposed to engage as farmers of the holy trees. The farmers, after delivery of the tithes or tax regulated according to certain rules which we do not know, by the ἐπιγνώμονες, must certainly have had a right to dispose of the remaining part of their olive-crop.[52] With respect to the *exportation* of this article, I believe, indeed, that there was some restriction; but certainly not *that* restriction which *Meursius*,[53] *Corsini*,[54] *Petitus*,[55] and some recent authors who followed them, have imagined; viz. *that no one in Athens was allowed to export oil, except the victors in the Panathenian games*, a most extraordinary statement, which Boeckh truly calls *absurd*.[56] To say that in a country which produced, and still produces thousands, nay, ten thousands of gallons of oil more than the annual consumption in the country itself, all *exportation* of this article was confined to some twenty or thirty measures every year gained at the public games, is just as if any one should tell us, that there existed at some epoch or other a law in England, that none but a few mineralogists should export pit-coal from this country.—The absurdity of the supposition becomes still more evident, when we consider the source from which it sprang; the only ancient statement of the kind, I believe, existing in Greek literature, is contained in these words of *one of the Scholiasts* to Pindar's Nemea, x. 35.: "Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐξαγωγὴ ἐλαίου ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, εἰ μὴ τοῖς νικῶσι:"[57] and with this blunt weapon *Corsini* attempts to do away

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[52] It might have been the case that the farmers were obliged to sell, at fixed prices, their part of the μοῖρα crop to the agents of government; but no such law ever existed in ancient Athens: it would indeed have been a most despotical abuse of power, like the infamous contrivance of the late Ali Pacha of Albania, who, whilst I was in Greece, himself fixed every autumn the market prices, forced his subjects to sell the corn they could dispose of, to *his* agents alone, and exported it afterwards in his own ships to the Ionian islands, to Smyrna, Malta, &c.

[53] See his *Panathenæa*, cap. XI. (Opp. ed. Lami, Tom. II. page 571.)

[54] *Fasti Attici* (Florentiæ, 1744, in 4to), Part I. Dissert. I. cap. XXV. page 30.

[55] Commentar. in Leges Atticas (ed. P. Wesselingii, Lugd. Bat. 1742, in fol.) lib. v. tit. v. § 1. page 512.

[56] See Bœckh's Public Economy of Athens (the English translation), Vol. I. page 59, note 165. Cf. his edition of Pindar, Vol. II. page 504, note 1.

[57] "It is not allowed to any one, except to the victors (in the Panathenian games) to export oil from Athens."—See Pindari Opp. ed. *A. Bœckh*, Tom. II. Part. I. page 505.

with the most respectable authorities for facts diametrically opposite to the statement of the Scholiast, but quite in harmony with the nature of things, and of the soil of Attica to this very day, and with every analogy in the traffic and trade of other times and nations; as for instance, that old and venerable law contained in *Solon's first* Ἄξων (concerning productions of the soil), *by which he allowed only exportation of oil,* with prohibition to export any other provisions,[58] and the statement likewise quoted by Plutarch, (a fact very interesting, because it proves that the old law on the liberty of the oil trade, granted by Solon, was not changed in the years 397—395 B. C.), that Plato provided for the expenses of his travels in Egypt, by carrying oil from Attica to that country.[59] *Corsini* attempted to correct Plutarch by the Scholiast of Pindar: he ought to have done the reverse, correcting the latter by the former, or by some other really ancient Greek author of weight and merit; which I shall now try to do, my task being in this instance quite similar (though easier) to that which I undertook some time ago, when (if I was right) we got rid of a *Demos* in Attica, called Χιτώνη, which never existed, being founded only upon a mistake of the Scholiast on a remarkable passage in *Callimachus's* Hymn to Diana.[60]

I must, in the first place, recommend to your consideration that circumstance, which seems to be of some importance, that the Scholiast to the above-mentioned passage of Pindar, (Nemea, x. 35,) only proposed to speak of *certain prizes in Panathenaïc games.* Neither the passage of the poet he was explaining, nor the context of his own development of that passage, could reasonably engage him to enter into any remarks concerning the common oil-trade. What the poet and what the Scholiast himself were speaking of, was only the *sacred and Panathenaïc oil;* and I think, of course, that the context itself obliges us to admit, that by a very common inadvertence of some copyist, an adjective, ἱεροῦ or παναθηναϊκοῦ, has been omitted after ἐλαίου.

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[58] *Plutarch* in Solone, cap. 24. (Opp. ed. Reiske, Tom. I. page 365): τῶν δὲ γινομένων διάθεσιν πρὸς ξένους ἐλαίου μόνον ἔδωκεν, ἄλλα δ' ἐξάγειν ἐκώλυσεν, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐξαγόντων, ἀρὰς τὸν Ἄρχοντα ποιεῖσθαι προσέταξεν, ἢ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον.

[59] *Plutarch* in Solone, cap. 11. (ed. Reiske, page 318.) Comp. *Clinton's* Fasti Hellenici to the year 395 B. C.

[60] See page 259, note 7, in the Second Volume of my *Voyages et Recherches en Grèce,* &c. (Paris, 1830, in 4to. chez F. Didot.)

If this be granted, the statement of the Scholiast ceases at once to be absurd; because, after all that has been said in this letter of the great care taken by the government of Athens to produce the Panathenaïc oil, to punish the infringements of the laws concerning the holy trees, and to dispose of their crops in a manner profitable to the state, nothing can be more natural or more congenial with general principles of political economy, than *a legal restriction connected with the exportation of that article to foreign countries.* If it be true, that the holy oil from the μορίαι was *exclusively Panathenaïc;* if there was of course considerable demand for that article in Athens; if the government and its farmers alone were in possession of it; wherefore should not the government, after having provided abundantly and gratuitously for the annual consumption at home, take every measure in its power to derive some profit from the consumption of it abroad?

It would, no doubt, have been a strong measure to reserve to the government alone and to its agents the Panathenaïc oil-trade; but this was, as already observed, too odious to the public at large, and almost impracticable with respect to the farmers of the μορίαι, to whom the government was bound, even by considerations of its own interest, to afford some legal means for disposing of that part of the produce which was left to them, after delivery of their annual rental. It was more harmless, more prudent, not less efficient, and quite in harmony with the spirit of Athenian legislation in general, that the government, without losing the advantages of a strong restriction, *should let the citizens partake in the profit resulting from that traffic.* The restriction may perhaps have been of this description: "No one shall enjoy the liberty to export from the Attic land to foreign countries the holy and Panathenaïc oil, *except those citizens who have been proclaimed victors in the Panathenæa.*" We may easily understand both the apparent liberality and the real efficiency of such a law; no free man would be excluded, and yet very few would be admitted: no one could complain; and yet the magistrates would be able so to manage affairs, that the prices of the Panathenaïc oil-market should not be depressed by too abundant supply, the number of exporters being thus limited to the victors in the Panathenian games, whose interest it became to concert with the government on the subject, as the government alone and its farmers were able to furnish the article in question.

To such a measure (not to the oil-trade generally, nor to the twenty or

thirty jars of it gained in the games,) the Scholiast alluded, I believe, in these words, " *οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐξαγωγὴ ἐλαίου (ἱεροῦ) ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, εἰ μὴ τοῖς νικῶσι*;" and it may in this respect be properly observed, that, if high-minded, independent men, of old Hellenian stamp and character, like Epimenides,[61] were happy to receive, as a full reward for merit, a small branch from the holy olive-tree, the greater number of those who gave up their time and their best exertions in eagerly contesting for olive-wreaths and oil-vessels at the public games of Greece, may not only have aspired to the glory attached to those high-prized trifles, but *also* to some more material rewards connected with them. Many splendid gifts granted, at various epochs, to champions of the stadium, might be quoted from the annals of other Grecian countries; but without leaving the institutions of Athens, to which the present inquiry is confined, I shall only mention the curious but certain information we have in the life of Solon, that long before his time, *at Athens, a pecuniary reward* was granted by the state to every Athenian citizen victorious on a foreign stadium. Plutarch informs us that the Athenian legislator fixed the present to be given to a victor in the *Isthmia* at *one hundred drachms*, and that of a victor in the *Olympia*, at *five hundred drachms*;[62] and although this latter sum was rather considerable for the time of Solon, we yet see, from some other information on the subject, that Solon, not being disposed, in his wisdom, to run with the stream of common vanity, or to overrate the reputation of mere bodily skill, had *lowered* (*συνέστειλε*) the present previously given to the Athenian champions of the public games in Greece.[63]

It is not likely that victory in the great national festivals of the Panathenæa should have been connected with less considerable emoluments.

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[61] Plutarch in Solone, cap. XII, (ed. Reiske, page 337.): " *Ἐπιμενίδης . . . . καὶ χρήματα διδόντων πολλὰ καὶ τιμὰς μεγάλας τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲν ἢ θαλλὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας αἰτησάμενος, καὶ λαβὼν, ἀπῆλθεν.*

[62] *Plutarch* in Solone, cap. 23. ed. Reiske, Tom. I. page 362.

[63] *Diogen. Laert.* de Vitis Clar. Philosoph. (ed. Meibomii, Amstel. 1692, 4to. Tom. I. page 34,) in *Solone*, segm. 55. . . . " *συνέστειλε δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι ἀθλητῶν. Ὀλυμπιονίκῃ μὲν γὰρ ἔταξε πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς, Ἰσθμιονίκῃ δὲ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἀνάλογον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἀπειρόκαλον γὰρ ἐξαίρειν τὰς τούτων τιμάς· κ. τ. λ.*"

IV.

I SHALL add a few observations on the *capacity*, on the *ancient denominations*, and on the *probable antiquity* of these Panathenaïc oil-vessels.

1. Concerning their *volume* or cubic contents, Mr. Burgon having, with the assistance of his son, measured carefully the Athenian amphora, and young Mr. Burgon and myself having measured with equal care the two similar Panathenaïc vases of the Canino collection, and the smaller one in M. Campanari's collection, which are at present in London, I am now enabled to state with accuracy,

That *A*, the *Athenian* amphora, filled up with grain within a finger's breadth of the mouth, contains exactly *eight English gallons*, or thirty-two imperial quarts, its solid contents being accordingly 2218 $\frac{1960}{10000}$ cubic inches;

That *B*, one of the Canino vases, (that with the five runners on the reverse, in the owner's "Museum Etrusque," No. 1193.) has exactly *the same capacity as the Athenian amphora*; whereas

C, the other Canino vase, (with wrestlers on the reverse,—I believe it is No. 526 in the "Museum Etrusque" of the Prince,) is *by one imperial quart* less capacious than the two other amphoræ; as it contains only 7$\frac{3}{4}$ *English gallons*, or thirty-one quarts, that is to say, nearly 2149, or more exactly 2148 $\frac{8135}{10000}$ cubic inches.

And *D*, the smaller vase of Campanari's collection, contains exactly fifteen imperial quarts, that is to say, 1039 $\frac{7715}{10000}$ cubic inches.

Now as, of these four vases, the two mentioned under *A* and *B* have been broken in many pieces, which were united with care and with the common artificial means,—whereas the whole body of the third vase, mentioned under *C*, is quite entire, without having suffered any other damage than that the two handles were broken off and afterwards attached; and as the fourth vase, mentioned under *D*, (which was certainly a ἡμιαμφόριον,) is likewise quite entire as to the body of the vessel, I think it becomes pretty clear that the *smaller* measure of 7$\frac{1}{2}$ to 7$\frac{3}{4}$ English gallons, 30 to 31 imperial quarts, or 2079 $\frac{5550}{10000}$ to 2148 $\frac{8135}{10000}$ cubic inches, must have been the real and official measure of a Panathenaïc Amphora.

2. Concerning the *official denomination* of Panathenaïc prize vases, it is not so easy to ascertain whether the above-mentioned measure of an *Amphora* was the *only* Panathenaïc prize measure, as the ancient authors call these vases by so many different names. *Pindar*, as a poet, choosing a word which suited the metre of his verse, calls them by the general name ἄγγη (" ἀγγείων ἵρκεσιν παμποικίλοις," Nem. x. 36); *Callimachus* calls them κάλπιδες[64]; *Pindar's Scholiast* says, " τοῖς Ἀθληταῖς τοῖς τὰ Παναθήναια νενικηκόσι δίδοται ὑδρία ἐλαίου πλήρης (ad Nem. x. 35); *Aristophanes' Scholiast* says of the Panathenaïc prize vase, " κέραμον ἐλαίου ἐλάμβανον οἱ νικῶντες;"[65] and though the meaning of the word κέραμον, which was a common expression for all earthen vessels of whatever size and form,[66] may very well be understood, I think it more probable that the scholiast, with the intention of determining more exactly the Panathenaïc prizes, really wrote κεράμιον ἐλαίου, which was *a certain measure equivalent to an* ἀμφορεύς.[67]

This last word, ἀμφορεὺς, is the most frequently used by Athenæus, by the scholiasts and other compilers of later times, who speak of the prize vases exposed in Panathenaïc festivals. Without entering upon minute details, which may be searched for in ancient and modern lexicographers, I shall only observe, that the word ἀμφορεὺς was formed by abbreviation from ἀμφιφορεὺς, signifying, at least originally, every receptacle with two handles by which it might be carried;[68] that afterwards, by the improvements in the art of manufacturing in Greece that clean and excellent material which Antiquaries call *terra-cotta*, the denomination ἀμφορεὺς was restricted to *earthen vessels with two handles* (ἄμφωτοι, δίωτοι), *and of a certain measure smaller than the* πίθος,[69] *and synonymous with the* κάδος,[70] and also equivalent (afterwards) with κεράμιον;[71] that ἀμφορεὺς was especially *a certain measure of oil*,[72] a signification which, it should seem, originated from Megara.[73]

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[64] Callimachi Fragmenta à R. Bentleio collecta, No. CXXII. (See above, note 36.)

[65] Scholiast. ad Aristoph. *Nubes*, v. 1001.

[66] Cf. *Pollux*, Onomast. l. VII. segm. 161 : " Κέραμος δὲ πᾶσα ἡ τῶν κεραμέων ἀγγείων ὕλη."

[67] *Dioscorid.* v, 71 : . . . εἰς γλεύκους ἀμφορέα, ὅ ἐστι κεράμιον, κάθες.

[68] *Hesych.* voc. ἀμφιφορῆας, compared with *Athenæi* Deipnosoph. XI. page 501. A.

[69] *Eustath.* ad Hom. Odyss. β'. page 1445, line 44.

[70] According to Philochorus, quoted by *Pollux*, Onomast. X. segm. 71.

[71] *Dioscorid.* v, 71. (See above, note 67.)

[72] " Μέτρον τι ἐλαίου," *Hesych.* voc. ἀμφιφορεύς.

[73] *Suidas*, voc. ἀμφορεαφόρους. . . . . " ἀμφορεὺς οὖν ἀγγεῖον, μέτρον κεράμιον, Μεγαρικόν. . . . . καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἀμφορεῖς λέγει τὰ μέτρα.

This is almost all that I have to say for the present on the origin and various connexions of the word ἀμφιφορεὺς or ἀμφορεὺς, because I have not hitherto found what I purposely searched for, viz. some exact statement, in an ancient Greek author, respecting the size and legal capacity of the Panathenaïc ἀμφορεὺς compared with the *Μετρητὴς*, with the *Χοῦς*, and with the minor Attic measures of liquids.[74]

The reduced size of some vases evidently Panathenaïc (as for instance of that belonging to M. Campanari, which was doubtless intended to represent a *ἡμιαμφόριον Παναθηναϊκὸν*) was, in my opinion, chiefly occasioned by one of two reasons:—*either*, in most instances, by œconomy, the holy and Panathenaïc oil, which could not be purchased but in Athens, being an object of some expense, especially for small communities in distant countries; *or*, not seldom, by that circumstance which seems accordant with all analogy, that a youth or boy (an *ἔφηβος* or *παῖς*), victorious in the contest with his equals (for instance *ἐν χορῷ παιδῶν*), would not receive so large a measure of prize-oil as the adult victors, and that in a vase which had certainly Panathenaïc emblems, but, most probably, *not* the official inscription.[75] The prize of the adult victors (*τῶν ἀνδρῶν*) was, I conceive, the real Panathenaïc prize, "*τὸ*

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[74] Bœckh in his Œconomy of Athens, Vol. I. p. 132. (16.) English translation, seems to consider the Amphoreus equivalent in capacity to the Metretes. If he is right, the *Panathenaïc* Amphoreus must have been somewhat smaller than the *common Attic* amphoreus. The Attic *Metretes* (equal to the common amphoreus, according to Bœckh) contained, according to Lempriere's Table, $2387\frac{376}{1000}$ cubic inches, that is to say, about 169 cubic inches *more* than either of the two largest Panathenaïc amphoræ (*A* and *B*) now in London, and about 273 cubic inches more than the *middle sum* between the extent of *C* and *D*+*D*, (see page 129,) viz. 2114 *cubic inches*, which I consider (omitting a small fraction) to have been the legal cubic volume of a Panathenaïc Amphoreus.

[75] Besides the vase of M. Campanari, and those of minor size with Panathenaïc emblems but without inscription, quoted by *M. Gerhard*, as "Regali Panathenaïci," (in his above-mentioned account, inserted in the Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, 1830, page 221 seq.) the beautiful little *ὑδρίσκη* in the possession of M. Durand at Paris, (quoted by *Panofka* in his Recherches sur les véritables Noms des Vases Grecs, Paris, 1829, folio, No. X. page 8,) is a fair sample of the kind. It represents two naked boys, carrying round shields, marked with the letters ΑΘΕ (that is to say ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ) on their left arms, and running at full speed. There can be little doubt that this elegant earthen vessel was a Panathenaïc prize vase, gained by a boy victorious in the *παιδῶν δρόμος*.

Παναθηναϊκὸν ἔπαθλον," acknowledged as such by the official inscription: "*One of the prizes from Athens.*"

It may be still observed, as curious facts connected with the object of the present inquiry, that the splendour of the Panathenæa, and the celebrity of the prize vases exposed in those festivals, was the occasion that various vessels of the kind were imitated in foreign countries, sometimes in very costly material; and that they were exhibited in processions, and on other solemn occasions, of which I shall quote two instances. Thus in Egypt, at Alexandria, in the pompous festivals of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which, in a century of decay of Grecian spirit, and of the downfall of their liberty, presented the most extraordinary confusion of all the religions of Greece, were also, among a thousand other gaudy mockeries of venerable symbols, eighty Delphian tripods, twenty-six Τδρίαι, one hundred and sixty vessels for cooling liquids (Ψυκτῆρες), and *sixteen Panathenaïc amphoræ*, all of silver;[76] and 2dly, we are told by Athenæus, that *Posidonius* mentioned in the thirty-sixth book of his Histories, that a certain kind of large drinking-cups (ποτήρια) were particularly denominated *Panathenaïc*, some of them (called *Παναθηναϊκὰ μέγιστα*) so large, that they were δίχοα, (containing, of course, twelve to thirteen pints, English wine measure.)[77]

3. Respecting the *probable age* of these prize vases I may be brief, as a certain principle, which may be looked upon as a fundamental law for all interpretation of ancient Greek monuments, will immediately prove that those learned men who have inferred, from the form of the letters, and from the Archaïc style of the Minerva figure on Mr. Burgon's Athenian Amphora, that this vase must be very ancient, nay, *anterior to the middle of the sixth century* before the Christian æra, were mistaken. The principle laid down by all history, and corroborated by many recent discoveries in Greece, is this: *that the Greeks, ever influenced by their* RELIGIOUS *institutions, continued for centuries to preserve, in many of their sacred monuments, the old and traditional type or character, which we call the Archaïc style*, and that they did so, even whilst the refinement of taste and the progress of individual skill in the fine arts occasioned the stiff and dry old manner of drawing to be entirely

[76] *Athenæi* Deipnosoph. l. v, page 199. D.

[77] *Athen.* Deipnosoph. l. xi, page 494. F.

abandoned in all those productions, the form and decoration of which were left to the free-will and choice of individual feeling. Now, as the Athenian Panathenæa were essentially a *religious* institution, a *great sacrifice*,[78] under constant control of the priests and of the government; as the first day of the Panathenæa was (according to the old Athenian creed) the birth-day (γενέθλιος) of Minerva; as the origin of the festivals was traced up to her mystic son and favourite (πάρεδρος), Erichthonius; as the earthen vessel containing her holy oil had, for its principal emblem, the copy of her sacred statue, probably of the most holy βρέτας in the Polias temple, —nothing material could be changed in Panathenaïc ceremonies, or in the sacred symbols, which continued certainly the same as long as Athenian creed and religious feelings were unaltered by infidelity or immorality, and as long as an Athenian commonwealth continued unhurt by want of patriotism or by the oppression of a conqueror. And as for the inscription, I entertain no doubt but that the characters of a short and official formula, which every Greek of education in the time of Hadrian would understand as well as any one of his ancestors did in the time of Solon, would continue unaltered for ages, nay centuries, after the introduction, in the archonship of Euclid, (B. C. 403: Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*,) of considerable improvement in the elements of common writing.

To these considerations may be added, a new and in some degree chronological evidence, from several Panathenaïc vases lately discovered, on which the emblem on the shield of Minerva is a *Siren playing on the double flute*, [79] a constant *symbol of lyric poetry united with dancing* (ὀρχηστική). Now, as the contests at these festivals, in lyric and theatrical poetry, were first introduced by Pericles, (see his life by Plutarch, cap. 13); and as the vases with the symbols of these contests still retain the same Archaïc Minerva, and

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[78] See for instance the fine SKOLION: (*Athen.* Deipn. l. XV, page 695. B.)

Ἐν μύρτου κλαδὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω,
ὥσπερ Ἁρμόδιος κ' Ἀριστογείτων,
ὅτ' Ἀθηναίης ἐν θυσίαις
ἄνδρα τύραννον Ἵππαρ-
χον ἐκαινέτην.

Compare above, note 30, page 115.

[79] See, for instance, the notice by *M. Gerhard*, (*Annali*, &c. l. c., page 219, No. 12,) of a great Panathenaïc vase, found in the Vulci excavations by MM. Campanari and Fossati.

similar letters in the inscription to those which we find on all the rest of the great Panathenaïc vases; and as the emblems on the shield of the Minerva have always reference to the Athenian Panathenæa,—it follows of course that such Archaïc representations were in use after the time of Pericles, and need not, as some suppose, be exclusively referred to an anterior period.

Certainly Mr. Burgon's Athenian amphora, with the inscription written from the right to the left, with the old form EMI in the inscription, and the driver on the reverse in a sitting position, (both of these circumstances being peculiar to this vase,) and as it has also a specimen, on the reverse, of very old horsemanship, and with rather Archaïc emblems on the neck, is by far the most ancient of the four Panathenian vases I have been enabled to compare: but even of this monument, the easy and elegant drawing of the horses on the reverse, and the perfect manipulation of the clay, seem to indicate an epoch not anterior to the *first half of the fifth century* before Christ; and as to the three prize vases from the Vulci excavations, I do not see any thing to induce us to believe that they were fabricated previous to *the fourth century* before the Christian æra.

You see, dear Sir, that, if I am right in these researches, the result of them may be of some interest, not only with respect to these Panathenaïc Vases, of which we now possess so many, but also as regarding the history of highly remarkable institutions connected with those public prizes. In order to sum up, in a few lines, the principal questions, I shall particularly recommend to your attention the following points:

First, that the general and official formula inscribed on these Panathenaïc Vases, (TON AΘENEΘEN AΘLON,) contains nothing but the plain statement, "(ONE) OF THE PRIZES FROM ATHENS;" which is quite conformable to the simple language of remote antiquity, to the nature of the contest (to which every free-born Greek was admitted), and *especially with reference to the holy oil contained in these Vases;*

Secondly, that although these Panathenaïc Vases were, with the improvement of art, certainly held in great estimation by the native Athenian or foreign victors, as the permanent record and most durable memorial of their success in the religious games, and however richly these receptacles were adorned in the different countries where they were made, with paintings emblematic of the great Athenian goddess and of the most venerable

Mythes, and therefore finally made use of to contain the ashes and bones of the victors in their last homes,—yet *the sacred oil contained in these vessels was at all times the principal object of the contest*, and *the prominent part of the prize;* it being always and everywhere from the holy trees of the Athenian goddess, and of course impossible to be had anywhere but at Athens.

Thirdly, that in consequence of the general creed of the Greeks concerning the holy olive-trees, and of the oil from them being exclusively Panathenaïc, the Athenian government, and especially the Areiopagus, (who were invested with all legal power in that respect,) took the greatest care, by issuing severe laws, by appointing responsible farmers, under the annual and monthly control of special officers, to protect and promote the proper culture of the holy trees, and to render their produce profitable to the state; and,

Fourthly, that among the regulations concerning the traffic in holy oil, (for which article there was continual and considerable demand at Athens from every country where the Panathenæa were celebrated,) was *probably* that especial law, that none but the victors in the Panathenæa should have a right to *export* Panathenaïc oil to foreign countries—a law which seems to be in harmony with the public rewards granted by the state to Athenian victors in other public games.

My wish to submit these and other questions connected with Panathenaïc monuments to your judgment and further investigation, may, in some degree, be my excuse for the length of this letter.

I have the honour to remain,

Dear Sir,

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

P. O. BRÖNDSTED.

No. V. *On the Names of Roman Divinities; and Notice of a* PAINTED FICTILE VASE *relating to this subject.* By JAMES MILLINGEN, ESQ.

Read, February 1, 1832.

I HAD the honour of presenting last year to this Learned Society, a paper on the excavations recently made in a district of the Papal territory, which anciently formed part of Tyrrhenia, (or Etruria, as it was called by the Romans,) with an account of the various valuable monuments of art there discovered; and noticed, at the same time, the great light which these discoveries afforded, respecting the early state of this part of Italy, and the origin and first ages of Rome.

Pursuing the inquiry into the degree and extent of the influence which the immediate vicinity of so many rich and highly civilised Hellenic cities must have exercised over the polity, institutions, and manners of the Romans, one of the first objects which claim attention is the Religion of the latter people.

The ingenious and elegant fictions which embellish the mythology of Greece, possess always such a peculiar charm, and so captivate the imagination, that, as Pope observes, "after the lapse of nearly three thousand years, and the various changes of times and religions, the gods of Homer continue to this day the gods of poetry." Familiar and endeared to us by multiform associations, Greek mythology has therefore been a constant subject of interest and study, while that of Rome has been neglected, as the production of a rude and barbarous people, little deserving of notice.

A knowledge of the religion of Rome is however of importance, and essential to the attainment of correct notions of the history of this memorable city. Dionysius, whose object in writing his history was to prove that Rome had not been peopled, as was generally supposed, by bands of barbarians and outlaws, but that it was a Greek city, and founded by colonists from the most illustrious nations of Greece, alleges, as the strongest argument in favour of this opinion, the perfect conformity existing between the divinities, and religious rites and institutions of the Greeks, and those of the Romans. As a proof of this assertion, after describing

the various ceremonies of the Circensian games, from their origin to the time at which he wrote,[1] this author states, that the sacred procession (πομπή) which formed part of those games, was closed by statues of the gods, carried on men's shoulders, and represented of the same form, and with the same attributes and symbols as the gods of Greece. Not only were the statues of Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Minerva, and the others whom the Greeks enumerate among the twelve great gods, but of those more ancient, of whom the twelve are said to have been born,—Chronos, Rhea, Themis, Latona, the Fates, Mnemosyne, and all the others, to whom temples and sacred edifices were dedicated by the Greeks. Also the statues of those divinities who are fabled to have been born at a later period, when Jupiter had assumed the supreme power and government of the universe,—Proserpine, Eilethyia, the Nymphs, the Muses, the Hours, the Graces, Dionysus; and those demi-gods, (ἡμίθεοι,) whose souls, having left their mortal bodies, are said to have ascended to Olympus, and to whom divine honours are paid,—Hercules, Æsculapius, the Dioscuri, Helen, Pan, and numberless others.

The statement of Dionysius is confirmed by abundant testimonies of other ancient authors, as well as by monuments, which all combine to prove that the national religion of the Romans was the same as that of Greece. Consistently with its usual spirit of Polytheism, the Romans associated with their own divinities those of the people who occupied the country before their arrival, as well as those of the Sabines, Umbrians, and other Italian nations, who afterwards settled in Rome. These adscititious deities were always, however, considered inferior in dignity. The principal of them were Faunus, Picus, Marica, Feronia, Nortia, &c.

The fact being established, that the religious system of the two nations was identical, and many of the gods of Rome having retained their original Greek names, it appears singular that others, equally of Greek origin, should have received names wholly different. No satisfactory solution of this difficulty has yet been offered; probably, because those who have discussed it, having been in general guided by Roman writers, have sought etymologies in the Latin, and not in the Greek language. The question remains therefore still a subject of inquiry.

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[1] Antiquitates Romanæ, lib. vii. cap. 72.

One of the names of which the derivation appears most difficult to account for, is that of Minerva, given by the Latins to the goddess called Pallas, and Athenè by the Greeks.[2] Some ancient authors have supposed it to be formed from *Monere* or *Menere*, in allusion to her attribute of *counsel* or *wisdom*; others from *Minitari*, and refer it to the menacing attitude in which she is frequently represented by artists, brandishing a spear. Both these explanations are, however, alike improbable; and it would be difficult to determine the real signification of this name, if a monument of art did not afford assistance.

A painted fictile Vase, formerly in the collection of Count Lamberg,[3] and which is now preserved in the Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Venice, offers a representation of a celebrated tragic scene which occurred after the taking of Troy.

Ajax, inflamed by his passion for Cassandra, is represented at the moment when he has seized the unfortunate princess, and endeavours to drag her from the altar of Minerva, where she has taken refuge, and in a suppliant attitude holds the statue of the goddess embraced in her arms. The nurse of the princess is alone present,[4] and seems to express the surprise and indignation which the impious deed inspires. She is designated by the inscription ΤΡΟΦΟΣ, and by the name of Cassandra, in the corrupt dialect of the Lucanians, who inhabited that part of the country (the Basilicata) where the Vase was found.

The statue of the goddess is placed on a pedestal; its attitude is stiff and awkward, like that of the Palladium and other works of the infancy of art. She is armed with a helmet, spear, and shield; but has neither the *ægis* nor the Gorgonian head, usually attributed to her.[5] At her feet, and on

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[2] Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. Pomp. Festus, v. Minerva. Vossius, Etymol. Ling. Lat. v. Minerval.

[3] It has been already published; but the inscriptions are incorrectly given. See Laborde, Vases de Lamberg.

[4] Among the ancient Greeks, particularly in the heroic ages, the nurse was a personage of great consideration. The heroes of Homer, in the midst of ferocious scenes, often speak of their nurses with tenderness and regard. On the Greek stage, a princess was usually attended by her nurse.

[5] The reader may see my observations on the Palladium and the Ægis. Ancient Unedited Monuments, part ii. page 12, 13.

the walls of the temples, are the olive-branches with fillets, (ἱκετηρίαι,)[6] the accustomed offerings of those who implored the divine protection.

Two greaves (κνημῖδες) are affixed to the wall; and the contiguous inscription ENEPEA seems to refer to them, or to spoils taken in war, (ἔναρα,)[7] which were commonly dedicated in temples. In the present instance, however, Ἐνεπία for Ἐναρία is rather an epithet synonymous with Σκυλήτρια,[8] Λητῖτις,[9] or Ἀγελεία,[10] epithets of Minerva, allusive to the custom of offering to her the armour of a vanquished enemy. Thus, in Homer, Ulysses consecrates to Minerva the spoils of Dolon.[11]

It is further observable, in confirmation of the explanation here proposed, that Ἐνυὼ and Ἐνυαλία, terms often applied as epithets to Pallas, though sometimes indicating another warlike divinity, are, like Ἔναρα, derived from Ἔνω or Ἐναίρω, and consequently synonymous.[12] Hence it may be inferred, that, in some of the Greek colonies settled in Italy, the epithet Ἐνεπία was used as an appellation instead of Athene or Pallas, the digamma (Ϝ or *V*) being substituted for the penultimate *E*. This appellation was subsequently adopted by the Romans, who prefixed it to the letter *M*, as in various other words. This augment might also be the particle of obtestation *ME*,[13] which, like *VE* or *E*, or others of the same kind, become sometimes gradually incorporated with the name itself, as in *Medius Fidius*,[14] and *Vejovis*. In other instances, as in *Mecastor*, *Mehercule*, *Epol*, &c., the prefix or augment was only temporary. Thus the name of *Menerva*,[15] (which we find anciently, and not *Minerva*,) was formed from the epithet Ἐνεπία.

Etymological definitions have been so frequently absurd, and made subservient to the support of prejudices or systems, that they are in general,

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[6] Harpocration. Lexicon, h. v.

[7] Ἔναρα βροτόεντα, Iliad. Z. v. 480.

[8] Lycophron. Cassandra, v. 853.

[9] Homer. Iliad. K. v. 460.

[10] Homer. Iliad. E. v. 765.

[11] Homer. Iliad. K. v. 458—463.

[12] Etymologicon Magnum, v. Ἐναίρω and Ἔναρα.

[13] Mecastor et Mehercule jusjurandum erat, quasi diceretur, 'Ita me Castor, ita me Hercules (ut subaudiatur) juvat.' Pomp. Festus, v. Mecastor.

[14] Pompeius Festus; v. Medius Fidius.

[15] Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, Tomo ii. p. 200.

and with reason, received with great distrust: but, however little confidence they may inspire, when solitary and too remote, they can be of essential service, when, by their concurrence and general analogy, they support and corroborate one another.

Consistently with this principle, I submit some remarks on the derivation of the names of various other Roman divinities, with a view of confirming, by new arguments, opinions already advanced on the subject, or of eliciting a different explanation.

The first in order of rank are the twelve great Gods, which, amidst the numerous list of divinities, were specially honoured by the Hellenic nations, and particularly by the Athenians. Herodotus supposes their worship to have been introduced from Egypt;[16] but gives no satisfactory reason in favour of this opinion. As early as the age of Pisistratus we find an altar dedicated to them, in the agora at Athens;[17] and frequent mention of them occurs in the Attic orators and mythographers. Their names are not specified; but it is probable they were the same as those worshipped by the Romans, who, according to the testimony of Dionysius afore-cited, were a people of Greek origin. A poet, whose name and age are unknown, describes them in the following lines:—

Δώδεκά εἰσι θεοὶ μεγάλοι, Ζεὺς, Ἥρα, Ποσειδῶν,
Δήμητηρ, Ἑρμῆς, Ἑστία, Κυλλοποδών,
Φοῖβος, Ἐνυάλιός τ' Ἄρης,[18] Παλλάς τ' Ἀφροδίτη,
Ἄρτεμις, εἰσὶ θεοὶ δώδεκα οἱ μεγάλοι.

And Ennius has given the same list in a Latin distich:—

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jove, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

They were called Consentes, and Magni, and their nomenclature is confirmed by Livy[19] and Manilius. Of these twelve names, six are unquestionably Greek, either pure or slightly modified.

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[16] Lib. ii. cap. 4.

[17] Thucydides, lib. vi. cap. 55. Schol. on Pindar, Olymp. V. v. 7.

[18] Lib. xxii. cap. 10. Manilius, lib. ii. v. 488.

[19] Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ, v. *Martius*.

Jupiter or Jovis, from *Ζεὺς πατὴρ*, or *Δίος*, by transposition Jofis.

Juno, from *Ζηνω*, or from *Διώνη*, her Pelasgic name, by transposition of *Ω* and *H*, and change of the latter into *V*.

Apollo and Phœbus, the same in Greek.

Diana, from *Θεὰ* or *Δια ἄνα*, or from *Τιτανίς*.

Vesta, from *Εστία*.

Ceres, from *Ερα*, with the guttural *Γ* prefixed.

Admitting the derivation of *Minerva* from *Ενεργεία*, five other names remain to be accounted for.

Mars, according to Varro, is from *Mas;* but Vossius,[20] with far greater probability, derives it from *Αρης*, the Greek name of the god of war, with *M* prefixed. It is observable, that the epithet *Ενυαλίος*[21] was sometimes used as an appellation instead of *Αρης*; and this circumstance tends to confirm the derivation of Minerva from *Ενεργεία*, a term synonymous with *Ἐνυαλία*. In both cases also the *M* is prefixed. This god was sometimes called *Mavors*, and by the Oscans, and other Italian tribes, with the reduplication of the first syllable, *Mamers*, whence the Mamertines took their name.

Neptunus seems to have been named from *Νέω* or *Νήχω*, "to float," or "to swim."[22] Perhaps more immediately from *Νῆσος*, by allusion to his peculiar power over islands, many of which were supposed to have been raised by him. The interchange of *ΠΤ* and *ΣΣ* in the Æolic dialect was not uncommon. The termination in *unus* occurs often in Latin names, as *Portunus*, *Vertunus*, *Tribunus*, &c.

The other appellation of *Consus*,[23] by which Neptune was also

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[20] In a passage of Pollux, (lib. viii. cap. 9,) where the oath required of the ephebi at Athens is related, the term *Ενυαλίος* which precedes the name of *Αρης* has been supposed to indicate a separate divinity; whereas, as in the present instance, it is merely an epithet: by removing the comma between the two words, the sense becomes clear. The correction proposed by one of the editors, who substitutes *Ἐνυάλιος*, and the consequent reference to Neptune, are therefore unfounded.

[21] See above, note 18.

[22] Varro gives a different etymology: "Neptunus, quod mare terras obruebat, ut nubes cœlum; a nuptu, id est, opertione, ut antiqui; a quo Nuptiæ, Nuptusque dictus." De Lingua Latina, lib. iv. p. 21. Edit. Bipont.

[23] Dionysius, Antiq. Roman. lib. vi. cap. 31.

called, may be the same as *Πόντος* or *Ποντάος*, the god being considered as a personification of the sea, as Ceres was of the earth; the *Π* being changed into *Κ*, as in the Ionic, as well as in the Æolic dialect. According to the latter, we find *Quinque, Sequor, Equus*, and many others. The change of *T* and *Σ* is common.

Venus.—The etymology of this name is the most difficult to ascertain. Cicero derives it from *veniendo;*[24] others from the obsolete verb *Feo*, whence *Fetus* and *Femina*. With more probability, however, it may be deduced from *Ἐυναῖα*,[25] *Ἐυνηέσσα*, or some word from *Ἐυνὴ*, and allusive to her functions of presiding over marriages. The benevolent attributes of this goddess might also be expressed by *Εὐνοῦς*, corresponding with the epithet of Alma, given her by the Romans.

Vulcanus, like *Fulgeo, Fulgor, Fulmen*, is without doubt derived from *Φλέγω*[26] and *Φλὸξ*, by transposition of *Φλο* into *Fol* or *Vol*, and expresses perfectly the nature of this divinity, who was considered as the emblem of fire.

Mercurius was so called, according to Festus, from *Mercibus*, as the god presiding over commerce. His name, however, according to the opinion of Vossius,[27] is more probably formed from *Ἑρμᾶ* by transposition. Mer for *Ερμ* is like Forma for *Μορφῆ*. The termination *curius* is perhaps for *κοῦρος*, implying his youthful form, or for *κήρυξ*, and relating to his functions of messenger to the gods.

The names of the following Roman divinities, of an inferior rank to the twelve above mentioned, are also incontestably Greek, though with more or less transposition, contraction, or change of vowels:

Bacchus,	from	*Βάκχος*.
Hercules,		*Ἡρακλῆς*.
Latona,		*Λητώ*.
Themis,		*Θέμις*.
Proserpine,		*Περσεφόνη*.
Æsculapius,		*Ἀσκληπιός*.

[24] De Natura Deorum, lib. ii.

[25] *Ἐυναίαν Κύπριν*, Euripides, Andromache, v. 179.

[26] Varro, de Lingua Lat. lib. iv. p. 21. Edit. Bipont.

[27] Vossius, Etymol. Ling. Lat. v. Mercur.

Pollux,	*Πολυδεύκης.*
Castor,	*Κάστωρ.*
Sol,	*Ἥλιος.*
Luna,	*Σελήνη.*
Victoria,	*Νίκη, Vinco,* by metathesis from *Νίκω,* with the digamma or *Υ* prefixed.
Horæ,	*Ὧραι.*
Musæ,	*Μούσαι.*
Gratiæ,	*Χάριτες.*
Nymphæ,	*Νύμφαι.*

Other examples might be adduced; but those here stated are more than sufficient to show the identity of the religious system of the two nations, which, as before said, Dionysius considered the strongest testimony in favour of the Greek origin of the Romans. On this occasion, the same author observes, with great reason, "that, from the most distant period, "both Greeks and Barbarians had constantly preserved inviolate all that "related to the service of the gods; and, out of fear of incurring the divine "anger, had never dared to make innovations therein. That no length of "time had been able to induce the Egyptians, the Libyans, the Celts, the "Scythians, the Indians, or any other barbarians, to lay aside or neglect the "religion of their forefathers, unless some of these nations, having been "conquered, were found to change their institutions. The Romans never "experienced a similar fate; but, on the contrary, had constantly given laws "to others. Far, therefore, from abandoning or altering the worship of those "gods, by whose favour and protection they had attained to such remarkable "prosperity, the Romans, if they had been barbarians, would rather have "obliged the nations which they conquered to adopt their divinities and "rites; and, in this case, nothing could have prevented the Greeks from "becoming barbarous, during the length of time elapsed since their sub-"jection to the Romans."[28]

[28] Antiquitates Romanæ, lib. vii. cap. 72.

No. VI. *On recent Discoveries of Ancient Greek Sculptures at Selinus. Copy of a Letter from* Mr. S. Angell *to* W. R. Hamilton, Esq.

Read February 1, 1832.

26, Ely Place,
January 31, 1832.

Dear Sir,

The Metopes recently taken to Palermo, from the ancient city of Selinus in Sicily, (a description of which, by Mr. Millingen, was read at the last meeting of the Royal Society of Literature,[1]) belonged to the Temple nearest the sea, upon the hill to the eastward of the ancient port,[2] where are also situated the remains of the colossal Temple to Jupiter Olympius, and the ruins of a third Temple, whose dedication is unknown.

The ruins where these Metopes have lain concealed for more than two thousand years, form one of the most beautiful and picturesque objects that the eye of a painter or antiquary could desire; and although, on a first examination, I supposed it almost impossible to trace out their original arrangement, my friend (the late Mr. Harris) and myself, after a careful and minute investigation, and a residence of some months on the

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[1] "I see that, in Sicily, some of the leading men begin to awake out of their lethargy, and have taken the trouble to go to Selinunte, and clear away the earth which covered various Metopes, noticed there by Angell and Harris in 1824, but which they were prevented from removing. Five Metopes entire, and others in fragments, have been brought to light. They are not of the same rude style as those found by Angell, but of a good time. The subjects are,—Apollo and Daphne; Minerva combating a warrior (possibly a giant); Actæon devoured by his dogs, and, in the manner described by Stesichorus, covered with the skin of a stag; Hercules and Antiope; two figures, Jupiter and Semele. What is curious, is, that the heads, the hands, and the feet of the female figures are of marble, while all the other parts of the work are of stone."—Extract of a Letter from Mr. Millingen, dated Paris, December 30, 1831, read before the Society, January 4.

[2] Marked D in the Plan, page 27 of "Selinuntine Sculptures," 1826.

spot, completely succeeded in making out the original plan, and restoring the elevation of the temple; and it was in the progress of these professional studies in the year 1823 that we discovered the existence of these Metopes, as well as those of two other temples, which I have already published, the casts of which are now in the British Museum.

From the situation of the fallen fragments of this Temple, there is not the least doubt that the Metopes belonged to the frieze of the Posticum; and, although the greater part of the remains of the Pronaos have been removed, it is fair to suppose that part of the Temple was similarly ornamented. The Metopes of the Peristyle were all plain; an arrangement which we also find at the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassæ near Phigalia, and on that of Minerva at Sunium.* The Parthenon had all its Metopes sculptured; and the Theseium had the Metopes of the eastern front and four of those on each side enriched with sculpture.

This Temple at Selinus was hexastyle peripteral, with fifteen columns on the sides: it had the usual Pronaos and Posticum, with their columns in antis; and between the pronaos and cella we found the foundations of the staircases which ascended to the roof, similar to those remaining at the Temples of Concord and Æsculapius, at Agrigentum. Behind the cella is an inner chamber, in which I suppose the statue was placed. The floor of this chamber is raised above the cella, with which it communicates by a large opening.

The architecture appeared to me of a later date than four of the other temples; the columns have not so great a diminution, nor have the capitals that great projection and swell of the echinus observable in the rest of the Selinuntine and other early specimens of the Doric order. In the course of our excavations, we found that the steps of the eastern front were only half the height, and consequently double the number of the gradine on the sides and west end; an arrangement affording every facility of entrance, and a solution to the difficulty which has been supposed to have existed in the approaches to ancient edifices.

The extreme length of the Temple is 222 feet, and the width 83 feet, both dimensions being calculated on the upper step; the diameter of the

* See the Chevalier Bröndsted's work, "Voyages et Recherches en Grèce," Vol. II. page 149, note 1.

columns is 7 feet 6 inches, and their height 33 feet 6 inches, in the proportion of about four diameters and a half. The material of the building is a compact limestone, brought from the quarries now called Rocca di Cusa, about seven miles distant: the face of the stone was covered with a thin coating of extremely fine cement; and upon several parts of the entablature we found the remains of red and blue colour, and some fragments of mouldings painted in encaustic.

With regard to the date of the erection (the architecture appearing to me of a more recent character than four of the other temples), I conjecture it to have been built shortly before the destruction of the city, in the third year of the 92nd Olympiad.

At the time of making the discovery of the Metopes, I cannot describe to you our extreme disappointment at being prevented by the Sicilian authorities from excavating these remains; our knowledge of them was consequently confined to a mere glimpse by torch-light of some of the fragments, in the deepest recesses of the ruins; for the masses of masonry have fallen in such manner, that with some management we were enabled to descend many feet to the level of the ancient pavement of the Posticum. Notwithstanding our unsuccessful application to the Neapolitan government, seconded as it was by your kind and ready exertions, I did not give up all idea of eventually recovering these antiquities. Previous to my leaving Sicily, I gave a plan, showing the exact situation of the Metopes to the Duca Serra di Falco, and the Barone Pisani of Palermo; and as these gentlemen took great interest in the antiquities of their country, and were attached officially to the government, I requested them to use their influence in recovering these interesting specimens of ancient art; and although eight years have elapsed since that period, it is highly gratifying to find that their influence has at last been successful.

The Duca Serra di Falco has promised me a detailed description of the Metopes, which I shall have great pleasure in forwarding to you.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged servant,

SAMUEL ANGELL.

W. R. HAMILTON, Esq.

&c. &c. &c.

Inscriptions from the Waady El Muketteb, or the Written Valley; copied, in 1820, *by the* Rev. G. F. Grey, *and communicated to the Royal Society of Literature in* 1830.

The following Inscriptions are found on the Rocks which line one of the routes from Suez to Sinai, at about fourteen hours' distance from the Convent on that mountain, and about six hours from Paran and from Sarboot Elchadam, (Niebuhr's "Egyptian Cemetery,") in a desert valley, where neither water nor a single tree are to be met with.

They are engraved upon the surface of a red sand-stone, which receives a hard, dark crust from the effect of the heat and weather. Very large fragments of the rock have fallen down into the valley, and are there found, with some of the Inscriptions upon them; and, in one place, the action of an occasional torrent, (the bed of which Mr. Grey found entirely dry in March,) has worn away about fourteen feet in height from the lower surface of the rock, evidently since the Inscriptions were made.

The whole of the original Inscriptions are on the shady side of the valley, denoting the probability of their having been the work of a passing body, or bodies, of travellers, while resting: the few that are found on the opposite side are in Latin. The former are all executed with the same instrument, punched in a series of holes; the latter, and all the modern Inscriptions, are cut with a different instrument, and in a different manner.

No indications of sepulchres appear near the spot, the few caverns which exist being empty. The nearest human dwellings are two or three huts at Paran.

No other Inscriptions on rocks have been discovered in this part of the Arabian Desert, except at a place called Nakors, (the Bell,) near Tor, where a subterranean sound is constantly heard.* These are in the

* See Daübeny on Volcanoes.

Arabic and other modern Oriental languages, and certify, like those on the statue of Memnon, that the respective writers had heard the sound.

These Inscriptions have been already noticed by Pococke, Niebuhr, and others, and particularly by Bishop Clayton, in his publication of "A Journal from Grand Cairo and back again, by the Prefetto of Egypt, &c. &c. 1772;"—to whose works the reader is referred for the various conjectures which have hitherto been made respecting their origin and purpose.

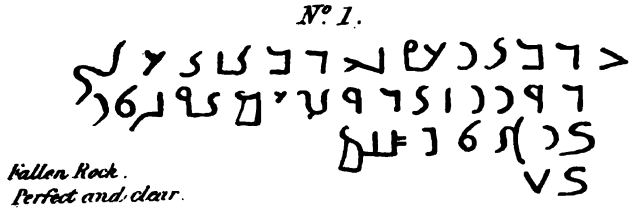
END OF PART I. VOL. II.

LONDON:

A. J. VALPY, M. A., PRINTER TO THE SOCIETY.

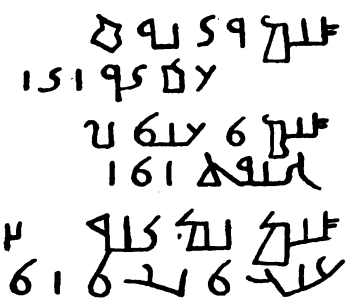
INSCRIPTIONS.

Nº 1.

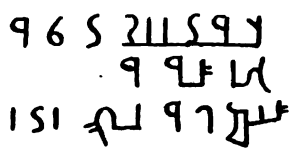


Fallen Rock.
Perfect and clear.

Nº 2.

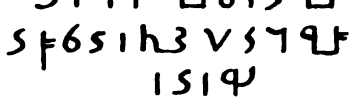


Same Stone: – evidently 3 inscriptions, each having the [illegible] & 161 or 151. The first two lines in the Original are of a different hand, & one sees here that the last two are of a squarer character. –



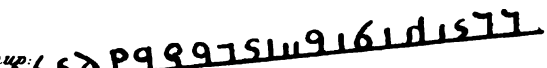
Nº 3.

Rock.
Perfect.



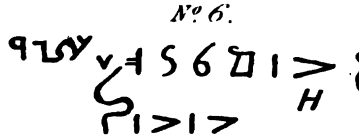
Nº 4.

Rock:
Perfect.



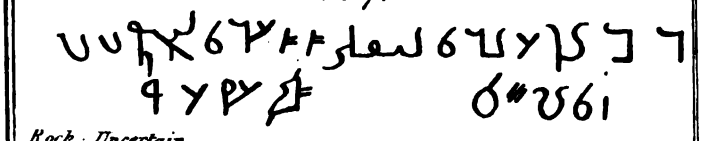
Nº 5.

Rock high up:
Perfect.



Nº 6.

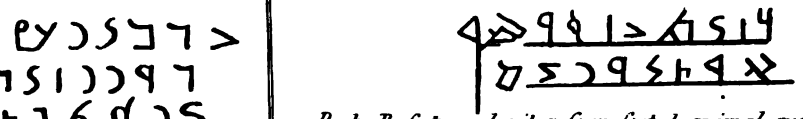
Rock:
Perfect.



Nº 7.

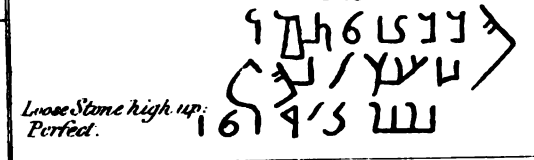
Rock: Uncertain.

Nº 8.

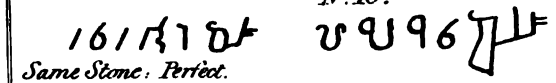


Rock: Perfect: under it a four-footed animal rudely scratched.

Nº 9.



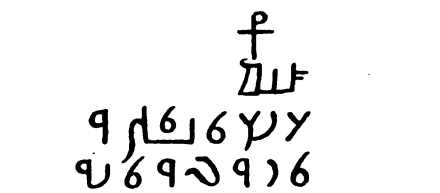
Loose Stone high up:
Perfect.



Nº 10.

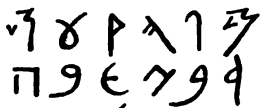
Same Stone: Perfect.

Nº 11.



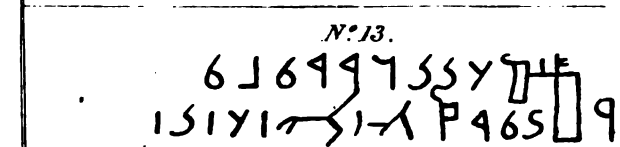
Rock: high up in a remote place – cross letter hardly accessible, done with the same instrument, & apparently of the same age. – It is to be observed that there is an Egyptian Hieroglyphic of precisely this form.

Nº 12.



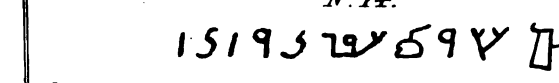
Rock: apparently perfect: – remarkable as approaching the Greek Characters.

Nº 13.



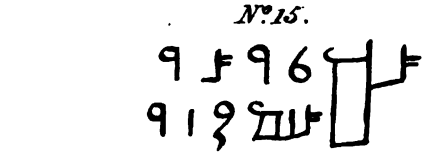
Loose Stone: – remote – apparently perfect.

Nº 14.



Rock: Perfect: – a man riding on a loaded Camel is rudely cut with the same instrument at the side of this.

Nº 15.



J. Netherclift Lithog:

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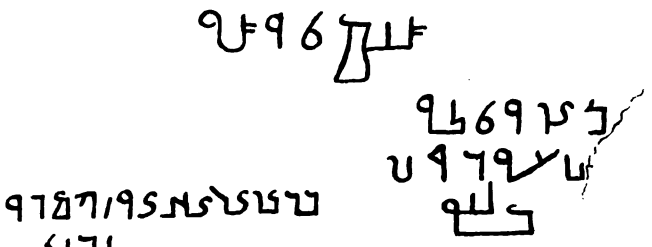
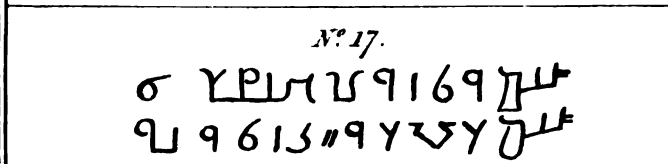
No. 16.



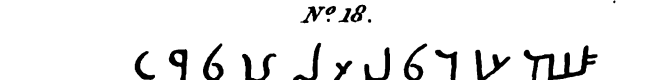
Apparently three separate Inscriptions.

No. 17.



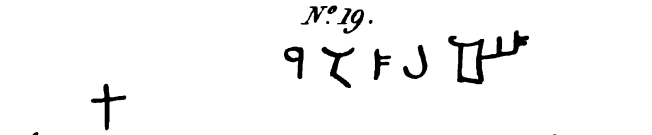
Fallen Rock: inaccessible at present: apparently perfect.

No. 18.



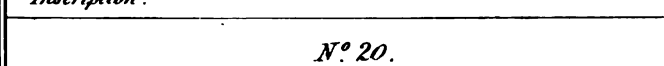
Apparently perfect.

No. 19.



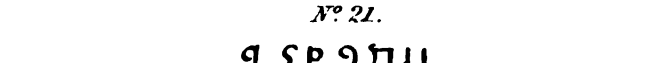
Apparently perfect. The cross, though on the same Stone, and cut or dotted with the same instrument, is not in a position which would lead one to suppose that it belongs to the same Inscription.

No. 20.

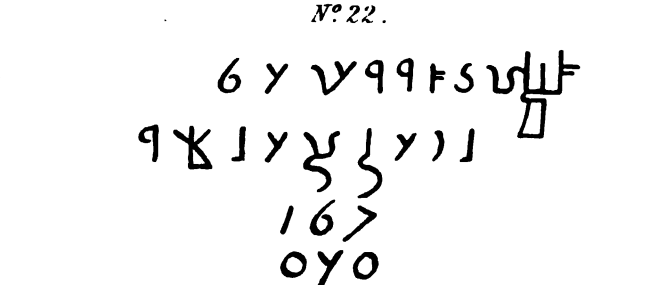


Fragment on Loose Stone: – may also be read, if the reverse of its position, be taken.

No. 21.

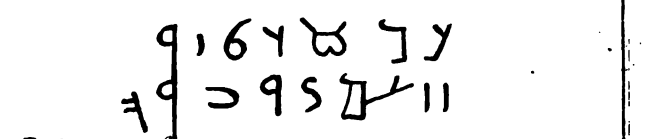


No. 22.



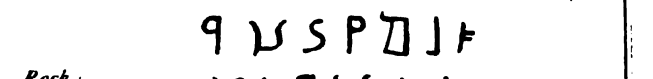
Fallen Rock: Perfect.

No. 23.



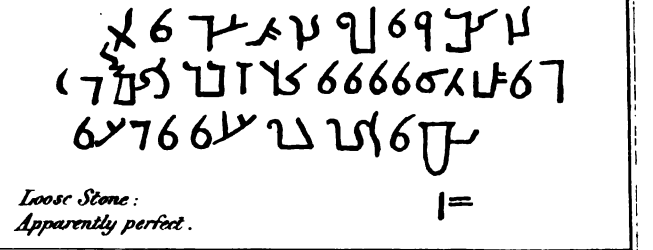
Perfect: Loose Stone.

No. 24.



Rock: Perfect.

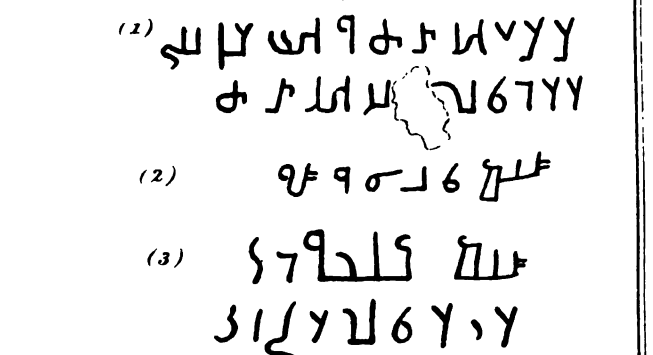
No. 25.



Loose Stone: Apparently perfect.

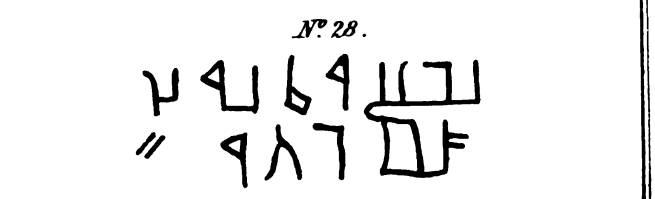
No. 26.

No. 27.



Three different hands: apparently perfect.

No. 28.



Loose Stone: apparently perfect.

J. Netherclift Lithog.

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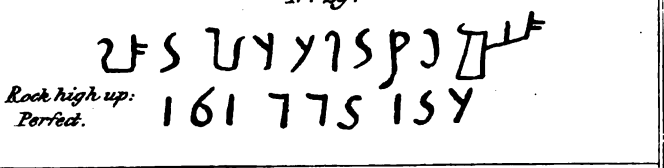
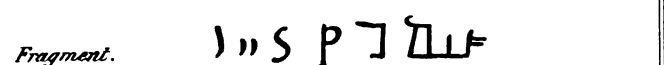
N° 29.

Rock high up: Perfect.



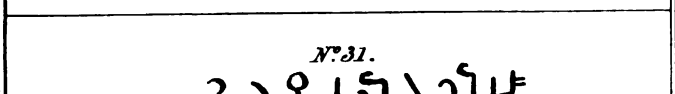
N° 30.

Fragment.



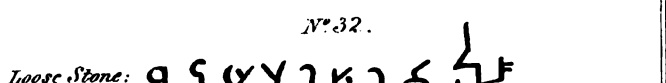
N° 31.

Loose Stone: Perfect.



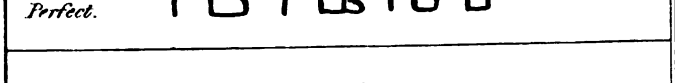
N° 32.

Loose Stone: Perfect.



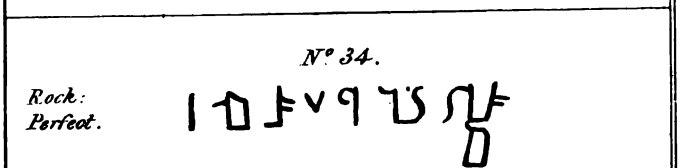
N° 33.

Loose Stone: Perfect.



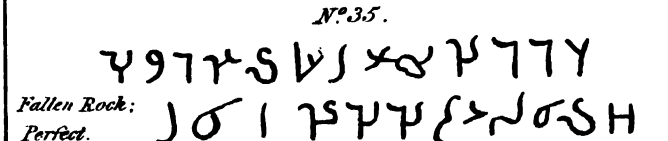
N° 34.

Rock: Perfect.

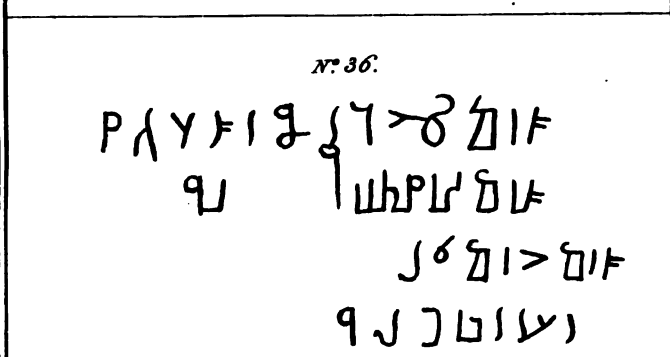


N° 35.

Fallen Rock: Perfect.



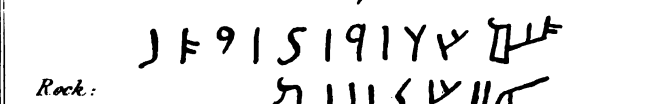
N° 36.



Rock: Perfect.

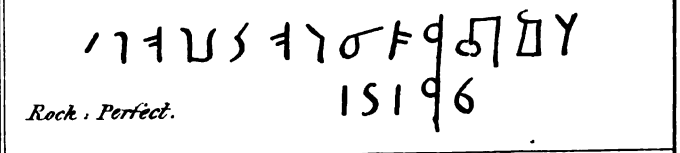
N° 37.

Rock: Perfect.



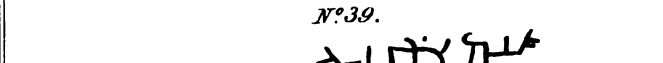
N° 38.

Rock: Perfect.



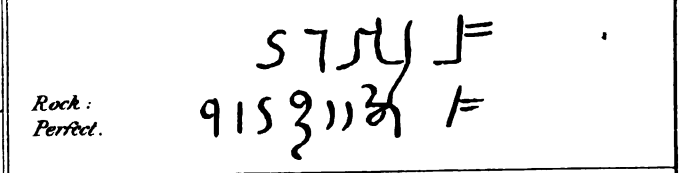
N° 39.

Fragment.



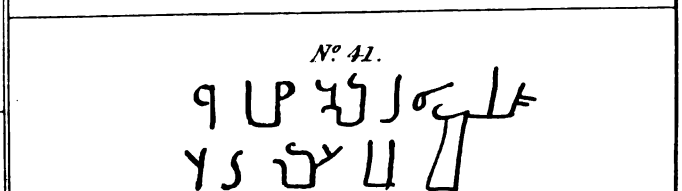
N° 40.

Rock: Perfect.



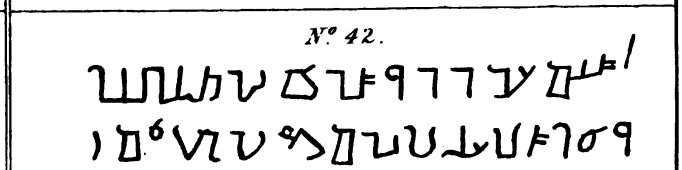
N° 41.

Rock: Perfect.



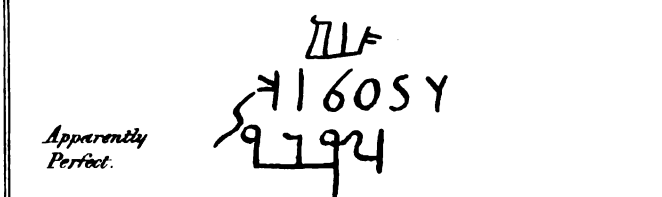
N° 42.

Rock: Perfect.



N° 43.

Apparently Perfect.



N° 44.

Loose Stone: Perfect & plain. Beside it a Quadruped.

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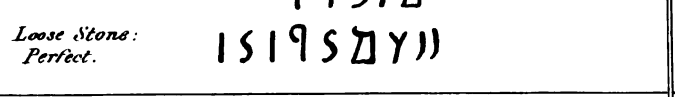
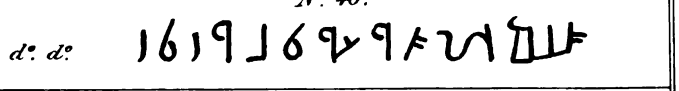
N°. 45.

Loose Stone: Perfect.

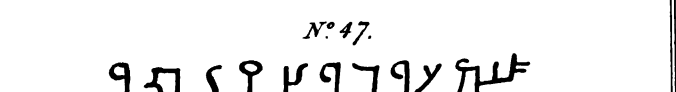


N°. 46.

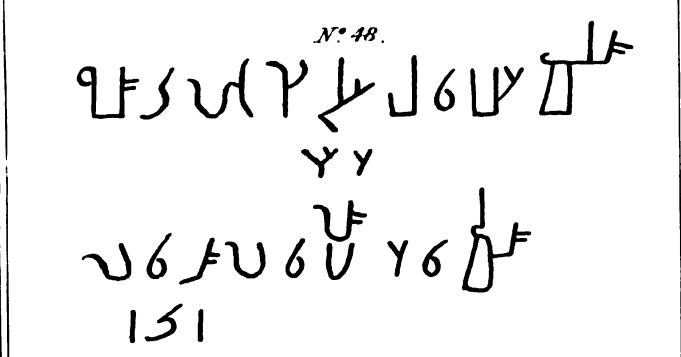
d°. d°.



N°. 47.

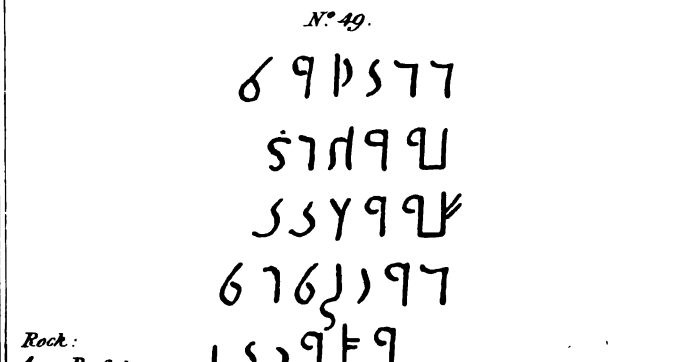


N°. 48.



Apparently 2 Inscriptions: Perfect.

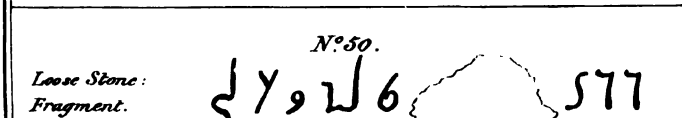
N°. 49.



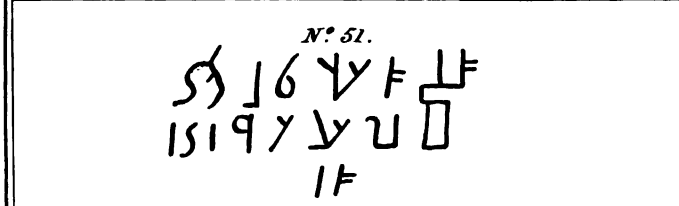
Rock: App: Perfect.

N°. 50.

Loose Stone: Fragment.



N°. 51.



N°. 52.

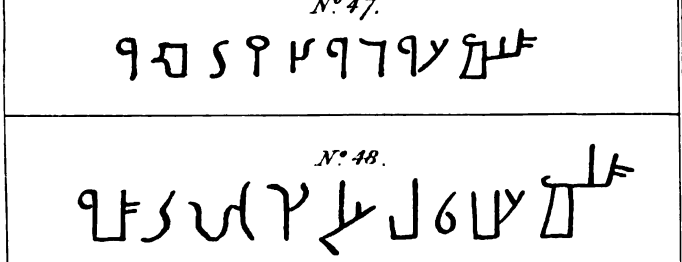
Loose Stone: Apparently Perfect.

N°. 53.

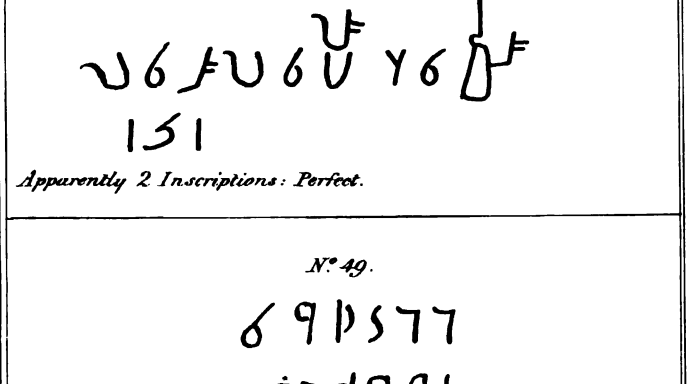
Beside this were rudely cut two Figures with sticks or swords; one in defence, and the other aiming a blow.

N°. 54.

Loose Stone: Uncertain.



N°. 55.



Loose Stone: Uncertain. – Observe the union of 7 letters.

N°. 56.

Rock high up: Perfect.

N°. 57.

Loose Stone.

N°. 58.

Loose Stone.

J. Netherclift Lithog.

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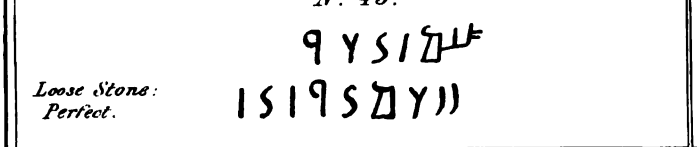
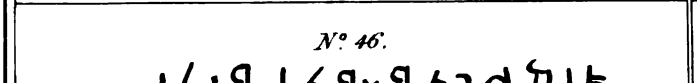
N°. 45.



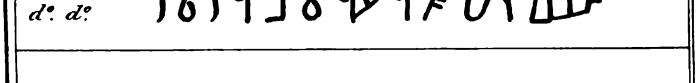
Loose Stone: Perfect.

N°. 46.

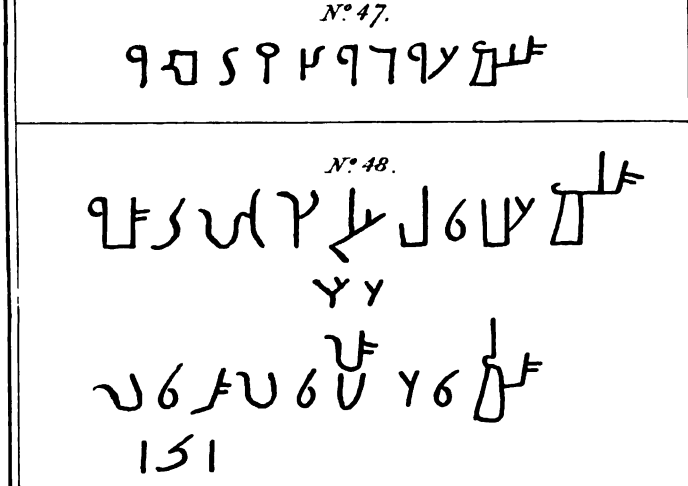


d°. d°.

N°. 47.

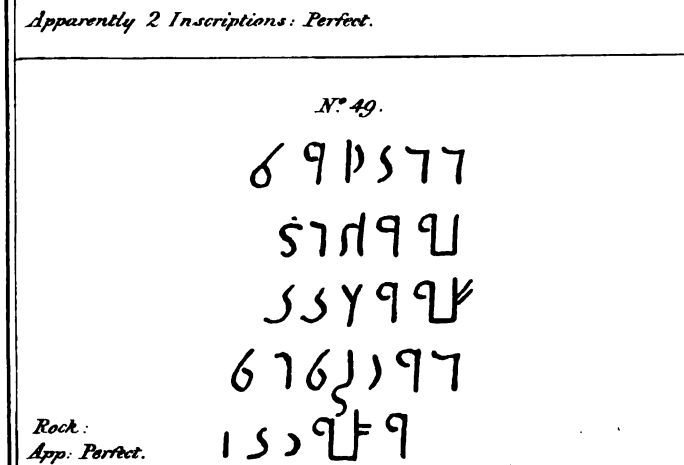


N°. 48.



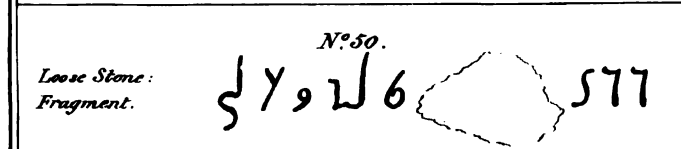
Apparently 2 Inscriptions: Perfect.

N°. 49.



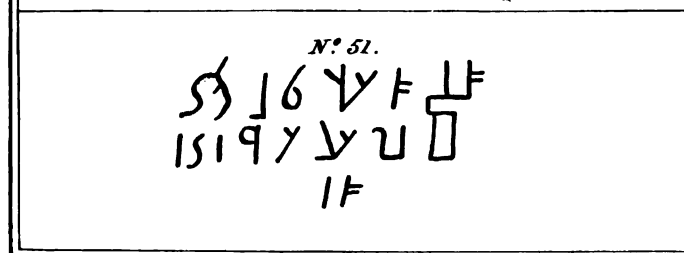
Rock: App: Perfect.

N°. 50.

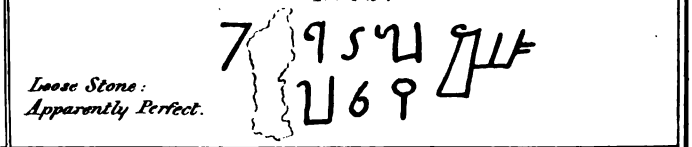


Loose Stone: Fragment.

N°. 51.

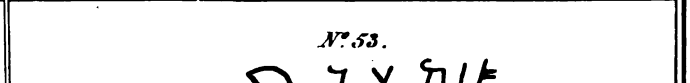


N°. 52.



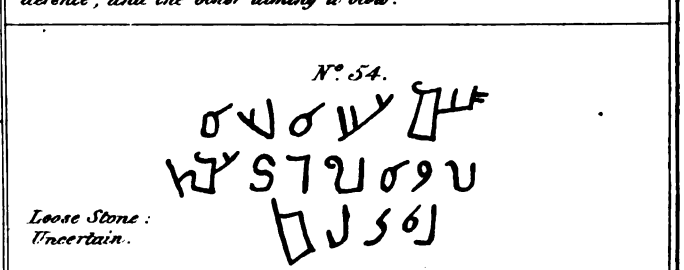
Loose Stone: Apparently Perfect.

N°. 53.



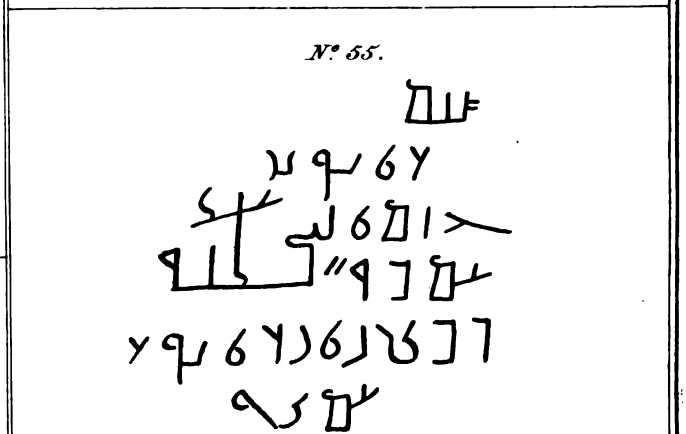
Beside this were rudely cut two Figures with sticks or swords; one in defence, and the other aiming a blow.

N°. 54.



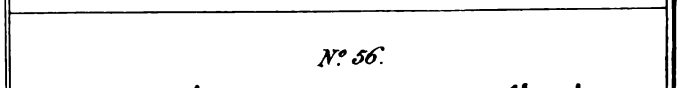
Loose Stone: Uncertain.

N°. 55.



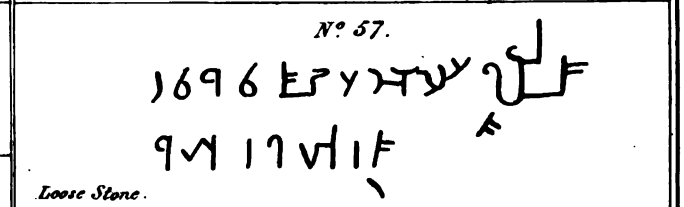
Loose Stone: Uncertain. – Observe the union of 7 letters.

N°. 56.



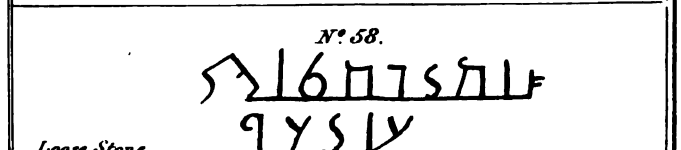
Rock high up: Perfect.

N°. 57.



Loose Stone.

N°. 58.



Loose Stone.

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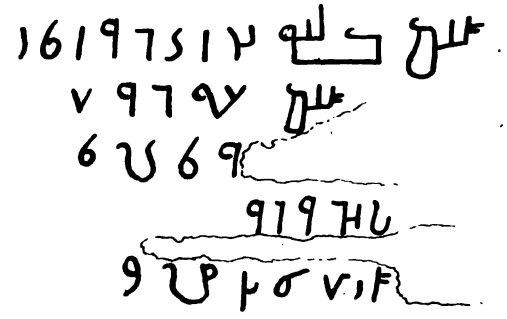
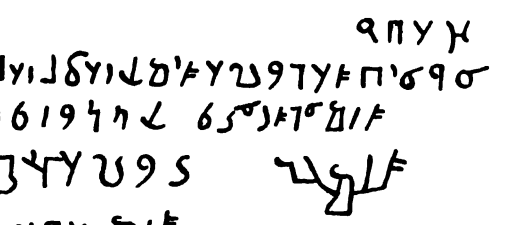
N°. 59.



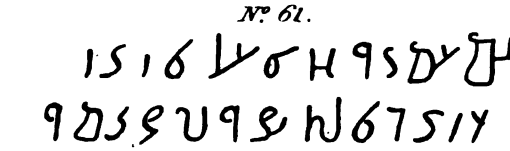
A Quadruped opposite the last line but one.

N°. 60.



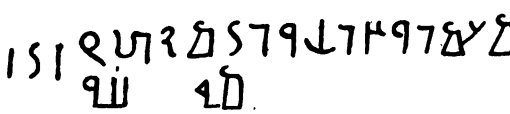
Rock high up: (12ft.) – Fragment.

N°. 61.



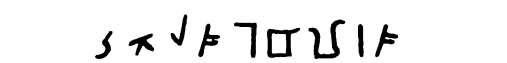
Rock high up: (about 20ft.) in a place where the winter torrent has undermined the slope. Perfect.

N°. 62.

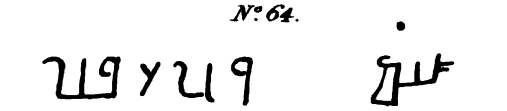


Same place: another hand: Perfect.

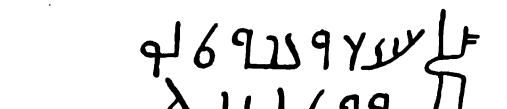
N°. 63.



N°. 64.

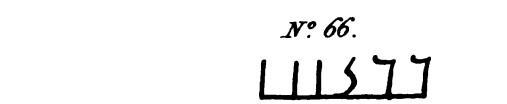


N°. 65.



Fragment: high up.

N°. 66.



Rock high up: Perfect.

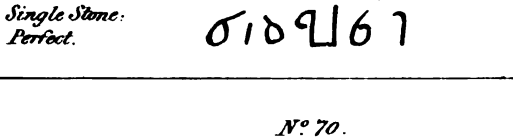
N°. 67.

Loose Stone: Perfect. – Beside it a Goat.

N°. 68.

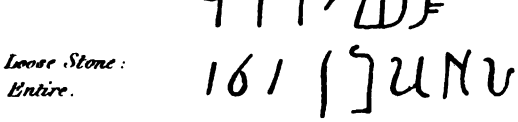
Fragment. – Beside it three Quadrupeds.

N°. 69.



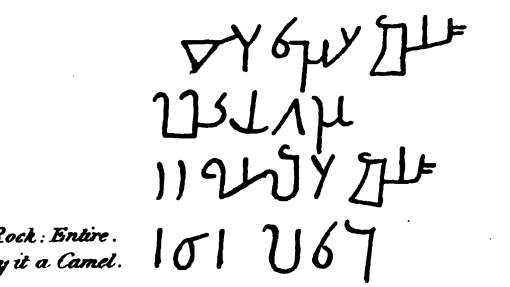
Single Stone: Perfect.

N°. 70.



Loose Stone: Entire.

N°. 71.



Rock: Entire. By it a Camel.

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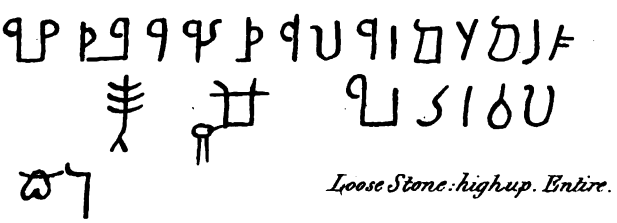
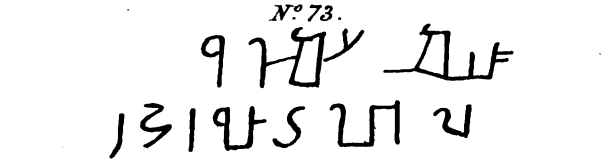
N°. 72.



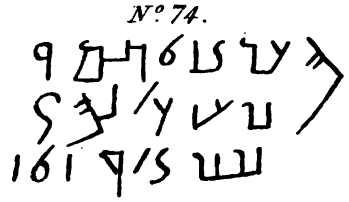
Loose Stone: high up. Entire.

N°. 73.



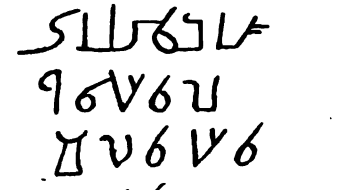
Rock: Entire: – on the right hand a Man with a long staff leading a Camel, dotted out with the same instrument as the Inscription, but rather spiritedly done: – on the left was a Camel alone, & the letter ⊀ stuck on its hump. –

N°. 74.



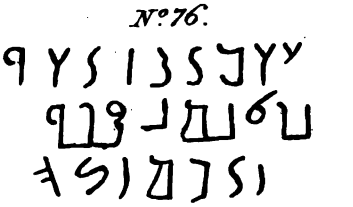
Rock high up: Entire.

N°. 75.



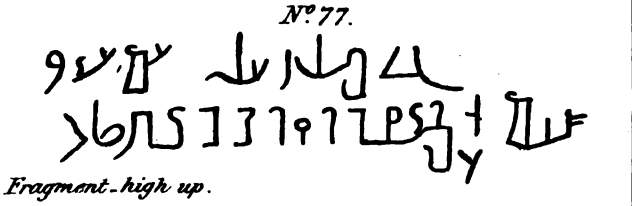
Rock high up: Entire.

N°. 76.



Loose Stone: App: Perfect.

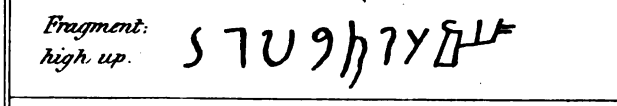
N°. 77.



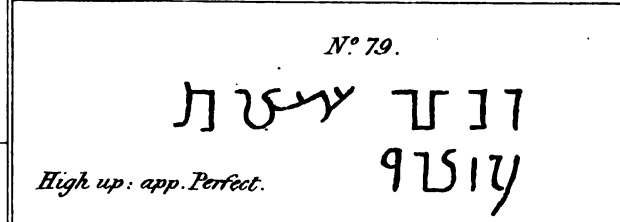
Fragment – high up.

N°. 78.

Fragment: high up.

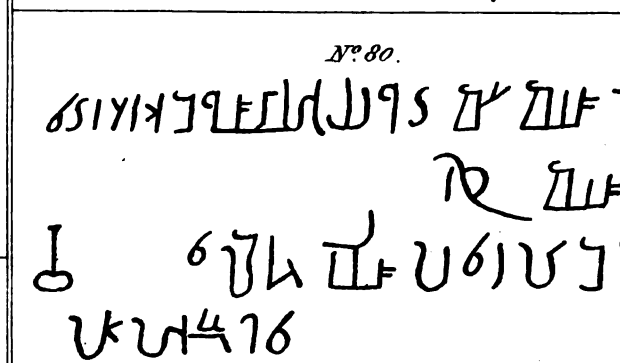


N°. 79.



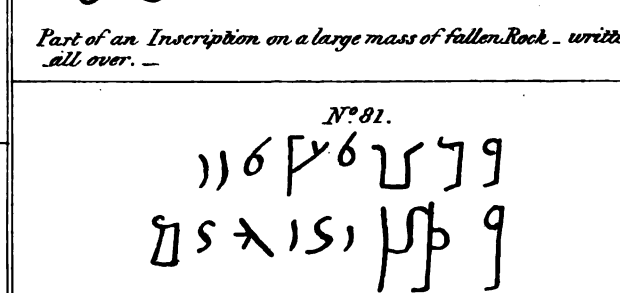
High up: app. Perfect.

N°. 80.

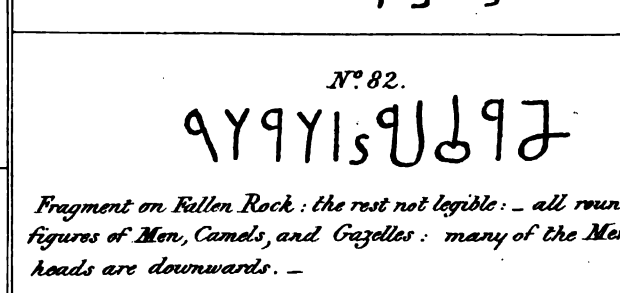


Part of an Inscription on a large mass of fallen Rock – written all over. –

N°. 81.

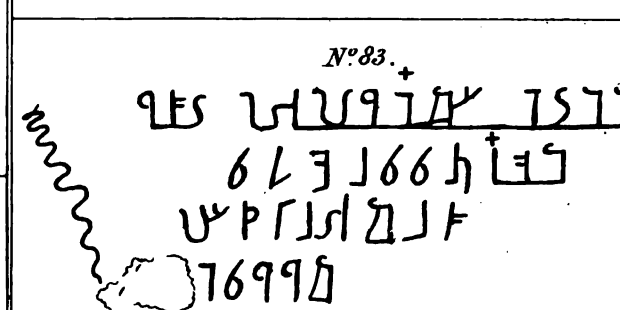


N°. 82.



Fragment on Fallen Rock: the rest not legible: – all round are figures of Men, Camels, and Gazelles: many of the Men's heads are downwards. –

N°. 83.



Rock: apparently Perfect. Besides the Serpent there are two little Figures standing on the letters marked +; and a Camel before the last line but one. –

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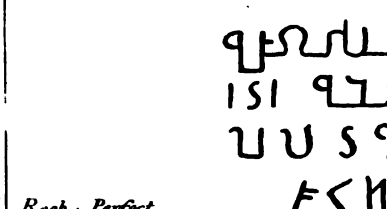
N.º 84.

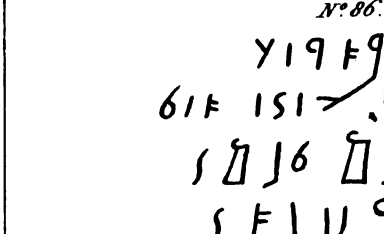


Rock: Perfect.

N.º 85.

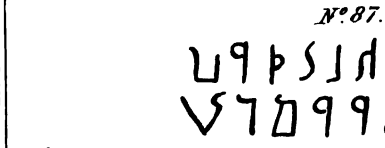
Fallen Rock: Fragment. – A great many figures scrawled about.

N.º 86.



Loose Stone: app: Entire.

N.º 87.



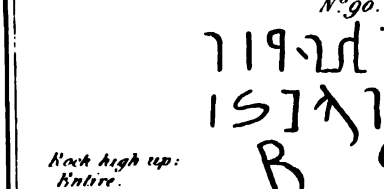
Apparently Entire.
This had the figure of a Dog under it.

N.º 88.

Loose Stone: Fragment.

N.º 89.

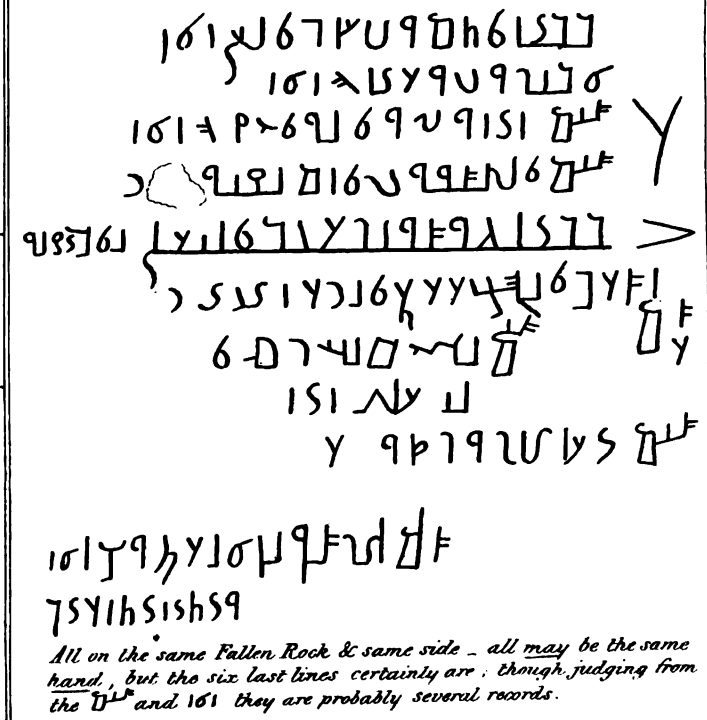
Uncertain. On the other side of the same mass is N.º 91.



N.º 90.

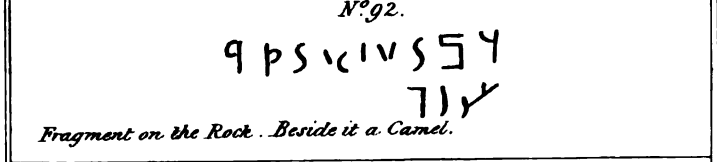
Rock high up: Entire.

N.º 91.



All on the same Fallen Rock & same side – all may be the same hand, but the six last lines certainly are; though judging from the and they are probably several records.

N.º 92.

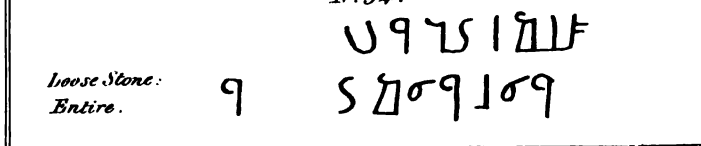


Fragment on the Rock. Beside it a Camel.

N.º 93.

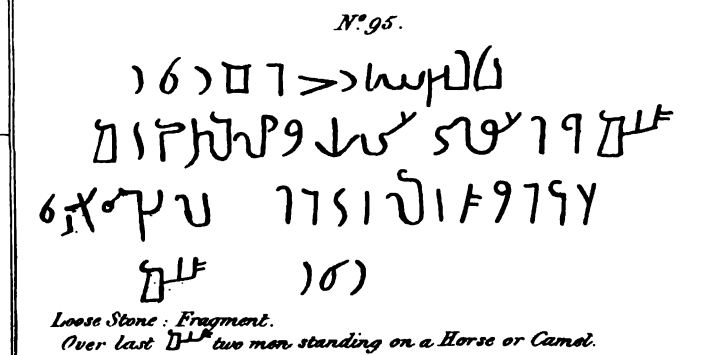
Fragment on Rock. Over it a Camel running away.

N.º 94.



Loose Stone: Entire.

N.º 95.



Loose Stone: Fragment.
Over last two men standing on a Horse or Camel.

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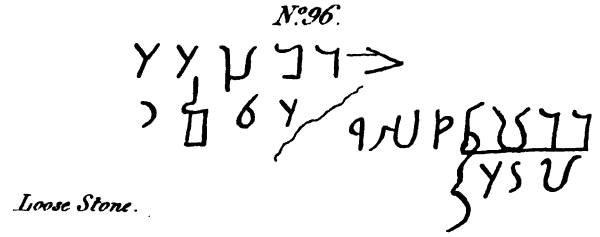
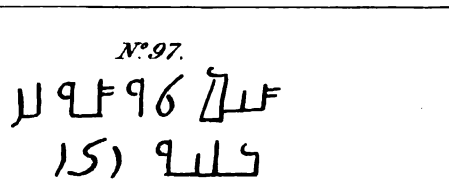
N°96.

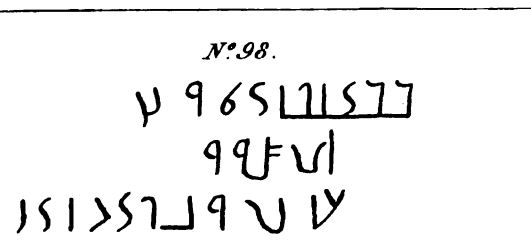


Loose Stone.

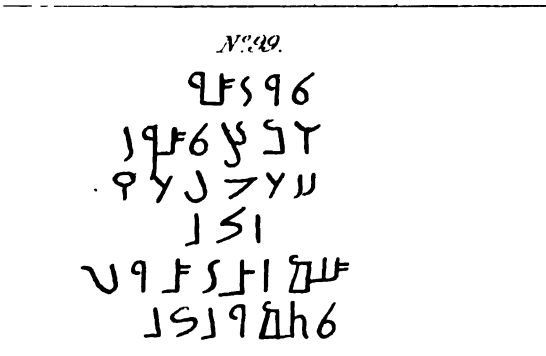
N°97.



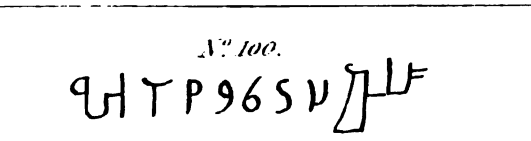
N°98.



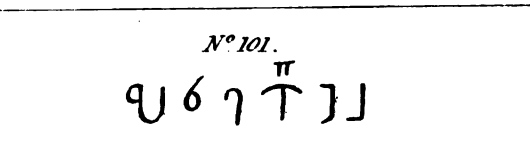
N°99.



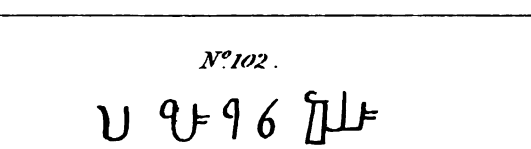
N°100.



N°101.

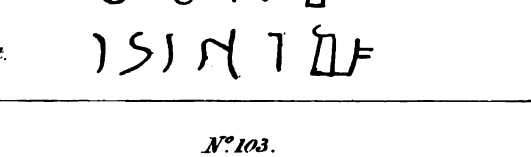


N°102.



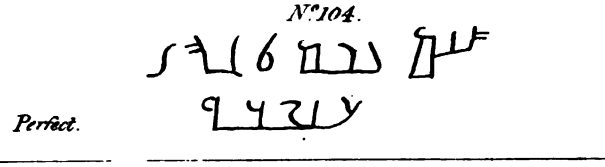
Perfect.

N°103.



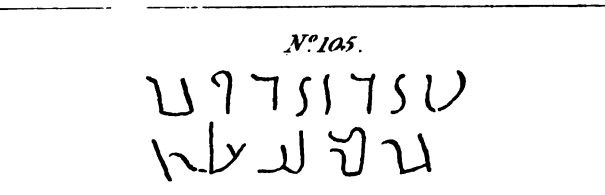
Perfect.

N°104.

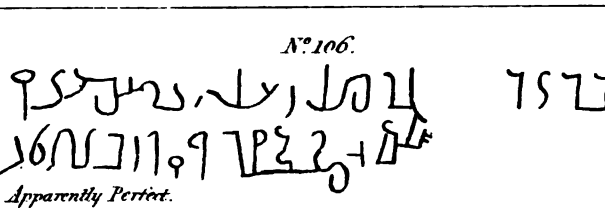


Perfect.

N°105.

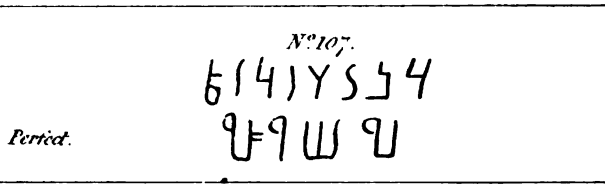


N°106.



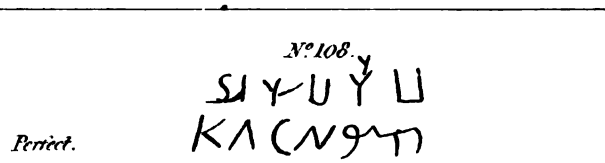
Apparently Perfect.

N°107.



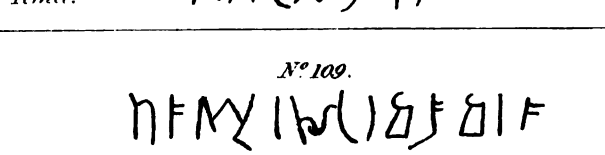
Perfect.

N°108.

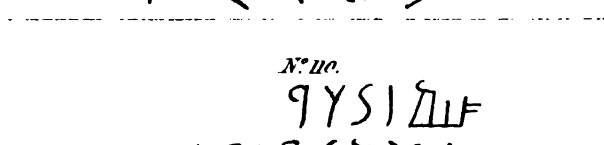


Perfect.

N°109.

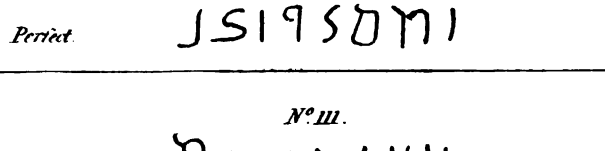


N°110.



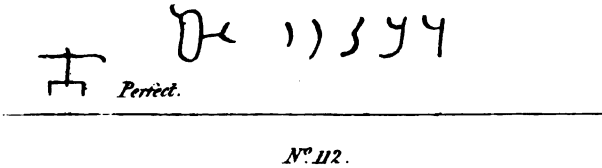
Perfect.

N°111.



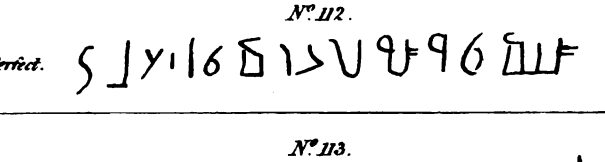
Perfect.

N°112.



Perfect.

N°113.



Perfect.

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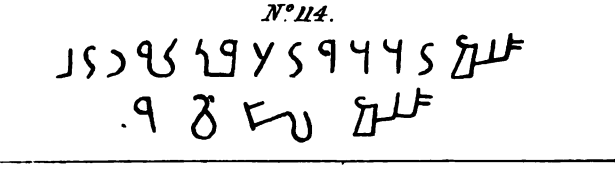
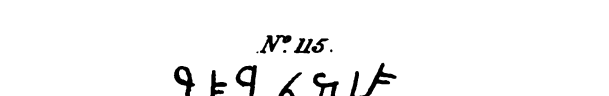
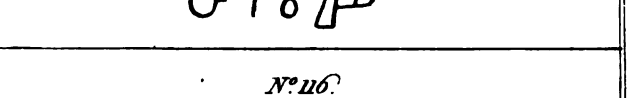
N°114.



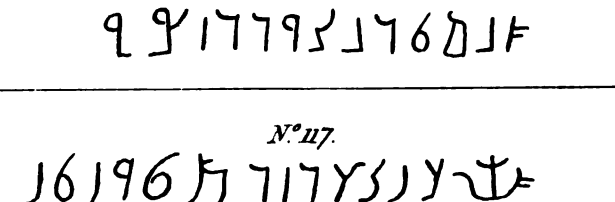
N°115.



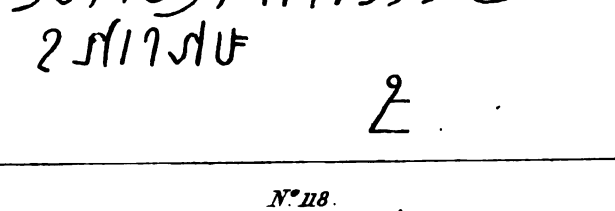
N°116.



N°117.

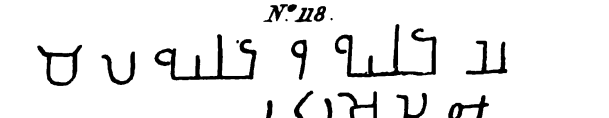


N°118.



Fragment.

N°119.



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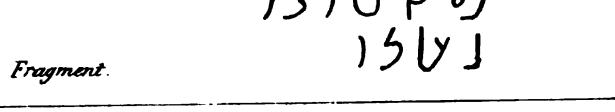

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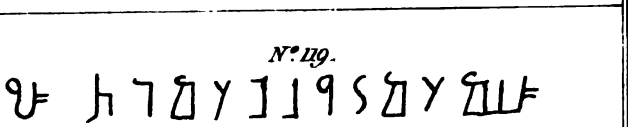

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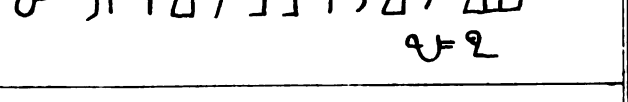
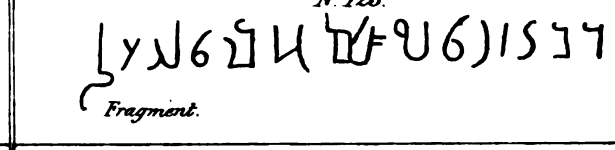


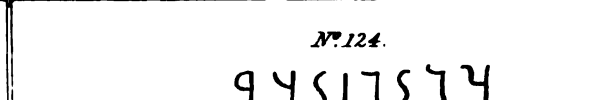
Apparently Perfect.

N°123.



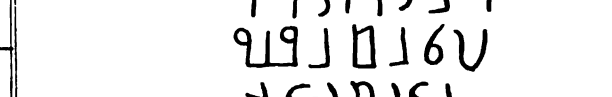
Fragment.

N°124.



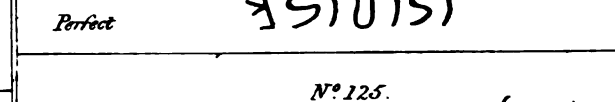
Perfect

N°125.



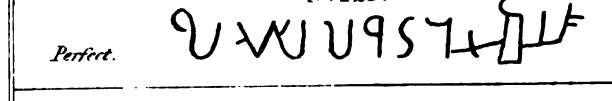
Perfect.

N°126.



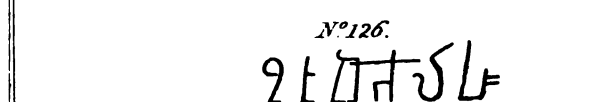
Perfect.

N°127.



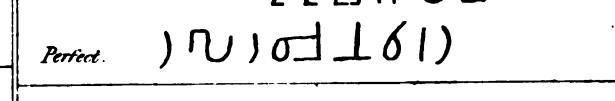
Perfect. Beside it a branch of a tree worked with the same instrument, and part of a wreath.

N°128.



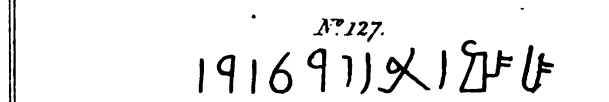
Perfect.

N°129.



Perfect.

N°130.



Entire.

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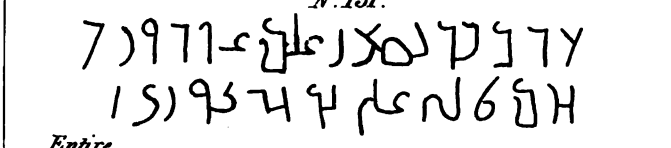
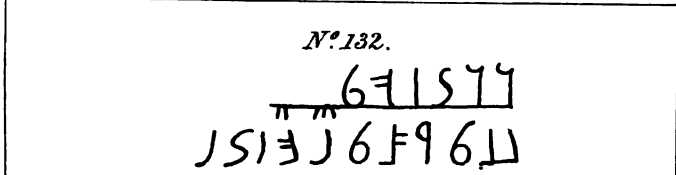
N°.131.



Entire.

N°.132.



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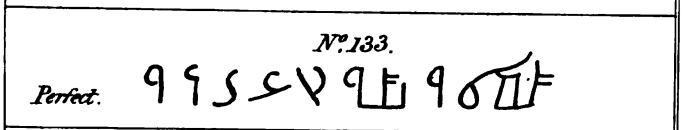
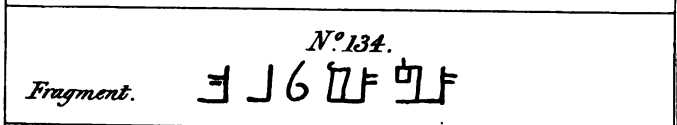


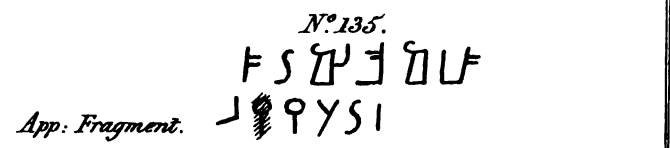
Perfect.

N°.134.



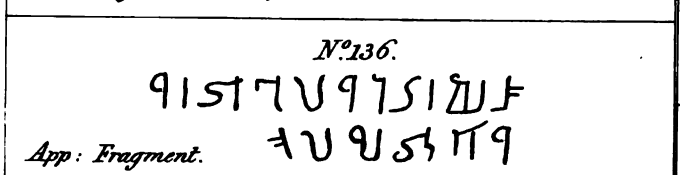
Fragment.

N°.135.



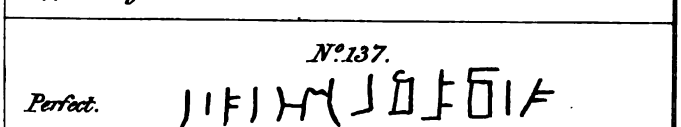
App: Fragment.

N°.136.



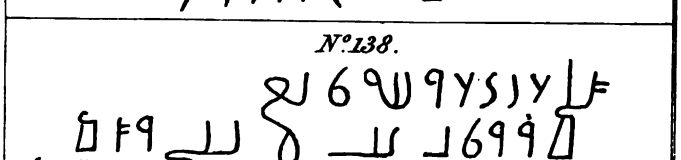
App: Fragment.

N°.137.



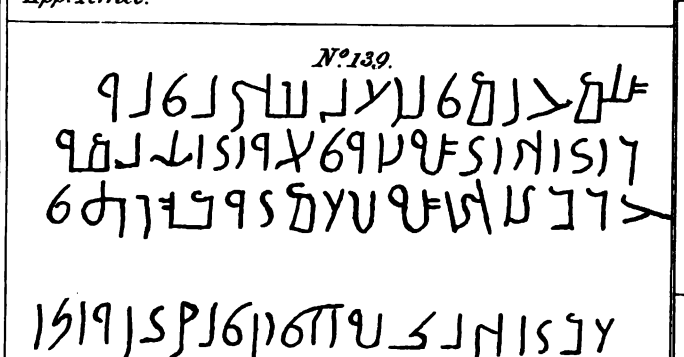
Perfect.

N°.138.



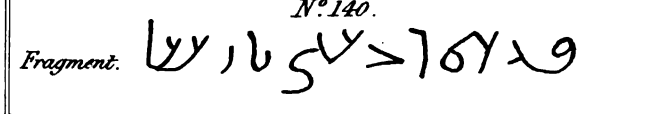
App: Perfect.

N°.139.



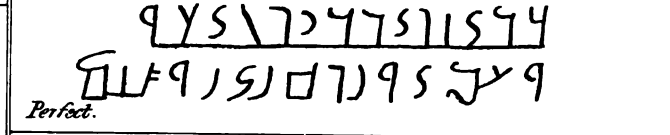
Perfect. I am not sure that the space I have left before the last line, ought to exist.

N°.140.



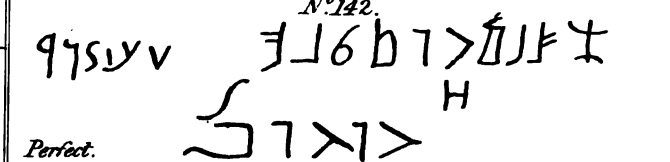
Fragment.

N°.141.



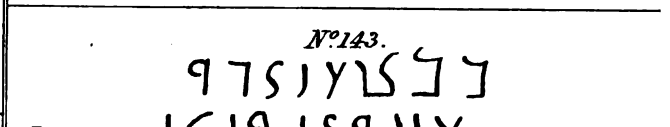
Perfect.

N°.142.



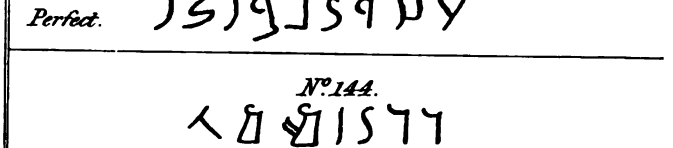
Perfect.

N°.143.



Perfect.

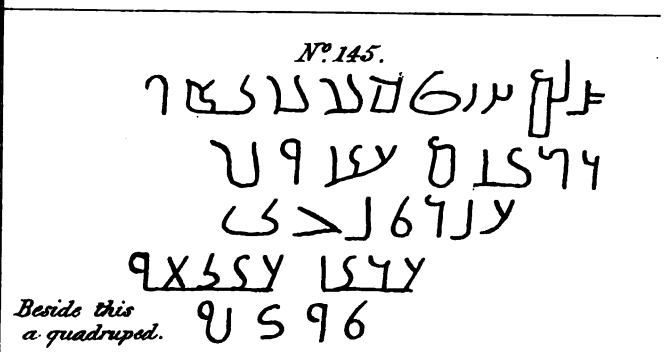
N°.144.



Fragment.

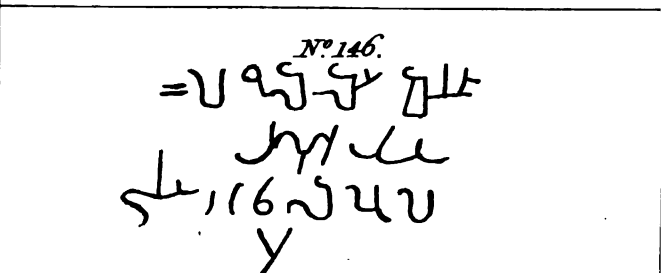
Before the last word, a beast of burden loaded.

N°.145.

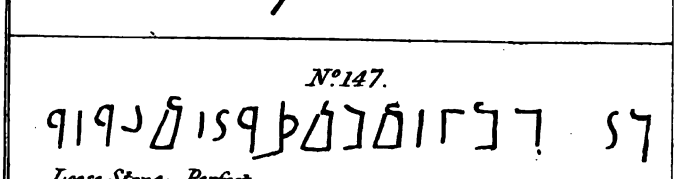


Beside this a quadruped.

N°.146.



N°.147.



Loose Stone: Perfect.

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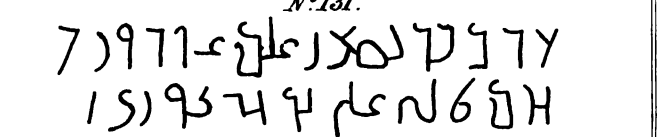
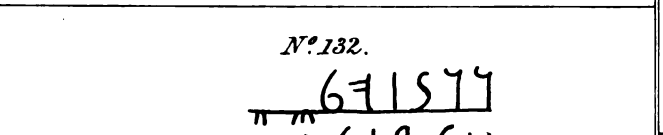
N°.131.

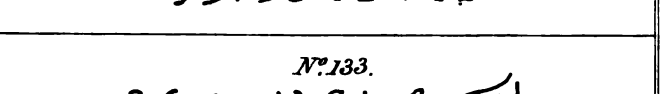


Entire.

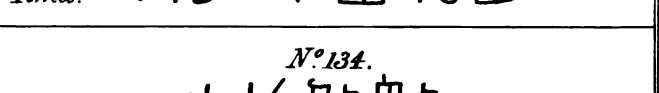
N°.132.



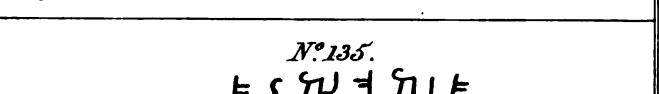
N°.133.

Perfect. 

N°.134.

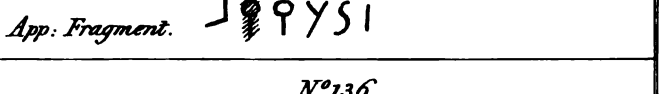
Fragment. 

N°.135.



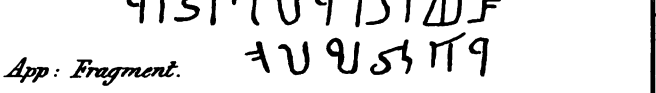
App: Fragment.

N°.136.

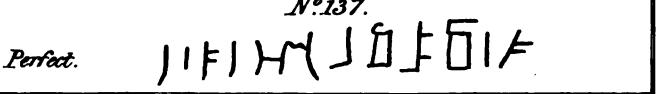


App: Fragment.

N°.137.

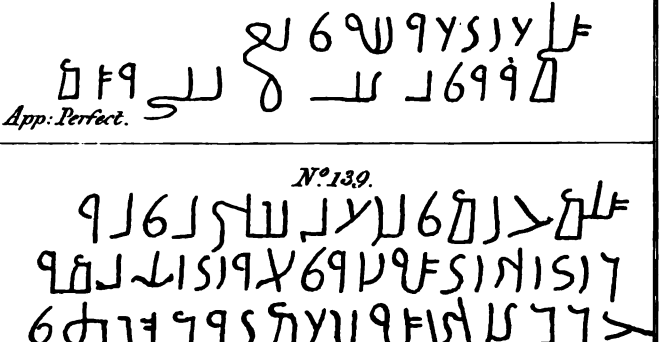
Perfect. 

N°.138.



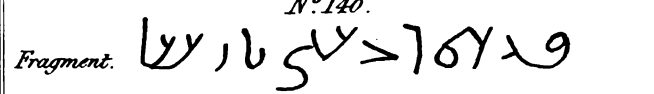
App: Perfect.

N°.139.

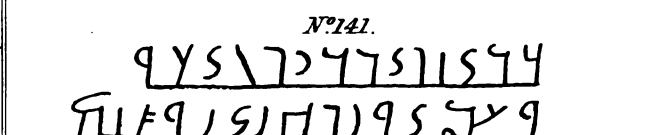


Perfect.. I am not sure that the space I have left before the last line, ought to exist.

N°.140.

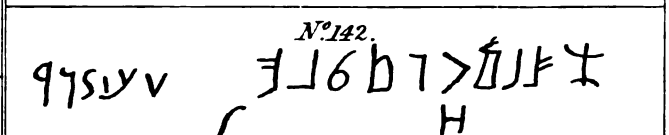
Fragment. 

N°.141.



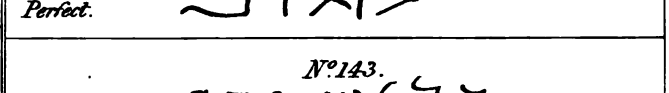
Perfect.

N°.142.



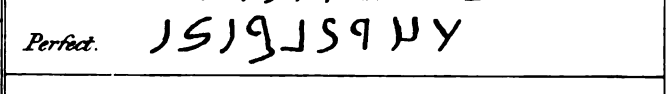
Perfect.

N°.143.



Perfect.

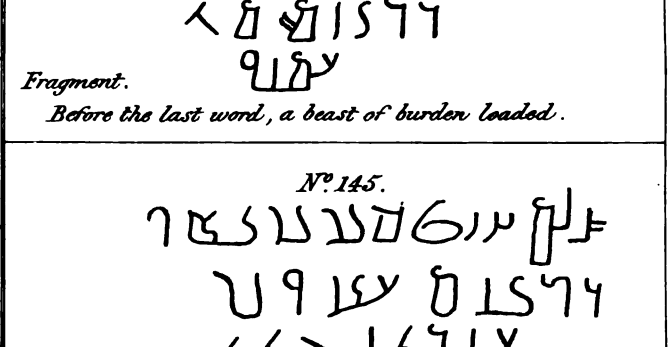
N°.144.



Fragment.

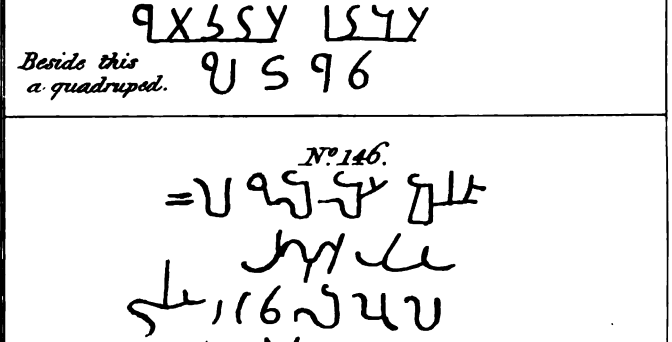
Before the last word, a beast of burden loaded.

N°.145.

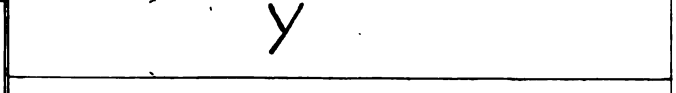


Beside this a quadruped.

N°.146.



N°.147.

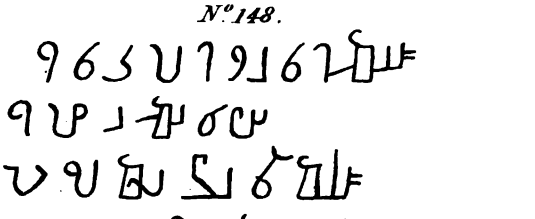


Loose Stone: Perfect.

J. Netherclift Lithog.

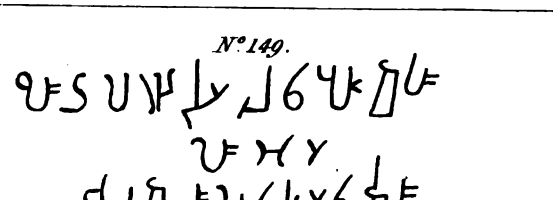
From the Waady Elmuketteb, or Written Valley. Copied in 1820, by G. F. Grey Esq.re

N°148.



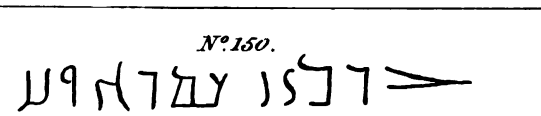
Perfect.

N°149.



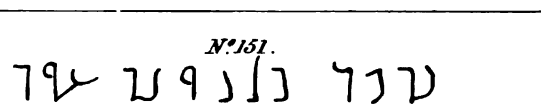
Perfect.

N°150.



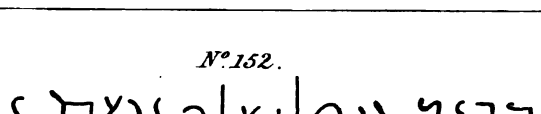
Fragment.

N°151.



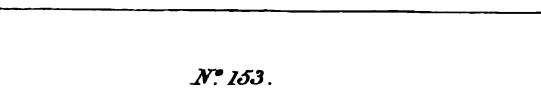
Fragment.

N°152.



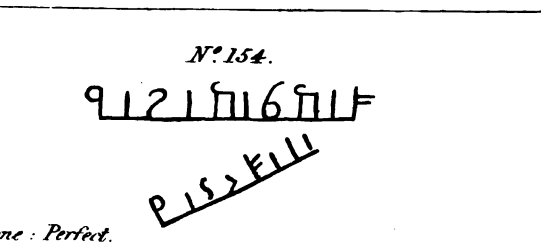
App: Fragment.

N°153.



Rock: App: Perfect.

N°154.

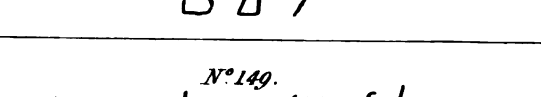


Loose Stone: Perfect.

N°155.

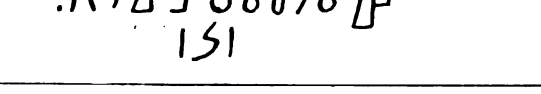
Loose Stone: Perfect.

N°156.



Loose Stone_App: Perfect.

N°157.



Loose Stone_Perfect.

N°158.

Loose Stone_Perfect.

N°159.

Perfect.

N°160.

Loose Stone_App: Perfect.

N°161.

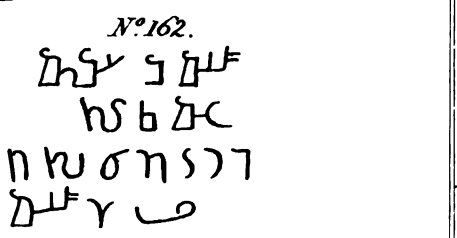
Loose Stone.

J. Nathercliff Lithog:

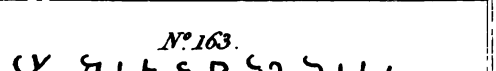
From the Waady Elmuketteb or Written Valley: Copied in 1820, by G. F. Grey Esq

The Seven following Inscriptions were found in a Valley near the Vale of Faraun, and separated from the Waady Elmuketteb by a desart tract of some hours. –

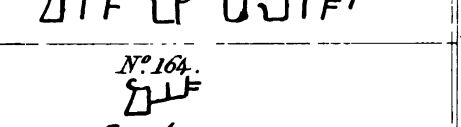
N°162.



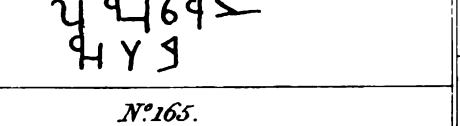
N°163.



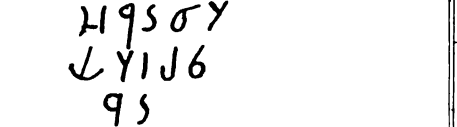
N°164.



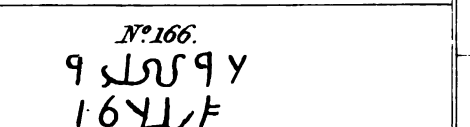
N°165.



N°166.

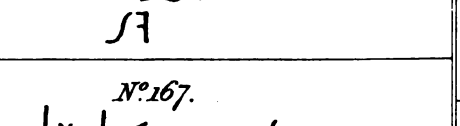


N°167.

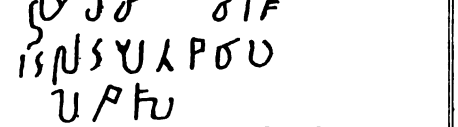


In the gap of the first line there was a Camel.

N°168.



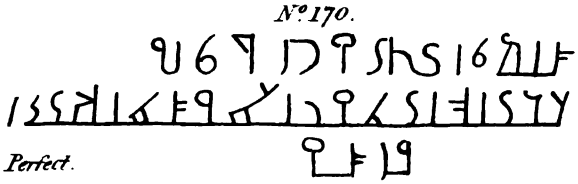
N°169.



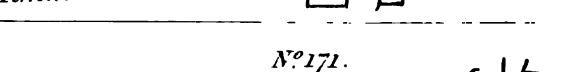
This was in the Vale of Faraun, on a loose Stone by the ruins of one of the chapels on the hills over the ancient Town : – the Stone appeared to have been em- -ployed in the building. –

The Eight following – (one excepted) were found about 6 hours from the Waady Elmuketteb, on the road to Sarboot Elahadam. –

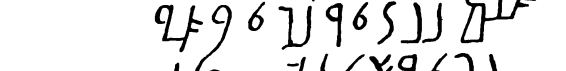
N°170.



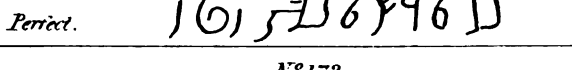
Perfect.



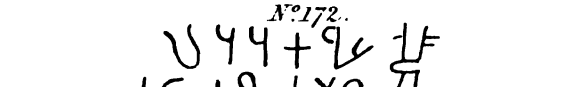
N°171.



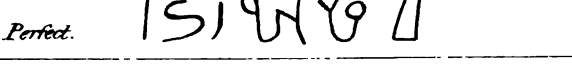
Perfect.



N°172.

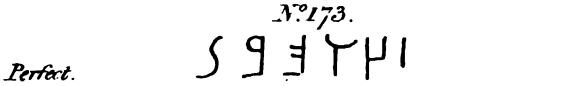


Perfect.



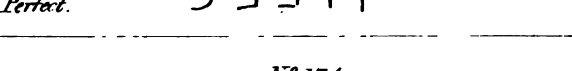
N°173.

Perfect.

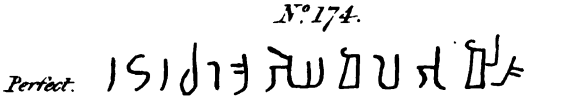


N°174.

Perfect.



N°175.

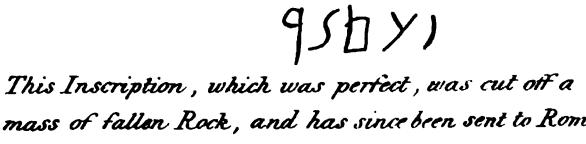


At Sarboot Elahadam.

N°176.

This Inscription, which was perfect, was cut off a mass of fallen Rock, and has since been sent to Rome.

N°177.



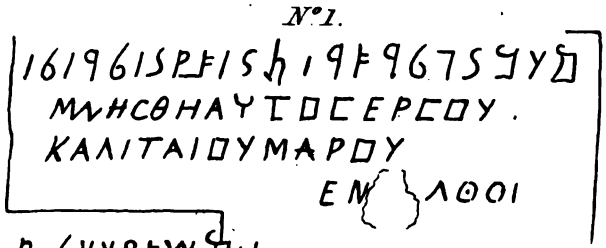
This Inscription is in the possession of the Rev: G. F. Grey, as it was cut off the Rock : – it is perfect, except the three last letters, which have since been broken. –

J. Netherclift Lithog.

From the Waady Elmuketteb or Written Valley: Copied in 1820, by G. F. Grey Esq.re

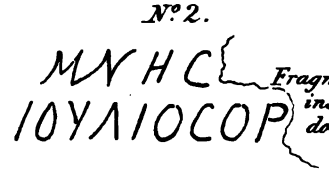
The following are Specimens of the different Greek Characters we found in the Waady Elmuketteb: – the first almost appears mixed with the Unknown Character.

N°1.



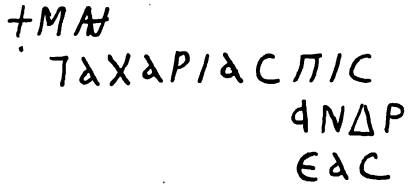
The Original is enclosed by lines drawn as seen here: it is on the Rock, in a situation now inaccessible – appears perfect, and is not cut but rather dotted out with a pointed instrument like all the Inscriptions of the Unknown Character. – The hand also of all the part enclosed seems the same. – Over the first line, is the figure of a man with uplifted hands, – and under the Greek, a horse. —

N°2.



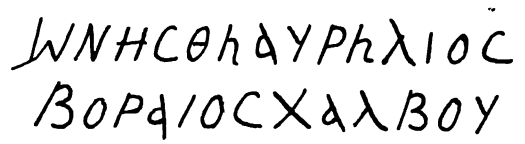
Fragment – same instrument, & dotted out.

N°3.

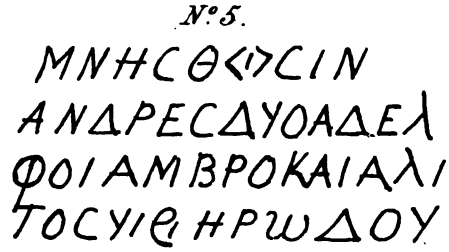


Fragment – cut deep with another instrument.

N°4.

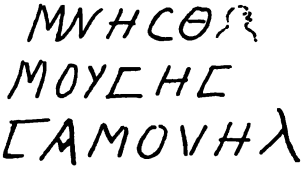


N°5.



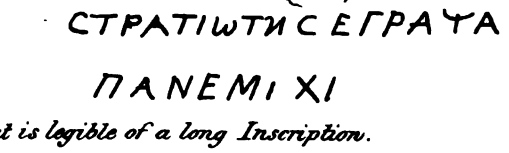
Under this, a Camel.

N°6.



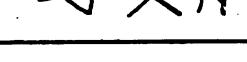
N°7.

N°8.



All that is legible of a long Inscription.

N°9.

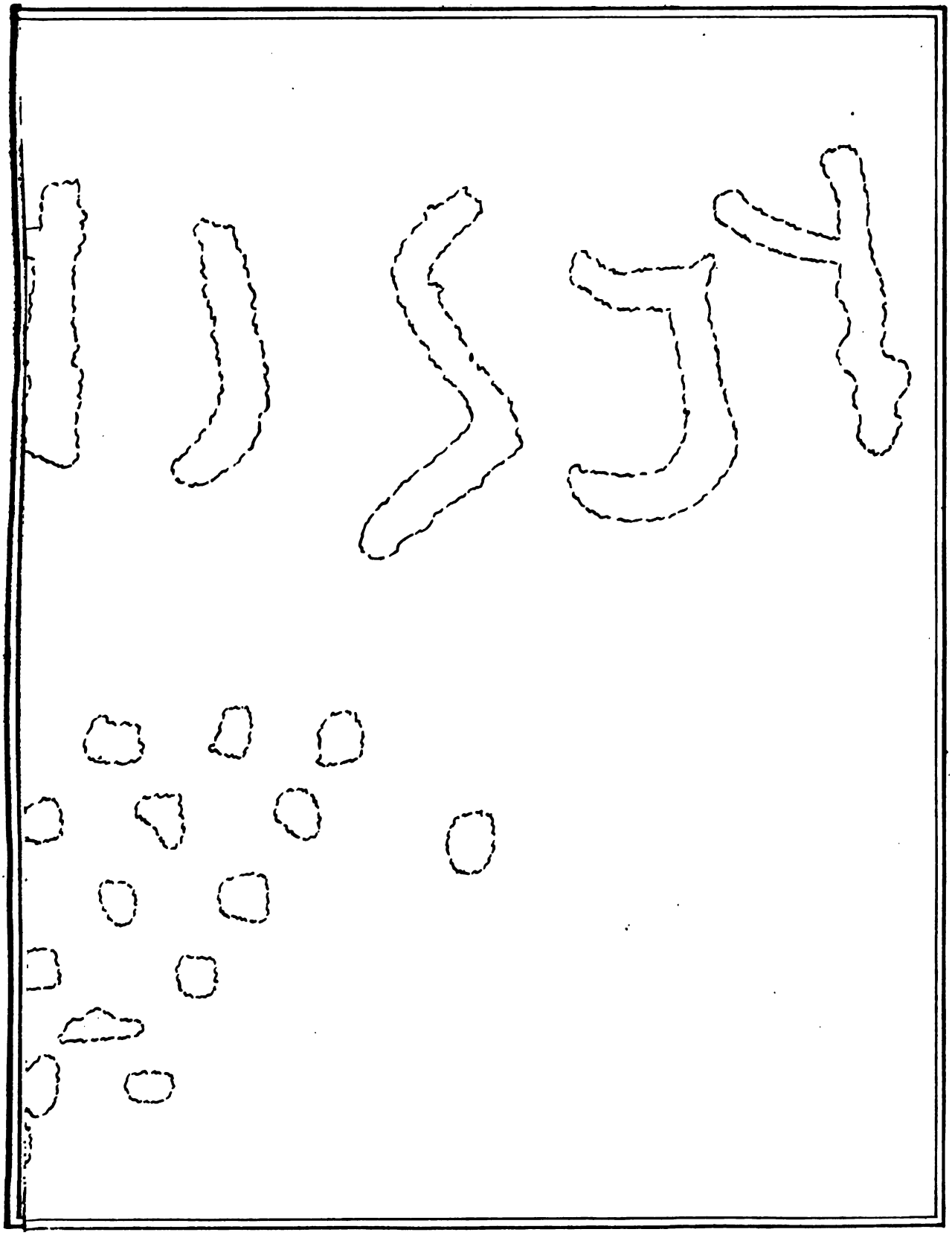


The following Roman Inscription is perfect and plain – but cut not dotted out.

CESSENTSYRI
ANTE LATINOS
ROMANOS

J. Netherclift Lithog:

From the Waady Elmuketteb or Written Valley: Copied in 1820, by G. F. Grey Esqre



riginals, generally; & the manner in which they were graven on the Rocks.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 30, C'est par erreur qu'on a laissé subsister, au v. 2. de l'inscription, les signes métriques: ces signes ne peuvent convenir à un vers pentamètre.

72, N° 21, Le consulat d'*Apronianus et de Paulus* répond à l'an 197 de l'ère d'Auguste, selon les Fastes de Théon (p. 122. ed. Halma): ce qui fixe la date de cette inscription au 14 Novembre 168 de notre ère, l'an VIII. de Marc Aurèle.

97, line 13, read *positive* representation.

98, — 1, read *scarabees.*

99, — 5 from the bottom, for *wings*, read *image.*

The Binder is requested to place the Plate representing the Contest between Hercules and the Acheloüs to face page 96.

The Inscriptions, Plate I. to Plate XIV., to be placed immediately after p. 148.

Parts I. and II. of Vol. I. (the former, price £1. 11*s.* 6*d.*, the latter, price £2. 2*s.*) may be had at the Society's House, St. Martin's, Charing Cross, or at Mr. Murray's, Albemarle Street.

Those Members of the Society who have not had the copies of the Parts published, to which they are entitled, may receive them on application at the Society's House.

*** The Second Part of Volume II. is in preparation.

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VIII. *Carmen Brundusinum.* By Granville Penn, Esq., M.R.S.L.

Read January 5, 1825.

Persicos odi, puer, apparatus;
Displicent nexæ philyra coronæ;
Mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum
Sera moretur.
Simplici *Myrto* nihil adlabores,
Sedulus curo: neque te ministrum
Dedecet *Myrtus*, neque me sub arcta
Vite bibentem.

This little song, which closes the first book of Horace's Odes, stands without any *argumentum* prefixed, or any date assigned to it. The Delphin annotator considers it as merely expressing, in a *general manner*, "the poet's dislike of costly chaplets formed of rare flowers difficult to be procured;" and Dacier affirms, "that it is marked by *no character* enabling the mind to conjecture *when* it was composed." "This little piece," says Sanadon, "has *nothing remarkable*, either in its subject or composition. It is less an ode than an extemporary song. After all, great masters reveal themselves in their smallest works. We here find an easy and natural expression, a flowing and well-cadenced versification, and even a little turn of pleasantry, which agreeably terminates the song. Horace apparently wished to have a revel with his friends: his servant proposed to make great preparations: Horace, like a *wise Epicurean*, declares, that the simplest and plainest pleasures are most to his taste. All this took place either in the autumn, or the beginning of the winter; but *we know not in what year.*"

Notwithstanding the judgments which these critics have pronounced, of the absence of all *chronological indications* in the ode, the reader will not find it difficult to perceive, that it is marked with very legible chronological characters; characters, indeed, so remarkable, as to enable us to determine both the *year* and the *occasion* of its composition, if we only examine it with a little closer attention than appears to have hitherto been bestowed upon it.

The ode obviously consists of two stanzas, constituting the two parts of its subject: in the first, the poet declares, with strongly excited feelings, his hatred of *Asiatic costumes and delicacies;* in the second, he expresses, with feelings as strongly excited, his attachment to the "*Myrtle,*" the peculiar badge of the Iulian or Julian house of Cæsar. The whole plainly implies some occasion in which *this plant* should be worn equally by *himself* and by his *servant;* and in which it should be brought into *direct and adverse contrast with the fashions of Persia,* or *Asia.*

Let us now consider Horace's position in Rome. He was a zealous partisan of Octavius; protected by that prince, and occasionally admitted into his private circle of society. When the treaty of peace was negotiated at Brundusium between Octavius and Antony, by which treaty the *eastern* division of the Roman empire, as far as to Euphrates, was assigned to Antony, and the western division, including the whole of Italy, to Octavius; Horace, as he himself expressly informs us, attended at that city with Mæcenas, in the suite of Octavius, and accompanied also by Virgil. Party feelings had risen to their extremest height; and those feelings were far from being immediately extinguished in the individual partisans, by the formal signature of the diplomatic instrument. Nevertheless, that great public transaction was followed by some days of general festivity to both parties. Dio Cassius has commemorated a particular circumstance of those festivities, which will at once reveal to us a cause, and an occasion, for the *contrast* exhibited in the ode; and therein, the cause, and the occasion, of the composition of the ode itself. After the ratification of the treaty (relates that historian), the two Triumvirs entertained each other in their respective camps. But their entertainments were distinguished by these very notable circumstances; that, whereas that given by Octavius was a martial feast, and conducted according to the manners and usages of the *Romans,* Antony, anticipating in his entertainment the characters of his *newly assigned dominions,* assumed the fashions and usages of *Asia and Egypt.* Συνθεμενοι ουν ταυτ' ἐν τοις στρατοπεδοις τοις περι το Βρεντεσιον, εἱστιασιν ἀλληλους, Καισαρ μεν στρατιωτικως τε και ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΣ, Αντωνιος δε ΑΣΙΑΝΩΣ τε και ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΣ.[1] Thus, then, became *contrasted,* in the most signal manner, before the eyes of the poet, the "*Persici apparatus*" and the

[1] Lib. xlviii. cap. 30.

"*simplex Myrtus.*" It is evident, that no other imaginable occasion, in which those objects might have been contrasted, could have so strongly excited in his breast the sentiment expressed in his words; and he gave it vent, at some moment of the revelry, in the little jovial sarcastic party-song:—

Boy! I hate the *Eastern fashion,*
With its fillets and its bows;
Cease thy search, I have no passion
For the latest-blowing rose.

Simple Myrtle is my pleasure;
Myrtle never will degrade
Thee, who fill'st the jovial measure,
Me, who quaff it in the shade.

"*Persicos*" is here plainly a metonomy for "*Asiaticos,*" demanded by the poet's metre. The "*apparatus, nexæ philyra coronæ,*" and "*sera rosa,*" are not exclusively *Persian,* but express, generally and contemptuously, the soft and effeminate fashions of the *Asiatic nations,* which Antony had thought fit to assume in the presence of his fellow-countrymen. A similar contempt for those fashions to that which is here conveyed by Horace, Virgil, on several occasions, puts in the mouth of his poetical characters:

"Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis;
Desidiæ cordi; juvat indulgere choreis;
Et tunicæ manicas, et *habent redimicula mitræ.*
O vere Phrygiæ!"

Servius observes: "Convertit in vituperationem majorem, dicens—*religatas habetis mitras.*"

The "*Myrtus,*" which was *not to degrade,* that is, which was *greatly to honour* both the *master* and the *servant,* and to be worn indiscriminately by all the adherents of Octavius, was the emblem of his divine descent from the *Venus Genetrix,* to whom Julius Cæsar had dedicated a temple only six years before; of which emblem, the poet's illustrious friend and associate at the feast thus afterwards wrote:—

"Sic fatus velat *materna tempora Myrto.*
Hoc Helymus facit, hoc ævi maturus Acestes,
Hoc puer Ascanius, *sequitur quos cætera pubes.*"

And here we find the most solid ground for resisting the gratuitous violation of the primitive text, which the learned Bentley adventures, and which he calls upon us to concede, only because he was not aware of the occasion and design of the composition; namely, of changing "*sedulus curo*" to "*sedulus, cura.*" And he asks, with triumphing smartness: "Itane vero? an Horatius *tantopere curat,* ne servulus præter mandatum *Myrto aliquid addat?*—Tu vero lege, meo periculo, et distingue,

——— nihil adlabores
Sedulus, cura."

I answer, that Horace did "*so greatly care*" that the *Myrtle* should be *simple and unmixed;* and I shew the reason, in the occasion of the poem. "*Sedulus curo*" expresses the force of the *poet's personal feeling* on one side, in opposition to his "*Odi*" on the other side, and is required to balance it. It was, therefore, with sound critical judgment, that Gesner replied to the temerarious corruption of Bentley—"Ut sumus homines, mihi placet *vulgata omnium librorum lectio.*"

This, then, is the obvious sense which the device of this little song would have conveyed, at the time assigned for its composition, to the minds of Octavius, Mæcenas, Virgil, and all the friends of the *Julian party.* It carries with itself internal evidence, both of the *occasion* for which, the *place* at which, and the *year* and *season* of the year in which, it was uttered. It was in the close of the eventful year of Rome, 714, the year of the consulship of Pollio; in which year Octavius obtained, by the terms of the treaty which Antony was constrained to accept, the sole and exclusive sovereignty of Rome and Italy, and in which he at length assumed, for the first time, the *hereditary* style of "IMPERATOR," which the senate had already decreed to Julius Cæsar and his blood,[2] but which Julius Cæsar had never ventured to assume. This ODE is therefore to be placed, in its chronological order, next to the events of the "*Journey to Brundusium,*" described by Horace in the fifth satire of his first book; and from thence, though small in the number of its lines, yet pregnant in the import of its matter, it may justly vindicate to itself the title of CARMEN BRUNDUSINUM.

[2] Observ. in Illustration of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, p. 153, &c.

II. *On the Theoretical Music of the Greeks.* By the Rev. Frederick Nolan, LL.D., M.R.S.L.

Read November and December, 1828.

However the critical distinctions of the ancient writers may be liable to exceptions, in considering poetry as comprehended in music,[1] the alliance of those sister arts was originally so close as to entitle them to an undivided attention. By the ancients, who canvassed their common merits, equal surprise has been expressed, that the instrumental performer should be entitled to the name of *musician*, as that the title should be denied to the lyrical poet.[2] And though these notions are repugnant to our modern prepossessions, which dispose us to regard those arts as essentially different; as long as the versification of the languages distinguished as classical is not to be explained upon philological principles, but depends upon musical, in its quantity and metre, the subject of an art, which Pythagoras cultivated, and Plato studied, which Socrates learned in his old age, cannot be considered irrelevant to the object for which this learned Society is embodied.

Were I not sensible, however, that much higher considerations are involved in the fate of this subject, I should have probably wanted an inducement to bring it thus early under their attention. But from the precedent of the ancient music, inferences have been unfortunately drawn, which, if not subversive of the principles on which all polite literature and the fine arts depend, throw obstacles in the way of that practical excellence of which they are susceptible. I need not insist (for it is foreign from my object) upon the more extravagant positions which it has been adduced to support in music exclusively considered; as countenancing the erroneous principle, that this art derives its power over the taste from education or accident; and that any system of sounds would be equally grateful to the ear, if rendered familiar by time and experience.[3] A pernicious principle to

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[1] Isidor. Orig. lib. i. cap. 3. [2] Philodem. de Music. cap. xii. col. 26, 27.

[3] Euler. Tentam. de Nov. Theor. Mus. cap. i. § 2. "Equidem non nego, et infra ipse probabo, exercitio et crebra auditione fieri posse, *ut concentus quispiam nobis placere incipiat*,

which it has afforded support, and which has given rise to the system of ancient music which I have undertaken to examine, would of itself furnish an inducement for investigating the subject to the foundation. As it is insinuated by the ancients, and is expressly maintained by the moderns, who have touched upon the subject,[4] that practice is so wholly dependent on theory in the arts, that when works of taste are not founded on scientific principles, the end of the composition must be uncertain or abortive.

In refutation of a dogma, which is contradicted by the general history of the arts and literature, it would be merely necessary to refer to the case of poetry alone, in which the highest productions of the art were long antecedent to the principles of critical science; the "Iliad" of Homer having preceded, by some centuries, "the Poetics" of Aristotle. The progress of literary cultivation in every age and country is, on the contrary, observed to bring exclusive confirmation to the opposite position, that principles more frequently originate in practice; of which the poet and critic, recently named, afford an illustrious exemplification. It is indeed remarkable, that the greatest efforts of art are so generally known to precede the cultivation of criticism; that rarely an extraordinary production of taste is observed to appear, when the principles on which it depended are scientifically established. And a striking confirmation of this observation presents itself in that people who have distinguished themselves among the moderns by their skill in developing the principles of harmony. It has been objected by Rousseau, whose profound skill in the art was only surpassed by his exquisite

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qui primum displicuerit, et vicissim. Attamen hôc principium sufficientis rationis, ut vocatur, non evertitur: non solum enim in ipso objecto ratio, cur placeat, vel displiceat, est quærenda, sed ad sensus per quos objecti imago menti repræsentatur, quoque est respiciendum; atque præterea ad judicium potissimum, quod ipsa mens de oblata imagine format."

[4] Rameau, Demonst. du Princ. de l'Harm. p. 3. "S'ils [les anciens] ont avancé avec quelque assurance dans ses voies, c'est qu'ils étoient secrètement guidés par la nature: c'étoient des aveugles qui croyoient marcher d'eux-mêmes, et qu'elle conduisoit, mais à qui le manque de principes rendoit nécessairement bien des routes impracticables ou fermées. Ce seroit un miracle plus grand qu'aucun de ceux qu'on raconte de leurs compositions, si n'étant point éclairés sur la nature de la succession des sons qui composoient leurs échelles, ils n'avoient rencontré aucune difficulté insurmontable dans l'usage qu'ils en faisoient." To the same purpose, it is observed by M. D'Alembert: "C'est une chose bien étonnante, qu'on ait pu pousser la pratique de la musique au point où elle était parvenue, sans en connaître le fondement; et qu'on en ait exactement trouvé toutes les règles, avant que d'avoir découvert le principe qui les donne."

taste, that since music has been cultivated as a science by the French, it has perceptibly declined among their native artists.[5] The ancient music, with which I am more immediately engaged, furnishes an illustration of the position, which is no less apposite and striking: the inquiries of the Greeks into the philosophy of sounds having been destitute of practical effect upon the art; the principles which they developed having conduced to no end, but the production of a purely theoretical music. From the state of the art as cultivated in Greece, no inference can be consequently drawn by which the principles of taste can be affected, as arbitrary or uncertain. On the contrary, when the line is distinctly marked between the theoretical and the practical music of the Greeks, and a just idea recovered of their constitution and nature, it will be plain, that, while the principles by which the one was directed ended in fanciful and barren speculation, the practice which the other followed preserved a conformity with the phenomena of nature.

In maintaining a position so directly opposed to the conclusions formed by the learned upon this subject, who recognise but one system of music among the ancients, which is consequently regarded as admitted in practice, it seems necessary to premise, that, however the distinction has been overlooked or disregarded by the moderns, it was acknowledged by the ancients: the most valuable treatise which they have bequeathed us upon the art being founded upon it. In the Dialogue of Plutarch,[6] in which the most comprehensive view is taken of the art, the subject is distributed according to this distinction; the first speaker in the dialogue sustaining the part of a performer, while the second preserves the character of a theorist: and the provinces which they respectively filled are distinctly marked in the main divisions of the subject.[7] By the umpire, to whom the author assigns the part of deciding between the claims of the speakers, the line of demarcation is thus accurately defined at the close of the dialogue: "Each of you," he observes, "has preserved his proper order; for all that it is befitting *a practitioner* should know, for such we are indebted to the bounty of Lysias; while Soterichus has contributed to our entertainment in informing us what

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[5] Rouss. Dict. de la Mus. au mot Harmonie, et ailleurs.

[6] Plutarch. Moral. tom. v. P. II. p. 625, ed. Oxon. 8vo, al. fol. 1131.

[7] Plut. Dial. de Mus. cap. iii. p. 628. al. 1131. f. cap. xiii. p. 643. al. 1135. d. conf. cap. xliii. infi. n. 8.

belongs to *the theory*, to the power, the use, and advantages of music."[8] While I shelter myself under the authority of this ancient writer, from the charge of an affected refinement or novelty, in dissenting from the conclusions to which the moderns have been led in this intricate subject, I shall profit in the distribution of it by the distinction which Plutarch suggests, though I deviate from the order which he follows. The object to which the attention of this learned Society is primarily invited, is the Theoretical Music of the Greeks; on the subject of the Practical Music, I must beg to be indulged with a future hearing.

I. In the treatises upon harmonics, which have descended from antiquity, and which, with the exception of the Dialogue of Plutarch, are confined to the theoretical music, the art is generally described as consisting of seven parts[9]—of sound, interval, system, genus, mode, mutation, and melopee; but in this enumeration all but the intermediate divisions may pass without immediate remark, as common to the art at every period of its cultivation. Of sounds and intervals, it must be superfluous to offer a definition; as I must presume that they require not to be described to those who are likely to take an interest in this discussion. The consideration of mutation and melopee, as relating to musical composition, belongs to a different division of the subject. On abstracting these parts of the art, as beside the purpose of this inquiry, a brief description of the terms, system, genus, and mode, by which the theoretical music was properly characterised, will free the subject from the difficulty in which it is involved, from the obscurity of a technical language. For more detailed information upon this subject, which is but preliminary to the direct object of my investigation, the inquirer may be referred to the popular sketch of the Greek Music, by the Abbé Barthelemy,[10]

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[8] Plut. uti supr. cap. xliii. p. 686, al. 1146. d. τὴν τάξιν ἑκάτερος τὴν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἐφύλαξεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λυσίας ὅσα μόνον χειρουργοῦντι κιθαρῳδῷ προσῆκεν εἰδέναι, τούτοις ἡμᾶς ἱστίασεν· ὁ δὲ Σωτήριχος ὅσα καὶ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν καὶ πρὸς θεωρίαν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ δύναμιν καὶ χρῆσιν μουσικῆς συντείνει, διδάσκων ἡμᾶς ἐπιδαψιλεύσατο.

[9] Aristox. Harm. Elem. p. 34. Plut. uti supr. cap. xxxiii. p. 671, 16. al. 1142. f. Euclid. Introd. Harm. p. 1. d. Aristid. Quint. de Mus. p. 9, 4. Alyp. Introd. Mus. p. 1. d. Gaudent. Harmon. Introd. p. 1. c. edd. Meibom.

[10] Voyage du Jeune Anachars. chap. xxvii.

or the laboured commentaries of Dr. Wallis and M. Burette.[11] A caution should be, however, added respecting the common error in which they are involved, in confounding the systems which they have so elaborately explained with the practical music of the ancients.[12]

The term *system*, as defined by the Greek harmonists,[13] signified a succession of sounds in the musical scale, exceeding the interval of a second. Of the different compass of notes to which the term applied, the principal were the *diatessaron* or fourth, the *diapente* or fifth, and the *diapason* or octave. In the natural or diatonic scale, the *diatessaron* consisted of a semitone and two tones,[14] as from *e* to *a*, or *b* to *e*, as expressed in the modern notation. The *diapente* consisted of a semitone and three tones,[15] as from *e* to *b*, or from *b* to *f*; and the *diapason* of five tones and two semitones,[16] as from *e* to *e*, *b* to *b*, for the mode of computing these intervals differed from that which obtains among the moderns, as not including the fundamental. The *diapason* or octachord consequently consisted of a tetrachord and pentachord, exemplified in our scale by *e*, *a*, *e*, or of two tetrachords, exemplified by *e a*, *b e*, which were separated by a diazeuctic interval.

Of the systems acknowledged in the ancient music, the principal were the *tetrachord*,[17] as forming the elementary division of the scale; and the *disdiapason*, as including its greatest compass;[18] for it is an error to suppose the theoretical musicians extended the scale beyond two octaves.[19] To a succession of notes of this compass, gradually ascending from grave to acute,[20]

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[11] Wallis, Append. ad Vet. Harm. Burette, Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr.

[12] Aristox. uti supr. p. 36. c. Euclid. uti supr. p. 1. d. Aristid. uti supr. p. 15. d.

[13] Aristox. ib. p. 45. c. a. Euclid. ib. p. 8. c. d. Aristid. p. 17. a. Bacch. Introd. Art. Mus. p. 3. a.

[14] Aristox. p. 46. a. Euclid. p. 12. d. Bacch. p. 3. c. Aristid. p. 17. a.

[15] Aristox. ibid. Euclid. p. 13. a. Bacch. ibid. Aristid. ibid.

[16] Iid. ibidem. Gaud. p. 12. d.

[17] Aristox. p. 45. b. Erastocl. ap. eund. p. 5. b. Euclid. p. 13. d.

[18] Aristox. p. 45. b. Nicomach. p. 20. a. 22. b. Gaud. p. 9. d. Bacch. p. 3. a. Euclid. p. 13. b. 18. b. Aristid. p. 17. c.

[19] Vid. Gaud. p. 12. a. al. supr. n. 18. A greater extent is indeed assigned the scale, with reference to the powers of instruments, and even of voices; but the *ordinary* compass was then conceived to be exceeded, and the bounds of the *perfect system* transgressed. Vid. Aristox. p. 20. d. Euclid. p. 13. c. Gaud. p. 12. c.

[20] Gaud. p. 6. c. Aristid. pp. 29, 13. Nicomach. p. 20. c.

they gave the name of the *perfect system*, as corresponding with the ordinary compass of the human voice;[21] but this name was sometimes given to the octave, as including every harmonic variety of which the scale was susceptible.[22] When reduced to the modern notation, the perfect system, in the proper sense of the terms, extended from A, in the first space of the bass clef, to *a* in the second space of the treble;[23] or from A in the second space below the line to *a* in the second space above the line of the tenor.

(1.) The perfect system thus consisting of two octaves was divisible into four *tetrachords*,[24] which, commencing at the grave extreme, were termed *hypatôn* (of the highest), *mesôn* (of the middle), *diezeugmenôn* (of the disjunct) and *hyperboleôn* (of the superadded); for the ancient scale differed from the modern, in terming the gravest tetrachord "the highest."[25] As the octaves of which the system was composed, were conjoined in coalescing in one note at the common extreme, or were separated at the interval of a tone, it acquired the name of conjoined, or diazeuctic.[26] In the conjoined system, the third tetrachord assumed the name of *synnemenôn* (the conjunct), though termed *diezeugmenôn* in the disjoined or diazeuctic system.[27] The notes of which these tetrachords were composed were generally termed *hypate* (the highest), *parhypate* (next the highest), *lichanos* (the index), and *nete* (the last);[28] to which the terms, *hypatôn*, *mesôn*, *diezeugmenôn*, *hyperboleôn*, were added, to distinguish the particular tetrachord from whence each note was taken. For *parhypate*, however, in the acute tetrachords, *trite* (the third) was always used; and the term *lichanos*, for which *paranete* (next the last) was sometimes used, was generally suppressed; the name of the genus being merely added to that of the tetrachord. The names of the notes in the perfect system, in the different states of having its two octaves disjoined or conjoined, will be now easily comprehended from the inspection of a

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[21] Vid. supr. n. 18 et 19.

[22] Plut. uti supr. cap. xxxvii. p. 680. 5. al. 1143. a. Aristox. p. 36. d. Aristid. p. 16. d. 91. c.

[23] Vid. Meibom. not. in Euclid. Intr. Harm. p. 50. Burney, Hist. of Mus. vol. i. p. 30.

[24] Gaud. p. 10. a. Aristid. p. 16. c. Nicomach. p. 23. c.

[25] Gaud. p. 6. d. Euclid. p. 17. c. Nicomach. p. 22. a.

[26] Aristox. p. 58. d. Euclid. p. 17. b. Gaud. p. 8. a. Aristid. p. 16. b. Bacch. p. 9. d.

[27] Aristox. p. 59. a. Bacch. p. 10. b. al. supr. n. 26.

[28] Aristox. p. 22. c. Nicomach. p. 22. c. Gaud. p. 6. d. al. infr. n. 29.

diagram.[29] In that which I have annexed, each note is explained by the correspondent note in the modern gamut.

PERFECT SYSTEM.

Disjoined Octaves.	Conjoined Octaves.
aa NETE HYPERBOLEÔN.	*aa* NETE HYPERBOLEÔN.
g Lichanos Hyberbol.	*g* Lichanos Hyperbol.
f Trite Hyberbol.	*f* Trite Hyperbol.
e NETE DIEZEUGMENÔN.	*e* HYPATE HYPERBOL.
d Lichanos Diezeug.	*d* NETE SYNNEMENÔN.
c Trite Diezeug.	*c* Lichanos Synnem.
b PARAMESE.	*b♭* Trite Synnem.
a MESE.	*a* MESE.
G Lichanos Mesôn.	*G* Lichanos Mesôn.
F Parhypate Mesôn.	*F* Parhypate Mesôn.
E HYPATE MESÔN.	*E* HYPATE MESÔN.
D Lichanos Hypatôn.	*D* Lichanos Hypatôn.
C Parhypate Hypat.	*C* Parhypate Hypat.
B HYPATE HYPAT.	*B* HYPATE HYPAT.
A PROSLAMBANOMENOS.	*A* PROSLAMBANOMENOS.

As a further peculiarity of these systems, it remains to be observed, that the extreme notes of the four tetrachords (which, as extreme, were generally the notes termed hypate and nete) were fixed, that is uniformly tuned to the same pitch.[30] The intermediate notes—those, namely, which were generally termed parhypate, trite, and lichanos — were on the other hand termed *moveable,* as admitting of an alteration in the tuning.[31] This peculiarity of the ancient scale, by which the notes answering to *a, b, e,*[32] became incapable of any change in the intonation, gave a peculiar character to that scale, by which it was essentially distinguished from the modern; the one consisting properly of repetitions of the tetrachord, or fourth; the other of repetitions of the octachord, or octave.

(2.) In this peculiarity of the moveable strings[33] of the tetrachord, another

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[29] Vid. Euclid. p. 3. c. Nicomach. p. 27. d. Alyp. p. 3. s. q. Aristid. p. 9. d. Gaud. p. 9. d.

[30] Aristox. p. 22. b. Euclid. p. 6. b. Gaud. p. 18. a. Bacch. p. 9. c. Aristid. p. 18. d.

[31] Aristox. p. 16. b. Gaud. p. 18. b. Euclid. p. 6. d. Bacch. b. 8. b.

[32] Euclid. p. 6. c.

[33] Aristox. p. 61. b. Aristid. p. 18. c.

division of the Greek music originated; namely, that which regarded the *genera* or kinds of intonation. Of these, the harmonists were agreed in numbering three—the *diatonic*, the *chromatic*, and the *enharmonic*,[34] which were respectively characterised by the tone, the semitone, and the quarter-tone.[35] In the diatonic genus, the tetrachord consisted of a semitone and two tones,[36] and corresponded, of course, with the progression *e, f, g, a,* of our gamut. In the chromatic genus it consisted of two successive semitones, and a semiditone, or third minor,[37] corresponding with *e, f, g♭, a.* And in the enharmonic, it consisted of two successive quarter-tones and a ditone, or third major,[38] and may be consequently expressed by *e, f♭, f♮, a,* or *e, e×, f, a,* of the modern notation.

As the moveable strings of the tetrachord admitted of different degrees of tension, the genera admitted of different *shades*, or colours, on the number of which the harmonists were divided in opinion. Six, as generally known and defined, were, however, admitted into their diagrams.[39] Besides the proper enharmonic, the chromatic, termed *tonic*, and the diatonic, termed *intense*, of which an account has been already given, they reckoned another shade of the diatonic, which they termed *soft*, and two of the chromatic, which they called the *soft*, and the *hemiolian*, or sescuple.[40] These six shades of the three genera were generally described by considering the tone as divided into twelve or more parts,[41] and thence assigning so many parts as the character of the shade required, to the three intervals occurring between the strings of the tetrachord. Thus, on the supposition that the tone consisted of twelve parts, as the sum of the intervals of the tetrachord, which consisted of two tones and a semitone, consequently amounted to thirty parts of a tone, the following scale will represent the proportions assigned to the respective intervals of the tetrachord in the six shades of the genera.

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[34] Aristox. p. 44. c. Euclid. p. 9. d. Nicom. p. 24. a. Gaud. p. 5. d. Bacch. p. 6. d. Aristid. p. 18. c.

[35] Aristid. p. 18. c. d.

[36] Euclid. p. 3. a. Nicomach. p. 25. d. Bacch. p. 7. b. Aristid. p. 19. a.

[37] Euclid. p. 3. b. Nicomach. p. 26. b. Bacch. p. 7. a. Aristid. p. 18. d.

[38] Euclid. p. 3. c. Nicomach. p. 26. b. Bacch. p. 6. d. Aristid. p. 19. a.

[39] Aristox. p. 50. c. Euclid. p. 10. c. Gaud. p. 5. d. Aristid. p. 20. c. Ptol. Harm. I. xii.

[40] Iid. ibidem.

[41] Aristid. p. 22. c. d. Euclid. p. 12. a

SCALE OF THE GENERA.

	The string Hypate,	1st Interval between	The string Parhypate,	2d Interval between	The string Lichanos,	3d Interval between	The string Nete.
Enharmonic.....		3		3		24	
Soft Chromatic ...		4		4		22	
Hemiol. Chromatic		4½		4½		21	
Tonic Chromatic ..		6		6		18	
Soft Diatonic.....		6		9		15	
Intense Diatonic ..		6		12		12	

Although the progression in these shades of the genera, with the exception of the tonic chromatic and intense diatonic, which have been already reduced to our notation, differ altogether from the modern scale, some idea may be conveyed of them from what has been advanced upon the subject.[42] On considering that the moveable string is sharpened, as the interval between it and the fixed sound is increased, it must be apparent that the soft chromatic differed from the enharmonic merely in having its second and third strings more acute. And as, on the other hand, the same strings are flattened as the interval is reduced, the hemiolian chromatic differed from the tonic chromatic merely in having those strings more grave. For the same reason, the soft diatonic differed from the intense diatonic merely in the tuning of lichanos, which was flattened precisely a quarter-tone. Although these shades of difference were obviously founded on the division of the tone into its quarter, third, and half,[43] they are plainly reducible to the principal shades of the genera, a small allowance being made for a difference of temperament, the moveable strings of the less remarkable shades having been generally flattened or softened.

(3.) The third division of the ancient music, which is deserving of note, included the description of the *mode;* by which the harmonists meant the manner of modulating the scale, from different notes of the perfect system,

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[42] Vid. supr. p. 162.

[43] On casting a glance on the table of the genera, it will be evident that the shades are constructed upon the numbers 3, 4, 6; assigned to the first interval of the tetrachord. But these are respectively the fourth, third, and half of *twelve*, the number of parts into which the tone was supposed to be divided previously to Ptolemy, by whom they were doubled, and twenty-four parts ascribed to the tone.

taken as key-notes or fundamentals.[44] Previously to the innovations of Aristoxenus, the term seems to have meant the different modes, whether major, minor, or mixed, which were used in the national airs of those people by whom the Greek music was originally cultivated. They accordingly consisted at first merely of three, which differed from each other principally in the pitch, the most grave being termed the Dorian, the most acute the Lydian, a mean being observed by the Phrygian.[45] Until the times of Aristoxenus, the subject of the modes was involved in inconsistency and confusion.[46] The degree of gravity by which they differed was not marked, until they were applied to the tetrachord mesôn of the perfect system; hypate of that tetrachord being made the key-note of the Dorian; parhypate, that of the Phrygian; and lichanos that of the Lydian.[47] They were, however, subsequently extended, by the same harmonist, to thirteen,[48] according to the number of semitones in the octave, each of which was made the key-note, or fundamental, of a different mode.[49] But seven only of the number were considered concinnous and consonant;[50] those, namely, which took, as a fundamental, one of the strings of the perfect system. Of this description were the Hypodorian, commencing on proslambanomenos (A); the Hypophrygian, on hypate (B); the Hypolydian, on parhypate (C); and the Dorian, on lichanos (D) of the tetrachord hypatôn; the Phrygian on hypate (E), the Lydian on parhypate (F), and the Mixolydian or Hyperdorian on lichanos (G) of the tetrachord mesôn.[51] The moderns, however, extended the scale of the modes by taking a key-note from each of the intermediate semitones into which the intervals of those tetrachords were divisible.[52] They thus enlarged the number to fifteen,[53] the relative position of which may be ascertained

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[44] Aristox. p. 37. b. Bacch. Aristid. al. uti infr. [45] Aristid. p. 25. c.

[46] Aristox. p. 37. b. [47] Aristid. p. 18. a. Bacch. p. 19. a.

[48] Euclid. p. 19. d. Aristid. p. 23. b. [49] Euclid. p. 20. b. Aristid. p. 18. b.

[50] Gaud. p. 19. c. [51] Gaud. p. 20. b. al. uti supr. [52] Aristid. p. 23. a.

[53] In distributing the modes in the annexed scale, I have generally conformed to the diagram of Meibomius; not. in Alyp. p. 3. I have, however, ventured to depart from his authority, in transposing the order of the Lydian and Æolian modes, with their relative keys; the Lydian, Hypolydian, and Hyperlydian being transferred to the higher pitch in his scheme, which I conceive to belong properly to the Æolian, Hypoœolian, and Hyperœolian. In making this correction, I am apparently supported by the authority of Gaudentius, p. 20. c. and Bacchius, p. 19. a. Such an order is, besides, confirmed by the disposition of the perfect system, on a note of which it is next to certain the Lydian had its fundamental. But, above all, it is corroborated by the traditionary

from the annexed scale, in which the key-note of each is expressed by its equivalent in the modern notation.

SCHEME OF THE MODES.

A. Hypodorian.	D. Dorian.	G. Hyperdorian.
A♯. Hypoiastian.	D♯. Iastian.	G♯. Hyperiastian.
B. Hypophrygian.	E. Phrygian.	A. Hyperphrygian.
C. Hypolydian.	F. Lydian.	B♭. Hyperlydian.
C♯. Hypoœolian.	F♯. Æolian.	B. Hyperæolian.

These modes, it will be obvious, bore some affinity to the relative keys in the modern or the practical music, upon which they were without doubt intended to be an improvement. They were, however, essentially different. In the modern scale, the transition from one mode to another is made in ascent by shifting the key-note to the fifth above, and in descent to the fifth below; the major modulation of the key being preserved in the former case by taking a diesis or sharp on the seventh of the assumed mode; and in the latter by taking a bémol or flat on the seventh of the mode which is deserted. Thus, in passing from the key of C major, the transition is made in ascent by taking its fifth, G, as the key-note, a sharp being prefixed to its seventh, F, to preserve the major modulation; but it is made in descent by taking F, the fifth below, as the key-note, a flat being prefixed to B, the seventh of the key, from which we pass in the transition. In the ancient scale, the modes were merely transferred to different positions in the perfect system,[54] to the progression of which they were always rendered conformable. They consequently admitted of no accidentals, by which the modulation might be rendered major or minor. The Hypodorian, as having its key-note in *a*, might be referred to the latter; the Hypolydian, as having its key-note in C, to the former. The Phrygian, as commencing in E, preserved a mean

evidence of the old church music, the tropes of which were descended from the modes. In the scheme of the moderns, who extended the number of the modes to fifteen, the order was indeed inverted, the substitution having easily obtained, in consequence of both modes having been originally termed Lydian. Vid. Euclid. p. 20. a.; Aristid. p. 23. a. It probably gratified the national vanity of the later Greeks, to give the preference to the mode which bore the Grecian name; as they did in assigning it a key-note within the compass of the perfect system.

[54] Gaud. pp. 19, 20.

between the major and minor; but the other modes possessed a modulation peculiar to themselves, as conforming strictly to the progression of the perfect system in ascending from the note which they took as their fundamental. Instead of having their key-note disposed with respect to the major and minor semitones,[55] they admitted of its being placed on any note of the octave; the modulation of which was never altered in consequence of the mutation by the application of accidentals. The transition to a different mode was besides made by passing upon the fourth; that interval being taken above when the passage was in ascent, as from the Dorian to the Hyperdorian; but taken below when it was in descent, as from the Dorian to the Hypodorian. The mutation of mode consequently formed a striking contrast to the method employed in the modern music, in which the transition is made upon the fifth, and the diatonic progression restored to the octave by the application of a diesis or bémol.

Without pursuing these observations further, to the subsequent division of the Greek music, and considering the other artifices of mutation, by which the most incredible licenses were extended to the art, in changing the system, genus, mode, or time of the composition;[56] from this brief review of the principal parts of the ancient music, an idea may be formed of the irreconcilable discrepancy existing between it and the modern system. Had this difference been merely partial and accidental, its cause might be possibly traced to some circumstance of habit or education; but whatever be the part of the contrasted systems to which we direct our attention, it must strike us as total and essential. Of *sounds,* those which were termed quartertones, and which were so highly appreciated in the ancient system, are

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[55] The ancients determined the progression of their modes by the position of their semitones, which their scale admitted of being placed in any part of the key, provided they preserved the required intervals in the diatonic progression. Vid. Aristid. pp. 17, 19. Our scale, on the contrary, requiring that the fifth should be composed of a third major in the first place, and a third minor in the second, has the first semitone invariably succeeding the major third, and the second preceding the octave. Thus, the Phrygian mode and our major key of E have the same fundamental; but the former conformed in its octave to the progression, e, f, g, a, b, c, d, e; the latter to the progression, e, f♯, g♯, a, b, c♯, d♯, e. On this principle, it follows, that only two of their modes corresponded with our keys, the Hypolydian with our natural major, and the Hyperphrygian with our natural minor. The pitch of these modes, as in the extreme of gravity and acuteness, had they no other obstacle to encounter, must have rendered them unusual in practice. Vid. p. 12. c.

[56] Euclid. p. 20. c. Bacch. pp. 13, 14. Aristox. p. 48. b. Aristid. p. 24. d.

wholly discarded from the modern, as impracticable and untunable. Of *intervals*, the fourth, which was anciently deemed a concord, is accounted by the moderns a discord to the bass, in concert music, as requiring a fifth under to complete its harmony; while the third and sixth, which were deemed discords by the ancients, are reckoned concords by the moderns, the former having even been ranked among the most grateful. Of the *genera*, while the enharmonic and chromatic were most highly prized by the ancients, the diatonic or diatonico-chromatic, is alone reputed by the moderns, by whom the other genera are rejected as impracticable and discordant. Though the *modes* generally conformed to the authentic and plagal tropes of our old church music,[57] as founded upon a mere transposition of the octave, they differed essentially from the relative keys, and the major and minor modes, which are admitted into the modern practice. When to discrepancies thus wide and irreconcilable, we add the essential difference by which the two systems are conceived to be characterised; the one consisting of the simplest melody, while the other admits of the most complex harmony; in the incongruity observable between the two states of the art, at the different periods of its cultivation, a paradox arises, to which the history of the fine arts offers nothing equal or comparable.

But this paradox brings with it a direct solution, as soon as it is known that this music, of which the Greek harmonists have transmitted an account, had merely a foundation in theory; that it differed as widely from the system admitted in practice by the native Greeks, as from that which is cultivated by the modern Italians; that it had, in fact, no existence out of the scales or diagrams of the theorists, and was consequently rejected by the practitioners as speculative and visionary. If these points can be adequately substantiated, and it can be shewn, on a more minute inquiry into the practical music of the Greeks, that it differed but accidentally from that which is cultivated to so high a degree by the moderns, in the consequences which follow, the conclusions must be involved to which the members of a foreign academy of polite literature, as justly celebrated for the refinement as the cultivation of their taste, have been led in their inquiries into this intricate subject. While we offer a merited tribute to the talents and attainments of

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[57] Vid. Sulzer, Theor. der Schön. Künst. vol. iv. p. 545. Rousseau, Dict. de Musique, au mot "Plain-Chant."

the distinguished scholar into whose province the investigation immediately fell, we must, at the same time, express our regret that the learning and ingenuity which it drew forth, should have been employed so ineffectually and vainly. For it is not to be denied, unless by a compromise of the permanent principles on which taste is founded, that the assumption on which this writer, and the moderns in general, have proceeded, in treating the Greek music as a practical system, is fundamentally and demonstrably erroneous.

II. In entering on the invidious task of substantiating this charge — in undertaking to prove, that the music described in the treatises of the Greek harmonists is a merely theoretical system — I am conscious that I am called upon for the production of evidence of no ordinary force and conclusiveness. Though the position would admit of being adequately established by the method of proof on which all matters of fact depend, the credibility of testimony; yet, as the sentence of the practical musicians, by whom the question appears to be decided, may be thought to be neutralised by the authority of the theorists, who necessarily proceeded upon a supposition that their system was practicable, it will be expedient to add to the external evidence by which the question is decided, the confirmation of internal. For the effectual establishment of the point at issue, it will be consequently requisite to prove:— 1. That the music ascribed to the Greeks by the harmonists, and more especially the enharmonic genus, in which they considered the system brought to its highest perfection, was wholly unfitted for practice, as irreconcilable with the fundamental principles of harmony. 2. That it was positively rejected by the musicians and naturalists as impracticable, and derided by them as a theoretical chimera. After having thus far considered the direct objections to which this music is exposed, we shall be at liberty to inquire into the causes in which the notion of its practicability originated, with a view to prove their utter insufficiency to the purposes of reasonable conviction.

1. As it admits of no doubt, that the physical properties of sonorous bodies, and the structure of the human organs, have been in all ages the same, it must convey the strongest argument against the system of Greek harmonics, that, at the present day, the artist should find it incapable of being reduced to practice. Although the moderns are exercised in music of

the most varied and artificial kinds, and versed in the theory of sounds, including every benefit to be derived from the discoveries of the ancients, their ears, notwithstanding, with equal obstinacy, refuse this system as unmusical, as their science rejects it as unphilosophical. In support of this objection to which the Greek music is *à priori* exposed, the testimony of moderns of the highest authority on the theory and practice of the art may be easily accumulated. However divided their sentiments might have been on the principles or philosophy of sounds, on the merit of the ancient music as a practical system they seem to have fully agreed in the same conclusion.

(1.) The ingenious system in which M. Rameau has developed the principles of music, establishes the competency of that celebrated artist to bring the question to a definitive issue. The discovery which he has made of the acute harmonics, produced by a vibrating string, or sonorous body, along with its fundamental sound,—a discovery on which he has founded his "Demonstration of the Principles of Harmony,"[58]— bears sufficient evidence to the delicacy of his musical ear. To the nice discrimination of his organs, we indeed owe the discovery of the very nature of sound, as distinguished from mere noise,[59] as he ascertained that every tone brings with it an accompaniment of harmonic sounds, as light is composed of a combination of rays of various colours. His attention was directed by the nature of his inquiries to the subject before us; and he endeavoured, and with considerable success, to emulate the variety of the ancient genera. In the fourth act of his opera of "Dardanus," he introduced a movement to which he imparted the effect of the enharmonic; and in his opera of "Castor and Pollux," he has employed the chromatic with equal efficacy. But after a careful scrutiny into

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[58] Vid. Rameau, Demonstr. uti supr. pp. 13, 14. Extrait des Regist. de l'Acad. Roy. des Scienc. du 10 Dec., 1749, p. i. par MM. de Mairan et D'Alembert.

[59] It must be, however, observed, that the principle on which the moderns have built their system of harmony was known to the ancients, inasmuch as it was discovered at least by Aristotle, that a sound, in expiring, gives its octave. Vid. Arist. prob. xxiv. et xxxii. But the principle received no practical application to the theory of music until the times of M. Rameau. It is due, however, to M. Mairan, to acknowledge that it was applied by him to explain the nature of harmony, as distinct from noise, in the Mémoires of the Academy of Science, vid. Extrait des Registr. uti supr. p. vii. According to the admission of foreigners, the physical principle by which the harmonies of a string are produced, in the vibration of its aliquot parts, was first investigated by Brook Taylor, in Method. Incrementor. direct. et invers. Lond. 1715. Vid. Sulzer, uti supr. vol. iii. p. 34.

their pretensions, as conceived to have been used by the ancients, he proscribes them as inappreciable by the ear, and as inadmissible in practice.[60] On the interval by which the enharmonic was characterised, he passes a sentence equally decisive. The quarter-tone, he observes, besides that it is not appreciable in its expression, would bewilder the ear more than it could assist it, if it were possible to introduce it in practice.[61]

Nor can it be reasonably objected to the authority by which this sentence is passed on the ancient music, that the principles by which it is tried, as modern and questionable, afford no just criterion to determine its pretensions. The conformity which the ingenious author has established between his principles of harmony and the system of ancient music, is among the most curious of the particulars by which his theory is distinguished.[62] In the choice and compass of the notes in his fundamental bass, he adheres strictly to the compass and disposition of the strings in the primitive lyre; and as he thence deduces the diatonic progression, his scheme falls into the division of the Greek scale into tetrachords, and conforms to the succession adopted in the ancient diagrams.[63] Nor is the coincidence confined to the diatonic, but extends to the higher genera of music, which he equally derives from his principles, proving that the genuine enharmonic and chromatic are as naturally the product of the third, or subdominant, as the diatonic of the fifth, or dominant;[64] and that they are consequently generated alike by the fundamental tone through these harmonics with which it is always accompanied.[65]

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[60] Rameau, Demonstr. uti supr. p. 96. "A mesure que le principe s'éloigne de ses premiers routes, il perd ses droits sur l'oreille, et dès qu'elle ne peut plus le sous-entendre dans son produit, tout sentiment harmonique lui est interdit: le diatonique lui rappelle la proportion triple, le chromatique lui rappelle la proportion quintuple ..... Pour ce qui est de l'enharmonique, il ne rappelle rien. C'est le produit de deux extrêmes très-dissonans entre eux, auxquels même la nature a d'abord refusé la succession immédiate, d'où il n'est pas étonnant que l'oreille ne puisse l'apprécier ..... A l'égard de l'enharmonique, il n'est jamais question de son produit: on ne le connoît pas même sur nos instrumens."

[61] Id. ibid. p. 100. "Outre que le quart de ton est inappréciable, son expression, si elle étoit possible, dérouteroit encore plus l'oreille qu'elle ne l'aideroit; aussi est-il exclu de nos instrumens à touches, on ne pense même jamais à l'exprimer sur les instrumens sans touches, où cela se pourroit cependant, en glissant le doigt."

[62] Id. ibid. p. 28. Extrait des Registr. pp. xv. xxv.

[63] Id. ibid. p. 46. Extrait, pp. xvi. xvii.

[64] Id. ib. p. 30. sq. p. 90. sq.

[65] Id. ibid. pp. 31 et 67.

But whatever be the imperfections imputed to his system, in favour of which may be urged the conformity that it presents to the phenomena of nature, and to the judgment of the ear,[66] it must be at least admitted, that to the latter test, every system of sounds that merits the name of music must be amenable. Such, in fact, is the criterion to which the ancient music has been submitted by this eminent artist, who opened a new way to the investigation of the theory of harmony, and by whose proscription the enharmonic and its intervals are affected, not from their want of conformity to principle, but their incapacity to affect us in practice.

(2.) As the ancients have, however, recognised certain scientific principles, which they applied to the art, and employed in the development of its nature, they may be thought to furnish a more adequate test for proving the pretensions of the ancient music than those supplied by any system of modern harmonics. But when we even allow those principles every benefit which they derive from the improvement of modern theorists, who have far surpassed their masters in the philosophy of the art, they afford no support to the artificial music of the ancients, nor give any countenance to the notion that it was admitted in practice.

The principles on which the ancients founded the system of their harmonics, which had been discovered by Pythagoras, and improved upon by Ptolemy, have been explained and perfected by Zarlino,[67] who, by a juster division of the natural or diatonic scale, reduced the calculation of its intervals to more philosophical principles. In the exceptions made to his works by the disciples of the French school, it is allowed that he has admitted into his "Institutions" the authentic proportions of the ancient genera, which he acknowledges to be those exclusively used by the philosophers, and which he even expresses by the same numbers.[68] But, however favourably disposed

[66] Rameau, Extrait des Registr. pp. 61 et 67.

[67] Sulzer, uti supr. vol. iv. p. 485. Essai sur la Mus. [par La Borde et Roussier], tom. iii. p. 373.

[68] Essai, uti supr. p. 373. "Quoique Zarlin ait rapporté dans ses Institutions les proportions authentiques de l'ancien genre diatonique des Grecs, qu'il avoue être les seuls qui aient été admises par les plus anciens philosophes, tels que Pythagore, Platon, Aristote, &c., quoiqu'il reconnaisse que notre système musical n'est autre chose que celui de Gui d'Arezzo, dont il nous fait connaître lui-même les proportions, qui sont précisément celles de l'ancien genre diatonique des Grecs, et exprimés par les mêmes nombres, il adopte néanmoins de préférence le diatonique synton de Ptolémée."

towards the ancient system, he was not insensible to its deficiencies; although he has, in many places, endeavoured to palliate its defects, he charges it with imperfections which must have rendered it unsuitable to practice.[69] In a passage in which he denies the perfection of the diatonic, in its different shades, he objects to the chromatic, as equally destitute of perfection.[70] He specifically excepts against it, as wanting not only the consonances which were termed by musicians imperfect, but those also which they acknowledged as perfect. Even the peculiar interval by which it was characterised, the third minor, he excludes from the number of consonances, and declares that even the improved species of this genus were unfitted for the production of concords, or of such harmony as could be deemed perfect.[71] In the enhar-

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[69] Zarlin. Instit. Armon. P. II. cap. xxxi. p. 128. d. "Se noi vorremo essaminar la mostrata divisione [del genere diatonico-diatono] non è dubbio, che *ritrovaremo in lei grande imperfezione:* la qual nasce per esser priva de quelli intervalli che da tutti i musici, di commun parere, sono accettati al presente per consonanti; e sono quelli del semiditono del ditono, ed i composti: i quali nelle loro composizione continuamente si odono. E benchè questi intervalli, *in quanto al nome*, si ritrovino nella detta divisione, non sono però dai loro inventori stati considerati per consonanti, perciocchè veramente non sono."—Conf. infr. n. 70.

[70] Id. ibid. cap. xxxiv. p. 138. "*Non è credibile*, se 'l genere diatonico tra quelle specie che abbiamo mostrato si ritrova imperfetto, *che 'l chromatico si di esso più perfetto*, conciosiachè nelle sue specie non solo è privo di quelle consonanze che i prattici chiamano imperfette, ma eziandio è privo in molti luoghi delle perfette: perciocchè se nella prima specie del diatonico la qual Tolomeo chiama diatonico-diatono, si ritrova la diatessaron nelle sue otto corde gravi cinque volte, e la diapente quattro, e non più; nella poco fà mostrata divisione [di chromatico] la diatessaron si ritrova solamente quattro volte, e una sola volta la diapente da proslambanomenos ad hypate meson."—Conf. infr. n. 71.

[71] Id. ibid. p. 138. "E s' alcuno volesse dire chè 'l suo *triemituono fosse consonante*, e chè fosse la terza minore, ó il semiditono, ch' è posto a nostri tempi dai prattici nel numero delle consonanze; si potrà con verità rispondere, *chè non è vero;* imperocchè la sua proporzione è contenuta nel genere superpartiente dalla supertripartiente 16 ..... E quantunque oltra la mostrata specie di chromatico, Tolomeo ne abbia ritrovato due altre, l' una delle quali chiama chromatico molle, e l' altro chromatico incitato, e siano approvate da lui per buone; conciosiachè i loro intervalli sono contenuti nel genere superpendicolare, *nondimeno tutti non sono atti alla generazione della consonanza, e dell' armonia perfetta*, se non quello che si trova nel chromatico molle, *tra le due corde più acute di ciascun suo tetracordo*, e si chiama semiditono nel diatonico, e nel chromatico lo nominiamo triemituono. Ed è veramente consonante ..... E se ben questa specie [del chromatico] è ornata di questo intervallo, *ha nondimeno l' istessa imperfezione ch' hanno l' altre contenute nel genere diatonico*, come tra le otto più gravi corde del suo monacordo, contenute nel esempio, si può vedere; tra le quali si ritrova eziandio l' exacordo

monic, he points out similar defects, not excepting the species which was discovered by Ptolemy.[72] Nor has the consonance of the major third, by which it is distinguished, procured it an exemption from the general censure in which he includes every branch of the ancient musical system.[73]

(3.) But perhaps the highest authority by which the present argument can be enforced is that of the celebrated Euler, by whom the theory of sounds derived from the ancients was raised to a state of great and unexampled perfection. The pure arithmetical proportions on which it has been founded by Pythagoras, and which the works of Zarlino had contributed to disseminate among the moderns, he has adopted with modifications,[74] working them into a theory which he professes to found not merely upon physical, but metaphysical principles.[75] In the opening of his work, he avows it to be his object, to direct a particular attention to the ancient music in all its varieties, from the simple diatonic, as invented by Hermes, to the complicated enharmonic, improved upon by Ptolemy.[76] For the sentence which he

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minore, che dai prattici moderni è posto tra gli intervalli consonanti. La medesima imperfezione ha ancora la seconda specie del chromatico incitato, anzi dirò maggiore, conciosiachè tra le corde dei suoi tetracordi non si trova alcuna consonanza ..... se non la diapente tra la prima corda grave e la quinta, che si trova eziandio nélll' altre."

[72] In pointing out the imperfections of the enharmonic, as improved by Ptolemy, he objects to it the common defect of the other species, as wanting the consonance of the major third. Ibid. cap. xxxvii. " Perciocchè si ritrova in luogo di esso il ditono di proporzione super 17 partiente 64, ch' è veramente dissonante. E perchè forse alcun potrebbe credere chè quella specie di enarmonico che ritrova Tolemeo facesse l' armonia perfetta, conciosiachè in ogni suo tetracordo abbia il ditono consonante, contenuto dalla proporzione sesquiquarta, e l' exacordo maggiore contenuto dalla proporzione superbipartienteterza, che hanno i lor termini tra le parti del senario; però dico chè eziandio *questa specie non può esser lontana dalla imperfezione.*"

[73] Vid. Zarlin. uti supr. cap. xxxi. p. 128. sq.

[74] Voy. Essai sur la Mus. uti supr. tom. iii. p. 339.

[75] Euler. Tentam. uti supr. præf. p. 11.

[76] Id. ibid. p. 17. d. " Enumeraverim itaque omnia genera musica initio à simplicissimis facto usque ad maxime composita, qualia quidem auditus adhuc tolerare potest: atque in hac enumeratione, mox incidimus in genera tam antiquissimis quam recentioribus temporibus usu recepta, cujusmodi erat genus Mercurii simplicissimum, diatonicum, chromaticum, atque enharmonicum veterum, quorum bina priora quidem apprime cum iis quæ harmonia nobis suppeditavit, congruebant; at reliquorum chromatici scilicet et enharmonici similitudo tantum conspicitur. Cum enim veteres partim solo auditu partim ratione confusa ducti pertigerint, mirandum non est, si tantum simulachra veræ harmoniæ sunt nacti, interim tamen jam ipsos defectum

passes upon it, we must find it difficult to account, if we abandon the idea that it affects a system which was purely theoretical — a system, of course, wholly different from the practical music to which the ancients ascribed such extraordinary effects. At the very outset, in his preface, he objects to the genera, by which the factitious music was characterised, as inconsistent with the first principles of harmony.[77] In the course of the work, he enters more circumstantially into the merits of those essential parts of the ancient art, pronouncing them incompatible with science, and repugnant to its fundamental laws.[78] On specifying the varieties of the diatonic, antecedent to Ptolemy, after stating the proportions in which its intervals were expressed, the censure which he passes upon it is couched in the strongest language. After denouncing them as not merely imperfect but absurd, he subjoins, that it can excite little wonder they should be wholly exploded.[79] The opinion which he delivers of the merits of the chromatic and enharmonic is not expressed in more favourable terms. After enumerating three species of the

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horum suorum generum agnovisse palam est. Circa genus etiam diatonicum diu fuerunt occupati, antequam id veræ harmoniæ consentaneum esset redditum, quippe quod Ptolemæo demum acceptum est referendum." Vid. infr. n. 77.

[77] Vid. Euler. uti supr. n. 76. As the ancient system ascribed to Hermes had its compass confined to four notes (vid. Euler. ib. cap. viii. § 17, 18), and was, of course, incapable of producing any music conformable to our notions of melody; according to the views of Zarlino and Euler all music deserving of the name must date its origin from Ptolemy; that which preceded his times being contrary to the principles of harmony; vid. supr. p. 28. n. 68. p. 173. n. 76. As we are at present engaged with the *ancient* Greek music, all considerations of the improvements of Ptolemy are beside the purpose of this inquiry: unless so far as they furnish an argument *à fortiori* against the old, unimproved systems. It should be likewise remembered, that in proscribing those systems antecedent to Ptolemy, Zarlino and Euler affect merely the theoretical music by their observations. All the improvements by which they gratuitously suppose the practical music was influenced, were merely discoveries of the ratios by which the intervals in the theoretical were computed. Such were the inventions of Hermes, Pythagoras, Ptolemy, &c., as a proper opportunity will occur for proving.

[78] Vid. Euler. ib. cap. viii. § 26—32, inclusive.

[79] Id. ibid. § 26. " Præter hoc vero genus diatonicum syntonum Ptolemæi apud veteres plures generis diatonici species in usu fuerunt." After noticing the Pythagorean soft, tonic, and equal, and stating the proportions of the intervals in the respective tetrachords, he adds; ibid. " *In quibus omnibus* hoc erat institutum, ut prius intervallum sit fere hemitonium, reliqua duo fere toni, omnia autem simul diatessaron compleant. Facile autem perspicitur, *quam imperfecta et absurda sint hæc genera*, ita ut mirum non sit, *quod penitus sint extincta.*"

former, the ancient, soft, and intense, he sums up their pretensions in the following words—"Every one will easily perceive how repugnant they are to the principles of true harmony."[80] And after specifying two species of the latter, the ancient and the Ptolemaic, he dismisses them, with briefly remarking, that neither can consist with harmony.[81]

If we now consider those artificial systems of music, thus submitted to the test of science, and deliberately proscribed, as well upon principles recognised by the ancients themselves, as deduced by the moderns from later and more accurate experiments, a difficulty arises for which it seems impossible to find a solution, if we have not recourse to the supposition that they were founded on theory; nay more, upon one which was rude and imperfect. Of a practical system, much less of a system with the pretensions to excellence claimed by the Greek music, it is utterly inconceivable that it could be exposed to the train of objections, drawn forth in the antecedent induction of authorities; that, as Rameau observes, it should be not merely unsuitable to practice, but inappreciable in its intervals; that, as Zarlino asserts, it should be destitute of the consonances necessary to form a harmonic progression; or, as Euler objects, should be irreconcilable with the laws and principles of true harmony. So far were the Greeks from being unacquainted with stringed instruments, that they possessed some of considerable compass;[82] but it is justly observed by Rousseau, that all people who possess instruments of that description are forced to tune them by consonances;[83] and the ancient harmonists have delivered themselves with sufficient explicitness upon this point, to prove that they were also of the same opinion.[84] While a performer of but moderate skill in his art, in tuning his instrument for practice, had merely to follow the direction of his ear, which would intuitively detect every violation

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[80] Id. ibid. § 31. "Quæ generis chromatici species, quantum *veris harmoniæ principiis repugnent* quilibet facile perspiciet."

[81] Euler. ib. § 32. "Veteres quidem sequentes hujus generis [enharmonici] tetrachordi divisiones reliquerunt, ... quarum neutra cum harmonia consistere potest."

[82] Voy. Burette, Acad. des Bell. Lettr. tom. iv. p. 127. sq. Burney's Hist. of Mus. vol. i. p. 430.

[83] Rouss. Essai sur l'Orig. des Lang. ch. xviii. Œuvr. tom. xix. "Tous les peuples qui ont des instrumens à cordes sont forcés de les accorder par des consonances."

[84] Aristox. uti supr. p. 11. b. p. 54. c. d. Aristid. uti supr. p. 16. c.

of those principles; and yet, deserting the track which nature proscribed,[85] that he should perversely adopt a system of sounds in which every principle of harmony was outraged, implies an incongruity so repugnant to common sense, as not to merit refutation or exposure. Of a harmonical system which was merely speculative, it is, on the other hand, not only possible that it should be exposed to the objections urged against the music which I hold to be theoretical; but when the principles on which its authors professedly founded it are developed, it will be directly admitted to be more than probable. Nay, even beyond this, it is still to be observed, if not in confirmation of the accuracy of the organ by which the art must be ever tried,[86] in subversion of the speculative music opposed to its decisions, that the constructors of this spurious system were obliged to reject its judgment, as opposed to their speculations;[87] and thus implicitly admitted the contrariety subsisting between the music which they deduced from theory, and that which existed in practice.

Nor can it avail for the invalidation of this reasoning, to insist on the

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[85] Although I conceive I might proceed to reason from this assumption, as not to be with justice disputed (vid. infr. n. 86.); to avoid the imputation of proceeding upon a *petitio principii*, I shall strengthen it by authority. Concessions to the extent which I claim are not unfrequently extorted by the force of truth from professed advocates of the ancient music, as a practical system: Zarlino, Institut. Armon. P. II. c. xxxii. p. 132. " Ripigliando alquanto in alto nostro raggionamento, diremo; Che 'l *genere diatonico*, avanti ch' altro genere fosse ritrovato, e avanti che Pittagora ritrovasse la ragione dei numeri, *fù prodotto dalla natura nell' essere, che lo veggiamo nelle sue consonanze perfette.*" Sulzer, Theor. der Schön. Künst. vol. iv. p. 485. " Wir merken nur an, dass dieses *alte diatonische System* wenigstens dem Anschein nach, bis in das 16te Jahrhundert ist beybehalten worden. Ich sage dem Anschein nach, weil ich vermuthe, dass *die Sänger*, auch *ohne Absicht das System zu ändern, die meisten kleinen und grossen Terzen durch das blosse Gefühl werden temperirt*, und gar oft anstatt der Terz $\frac{8}{9}\frac{1}{2}$, die reine kleine Terz $\frac{5}{6}$, und anstatt $\frac{6}{8}\frac{4}{1}$, die reine grosse Terz $\frac{4}{5}$ gesungen haben." Confr. Aristox. uti supr. pp. 19, 23. Aristid. ut supr. p. 126. c.

[86] Rousseau, Lettr. à M. l'Abbé Raynal, tom. xxii. p. 452. " Il nous soutiendra que l'oreille est notre première maître d'harmonie, et que, pourvu que celui-là soit content, la raison doit se borner à chercher pourquoi il l'est, et non à lui prouver qu'il a tort de l'être; qu'il ne cherche, ni à introduire dans les choses l'arbitraire qui n'y est point, ni dissimuler celui qu'il y trouve. Or cet arbitraire est si constant, que, même dans la règle de l'octave, il y a une faute contre les règles."

[87] Plut. ut supr. cap. xxxvii. pp. 680, 1. al. 1144. f.

force of education, or the inveteracy of habit, to which an invincible influence has been sometimes attributed, in disciplining the ear to an artificial system of harmony; for the paradoxes which have been advanced on this subject may expose us to the objection, that the Greeks, from being endowed with organs of a more delicate sense, might be more easily initiated in the intricacies of an artificial music; while our modern ears, from being more gross, are not merely disqualified by nature from appreciating the minute intervals of the ancient scale, but unfitted by habit for feeling the exquisite refinements of a classical music. But such visionary opinions, which apparently owe their existence to the false notion, that the theoretical systems of the Greeks were adopted in practice, will never stand with the fundamental defects which are objected to their harmonics. However incompetent our organs may be supposed, to enter into the niceties of the artificial music—a supposition as wild as the theories to which it exclusively owes its existence—our judgment is at least competent to decide upon the merits of the science on which it is professedly founded. The theoretical insufficiency which it betrays, is such as must be ever incompatible with practical excellence. Although it be therefore conceded, that the education and habits of the Greeks might have reconciled their organs to a system of sounds, in which the first principles of harmony were so unaccountably violated,[88] so immeasurable must be the distance between such a music and that which they cultivated to the unrivalled degree attained by all the fine arts on which they exercised their taste, that its theoretical existence is reduced to a bare possibility.

2. The preceding observations, I am fully aware, may be resisted, as furnishing but a negative evidence, that the system of music espoused by the ancient harmonists existed merely in the treatises in which it was described. But the evidence to which it is opposed, in *the direct testimony* of the ancients, as that on which all matters of fact rest their credibility, assumes a character which is positive and conclusive. In advancing upon this ground, it unfortunately happens, that while all positive authority is wanting to prove that it was ever practised, the most express evidence may be adduced to the fact, that it was absolutely rejected as impracticable. By a singular coincidence, theorists, practitioners, and philosophers, agree in

[88] Sulzer, ut supr. tom. ii. p. 67.

delivering a testimony thus fatal to its pretensions. In fact, if we except some vague and fluctuating traditions, founded solely upon the acknowledgment of its theoretical existence and the assumption of its practical excellence, not a vestige of evidence remains that it was at all used by the ancient musicians.

(1.) Among the ancients, to whom the name of theorists may be applied, it will be readily admitted that the first rank is due to Aristoxenus. From the innovations which this philosopher (who, on the death of Aristotle, contended with Theophrastus for the presidency over the Lyceum,) introduced into the harmonical science, he obtained from his disciples the name of the musician.[89] It seems impossible, however, to reconcile various passages in the treatise of this professed theorist with the supposition, that the music which he deduces from principle had an existence in practice. In some passages he speaks of it as a mere theoretical scheme, which he flattered himself might receive a more substantial existence, provided the artists could be once induced to adopt it.[90] To the same effect the investigations of his predecessors are described by him,[91] in a passage which will be hereafter produced in detail, as directed to a merely speculative end, in disregard of the diatonic and chromatic, which constituted the music commonly admitted in practice. Of the enharmonic, which he extols, as exhibiting the art in its perfection, he accordingly speaks as a theoretical curiosity, assuring us, that it was a work of much labour to reconcile the ear to its intervals.[92] But one remarkable passage, in which he regards it with reference to the practical music, bears so directly upon the subject, that it claims a more specific consideration.

In delivering his sentiments, as expressed in this passage, I shall present them in as literal a translation as the idioms of the two languages will admit, to avoid the imputation of imposing upon it a sense not warranted by the original.[93] " To many of those who now practise music," he observes, " it is

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[89] Philodem. de Mus. cap. xii. c. xxix. 12.

[90] Vid. infr. n. 93.

[91] Aristox. ut supr. p. 2. b.

[92] Id. ibid. p. 19. d. Confr. Plut. ut supr. cap. xxii. pp. 675, 6. al. 1143. c.

[93] Aristox. ut supr. p. 23. a. *Ὅτι δ' ἔστι τις μελοποιΐα διτόνῳ λιχανῷ διομένη, καὶ οὐχὶ φαυλοτάτη τις, ἀλλὰ σχιδὸν ἡ καλλίστη, τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν νῦν ἀπτομένων μουσικῆς οὐ πάνυ ἐνδηλόν ἐστι· γένοιτο μὲν τ' ἂν ἐπαχθῶσιν αὐτοῖς. Τοῖς δὲ συνειθισμένοις τῶν ἀρχαίκῶν τρόπων, τοῖς τι πρώτοις καὶ τοῖς δευτέροις ἱκανῶς, δῆλόν ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῇ νῦν κατεχούσῃ μελοποιΐᾳ συνήθεις μόνον ὄντες, εἰκότως τὴν*

not altogether obvious that there is any melopee that wants lichanos tuned a ditone, and not execrable, but even excellent; *but it will become obvious to those who are introduced to it.* To those who are sufficiently accustomed to the first and second of the ancient modes, what I say is apparent; for those who are accustomed only to the prevailing melopee, *justly reject lichanos tuned a ditone,* for *most of them now use more tense strings.* The cause of this is their always wishing to soften the music, which indicates what is their object, as they chiefly consume most time in the chromatic. But *whenever they arrive at the enharmonic,* which approaches the chromatic, *they will introduce them together,* seduced by the gratefulness of the manner."

Whatever be the obscurities encountered in this remarkable passage, which is easily understood in reference to the diagrams of the ancient scale, by which the harmonists professed to explain the genera of the theoretical music, they have no effect in weakening the conclusions deducible from it. To give it a direct bearing upon the point at issue, it is merely necessary to refer to the context, from which it receives illustration. The author there informs us, that " the tension and relaxation of the strings were the causes of the difference of the genera;"[94] and proceeding to mark the extent to which " they might be moved," he further observes, " that the entire interval which lichanos was tended or relaxed, was a tone—not being removed from mese less than a tone, nor more than a ditone."[95] This, it is to be observed, constituted the essential difference between the diatonic and the enharmonic; for he elsewhere declares, " it is apparent that the lichanos is most tense which is distant from mese a tone, and thus constitutes the diatonic; but being most grave, it is distant a ditone, and constitutes the enharmonic."[96] While, in the quotation on which I reason, it is conceded that the musicians " rejected the ditone lichanos, and used the more tense string;" in thus

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δίτονον λιχανὸν ἐξορίζουσι· συντονωτέραις γὰρ χρῶνται σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν νῦν· τοῦτο δ' αἴτιον τὸ βυλίσθαι γλυκαίνειν αἰεί· σημεῖον δὲ, ὅτι τοῦτο στοχάζονται. Μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν τῷ χρώματι διατρίβουσιν· ὅτ' ἂν ἀφικνῶνταί ποτε εἰς τὴν ἁρμονίαν, ἐγγὺς τοῦ χρώματος, προσάγουσι συνεπισπώμενοι τῇ ἡδονῇ.

[94] Aristox. ut supr. p. 22. c. *Ὅτι μὲν οὖν αἱ τῶν κινεῖσθαι πεφυκότων φθόγγων ἐπιτάσεις τε καὶ ἀνέσεις αἴτιαί εἰσι τῆς τῶν γενῶν διαφορᾶς, φανερόν.*

[95] Id. ibid. d. *Λιχανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστι τονιαῖος ὁ σύμπας τόπος, ἐν ᾧ κινοῦνται· οὔτε γὰρ ἔλαττον ἀφίστασθαι μέσης τονιαίου διαστήματος, οὔτε μεῖζον δίτόνου.*

[96] Id. ibid. p. 46. d. *Φαίνονται δὴ συντονωτάτη μὲν εἶναι λιχανὸς, ἡ τόνον ἀπὸ μέσης τυγχάνουσα, ποιεῖ δὲ αὐτὴ διάτονον γένος· βαρυτάτη δὲ, ἡ δίτονον, γίνεται δ' αὕτη ἐναρμόνιος.*

rejecting the characteristic of the enharmonic, and adopting that of the diatonic, they necessarily used the latter genus, to the exclusion of the former.

To put this argument in a tangible shape, and illustrate it by reference to an example, it is merely necessary to have before us the scale of those genera, as included in the perfect system.[97] In the progression of the notes in the tetrachord mesôn, the extremes hypate (e) and mese (a) were fixed, while parhypate (f) and lichanos (g) were moveable. In the diatonic, they were tended to the pitch of the natural scale, forming the succession e, f, g, a; but in the enharmonic, parhypate (f) was relaxed a diesis, and lichanos (g) lowered a tone, until falling in the place of parhypate, it formed the succession e, e×, f, a. In the diatonic progression, of course lichanos (g) is distant from mese (a) a tone; while, in the enharmonic, lichanos (coinciding with f,) is distant from the same note a ditone, or third major. The performer, of course, by whom the tense string, g, was retained, and the ditone lichanos, f, discarded, retained in effect the diatonic, and rejected the enharmonic.

It cannot be necessary to enlarge upon that part of the quotation, in which the theoretical nature of his favourite enharmonic is insinuated by the author, in the expectation which he expresses, that when more studied and better understood, it would be introduced into practice. Nor should it be overlooked, that while he acknowledges some doubt was entertained, whether the music which admitted the characteristic intervals of that genus, instead of being excellent, would not be execrable; a point on which there could be no room to hesitate, if we may trust to the judgment of our own ears; he brings a suspicion upon it, with which the notion of its merits, propagated by its theoretical admirers, cannot be easily reconciled.

To the same effect, it may be observed in continuation, the other harmonists express themselves, when induced to hazard an opinion on the subject. While they describe the diatonic as the natural scale and possessed by intuition, and the chromatic as an artificial scheme and attainable only by instruction,[98] they represent the enharmonic as something exquisite in music,

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[97] Vid. supr. p. 161.

[98] Aristox. ut supr. p. 19. d. Aristid. ut supr. p. 19. a. Conf. Zarlin. ut supr. cap. xxxii. p. 132.

accessible only to the most skilled in the art, and by many deemed impossible in practice.[99] The testimony of another writer, of the same order, bears more immediately on the subject. Of the three genera, he expressly declares, that the diatonic alone was modulated, the remaining two having sunk into disuse, so as to be nearly exploded.[100] This declaration has been indeed taken with a limitation to the age in which its author wrote,[101] of whom nothing more is known but that he preceded the times of Cassiodorus, by whom he is quoted.[102] With what justice the exception is made, if not deducible from the testimony recently drawn from Aristoxenus, may be easily deduced from that which I am about to derive from Plutarch.

(2.) The authority of the practical musicians, to whom the point at issue remains in the next place to be referred, bears down the scale with a still more decided preponderance. Their testimony is not only more important than that of the theorists, as founded on a juster knowledge of the art, but more conclusive, as having a more decided bearing upon the question. It is, however, much to be regretted, that of the tracts which have descended from antiquity upon the subject of music, while so large a proportion is devoted to the theory of the art, but an inconsiderable part is dedicated to the practice. With the exception of a small portion of "The Dialogue upon Music," which has come from the hand of Plutarch, we retain nothing but a few detached and desultory passages, from which an idea can be formed of the state to which it had attained among the ancient musicians. Contracted, however, as that valuable treatise appears, to which we are principally indebted for any accurate views upon the art, and though the author's prepossessions obviously leaned to the side of the theoretical musicians, while the practical engaged a limited share of his attention—he has, notwithstanding, put on record the judgment formed by the proper artists, on the subject of this speculative music.

With the predilections for the more scientific system of music which were common to the learned among the Greeks, he delivers their sentiments from the mouth of a professed theorist, who makes a feeble attempt to weaken their force.[103] "But persons," he declares, "*now entirely reject the*

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99 Iid. ibid.

100 Gaudent. uti supr. p. 6. b.

101 Wallis, Append. ut supr. p. 164.

102 Meibom. Præf. in Gaud. p. 2.

103 Plut. ut supr. cap. xxxviii. p. 680, 7. al. 1145. a. Οἱ δὲ νῦν τὸ μὲν κάλλιστον τῶν γενῶν, ὅπερ μάλιστα διὰ συμπότητα παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐσπουδάζετο, παντελῶς παρητήσαντο, ὥστε μηδὲ τὴν τυχοῦσαν

finest of the genera, which for its graveness was principally esteemed by the ancients; so that many *do not possess even the ordinary comprehension of the enharmonic intervals.* So careless, indeed, and negligent are they, as to think that the enharmonic diesis does not at all give the evidence of things appreciable by the sense, but *reject it from their compositions,* and deem those to be very triflers who think any thing about it, or use that genus. They suppose that they offer the strongest proof of the truth of what they say, in urging particularly their *want of perception,* (as if whatever escaped them was altogether impracticable and useless); and further, that this minute interval *cannot be taken in concordance,* as the tone, the semitone, and other like intervals."

We are at present very little concerned with the insinuations by which the theorist, who gives utterance to this testimony so decisive against the enharmonic, affects to invalidate its conclusiveness. It is curious, however, to observe, that while the advocates of this music challenge art and antiquity in its behoof, they leave nature and experience to support its opponents—their proofs that it was practised bringing no discredit upon its theoretical character, as drawn from a time antecedent to its panegyrists. Our immediate object, however, is the induction of authority upon simple matter of fact; and from this passage of Plutarch it incontestably appears, that this finest of the genera was entirely rejected; that its intervals were inappreciable by the sense, and incapable of being taken in concordance, and, as the figments of mere triflers, were discarded by the artists from their compositions. From this extraordinary concession we derive more than the consolation of learning, that the organs of the Greek musicians were not less obtuse or obstinate than our own, in refusing to be charmed by this marvellous music. We learn from it, that it then encountered the identical objections to which it is at present exposed; in which consideration is implied no mean presumption, that the ears of the ancients were not merely of a

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ἀντίληψιν τῶν ἐναρμονίων διαστημάτων τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπάρχειν. Οὕτω δὲ ἀργῶς διάκεινται καὶ ῥᾳθύμως, ὥστε μηδ' ἔμφασιν νομίζειν παρέχειν καθ' ὅλου τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν αἴσθησιν πιπτόντων τὴν ἐναρμόνιον δίεσιν, ἐξορίζειν δ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν μελῳδημάτων, πεφλυαρηκέναι τε τοὺς δόξαντάς τι περὶ τούτου, καὶ τῷ γένει τούτῳ κεχρημένους. Ἀπόδειξιν δ' ἰσχυροτάτην τοῦ τἀληθῆ λεγεῖν οἴονται, μάλιστα μὲν τὴν αὐτῶν ἀναισθησίαν, ὡς πᾶν ὅ,τι πὲρ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκφύγῃ, τοῦτο καὶ δὴ πάντως ἀνύπαρκτον ὂν παντελῶς καὶ ἄχρηστον· εἶτα καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ληφθῆναι διὰ συμφωνίας τὸ μέγεθος, καθάπερ τό, τε ἡμιτόνιον καὶ τὸν τόνον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων διαστημάτων.

similar construction with our own, but exercised in the same species of music.

Although the controversy is brought to an issue by this passage, as conveying the testimony of that party among the musicians who confined their attention to practical realities, without engaging in a vain search after speculative existences, it is not the only authority which presents itself from the same source by which it may be decided. In this Dialogue of Plutarch, we find the enharmonic diesis and genus not less peremptorily proscribed by the speaker in whose person the author delivers the sentiments of the practical musicians. In carrying up the subject to its source, and inquiring into the origin of this genus, the discovery of which was ascribed to Olympus, the person who sustains that part refutes the supposition by a direct appeal to the ancient music.[104] "As to the dense enharmonic," he observes, "which is now used in the middle chords, it seems not to have belonged to our poet. This will be easily perceived, if one hears any person playing the flute in the ancient manner, which requires the semitone of the middle chords to be indivisible. Such was the origin of the enharmonic [in the Dorian mode[105]]; afterwards the semitone was divided in the Lydian and Phrygian. Olympus, however, appears to have improved music by introducing something original, and unknown to those before him, and to have been the inventor of the Greek and beautiful music."

What the discovery of Olympus really was, a suitable opportunity will occur for inquiry, when we pass from considering the theoretical music to investigate the nature of the practical. As the force of this passage in Plutarch turns upon the meaning of "the dense enharmonic," it is to be observed, that it is clearly defined in the context, which describes, "the semitone as divided."

In the enharmonic progression, e, e×, f, a, or b, b×, c, e, the semi-

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[104] Plut. ut supr. cap. xi. p. 641, 10. al. 1135. b. Τὸ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μέσαις ἐναρμόνιον πύκνον, ᾧ νῦν χρῶνται, ἐν δόκει τῷ ποιητῇ εἶναι. Ῥᾴδιον δ' ἐστὶ συνιδεῖν ἰών τις ἀρχαϊκῶς τινος αὐλοῦντος ἀκούσῃ· ἀσύνθετον γὰρ βέλτιστα εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς μέσαις ἡμιτόνιον. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τῶν ἐναρμονίων, τοιαῦτα· ὕστερον δὲ τὸ ἡμιτόνιον διηρέθη, ἔν τε τοῖς Λυδίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς Φρυγίοις. Φαίνεται δ' Ὄλυμπος αὐξήσας μουσικὴν, τῷ ἀγήνητόν τι καὶ ἀγνοούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰσαγαγεῖν, καὶ ἀρχηγὸς γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ καλῆς μουσικῆς.

[105] The interjected phrase is added from the context of Plutarch, ibid. p. 640, 13. al. 1135. a.

tone between e, f, was divided by e ×, and between b, c, by b × : it appears from what the ancients declare of the inspissation of the tetrachord, that the semitones towards the grave extreme were rendered more dense by the insertion of a supernumerary string, which divided the intervals into quartertones.[106] By a similar artifice, the diazeuctic tone between mese, a, and paramese, b, was likewise divided by trite b♭, into semitones.[107] This *division* is implied in the objection of the practitioner, while he denies the *subdivision* of the semitones into the minute intervals, which were essential to the enharmonic progression. His testimony, of course, is so clear against the notion, that this genus was practised by its imaginary inventor, that it is given up by the most strenuous defenders of that music. Even M. Burette himself admits, that from this passage it must be inferred, that the dense enharmonic, in Plutarch's opinion, was not the invention of Olympus.[108] This testimony is of the greater value, from the high antiquity of this musician, to whom the

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[106] Such is the determination of Zarlino, respecting the formation of the chromatic and enharmonic, Instit. Arm. ut supr. cap. xxxii. p. 132. " Ma gli altri due generi furono ritrovati dapoi per gran spazio di tempo, e furono collocati tra 'l diatonico. La onde essendo stati per tal modo posti insieme, molti musici antichi, tra i quali sono Tolomeo, Briennio e Boezio hanno avuto parere, che l' altro non fossero gli due ultimi generi chè la inspessazione del primo." He might have added Aristoxenus, ut supr. p. 7. d. p. 28. conf. n. Meibom. ibid.

[107] The phrase, πύκνον τὸ ἐν ταῖς μέσαις, in the quotation from Plutarch which is before us, derives illustration from the following passage of Aristides, uti supr. p. 17 b. " Of entire systems, some are dense (ἃ μὲν ἐστι πύκνα), others rare; and some are immutable (ἀμετάβολα), which have one mese; and others mutable, which have more meses (μεταβαλλόμενα· τὰ πλείους ἔχοντα μέσας.)" In fact, to fit the scale for a mutation from the conjunct to the disjunct system, or contrariwise, it became necessary to interject a string, answering to trite, b♭, between *mese*, a, and *paramese*, b: and to preserve the propriety of this last term, as signifying *next-mese*, it became necessary that the adscititious string should also take the name of mese. Such appears to be Aristides' meaning in speaking of " the entire systems adapted to mutations, and fitted with more meses than one," which are described in this passage. With reference to such, the phrase in Plutarch is easily understood: and the emendation of M. Burette, who proposes reading ἐν ταῖς ὑπάταις καὶ μέσαις, proved unnecessary. See Mém. de l'Acad. uti supr. tom. x. Remarq. lxxxi. p. 192. The commentator is wholly mistaken in supposing his author alludes to the tetrachords of the immutable system; his allusion being obviously to the meses of the mutable systems.

[108] Burette, ibid. p. 192. " Plutarque semble n'être pas persuadé que le πύκνον de l'enharmonique, ou la division du premier intervalle du tetrachorde en deux quarts de ton, sont de l'invention d'Olympe, qui se contenta d'y mettre le diton incomposé, comme je l'ai dit plus haut."

discovery of the fine Greek music is ascribed, and the veneration with which the earliest national airs were preserved, as we might collect from the passage before us, if it had not been attested by its author in numberless places. For the external testimony which is opposed to the enharmonic is thus rendered complete, as extending from the age of its first inventor, Olympus, to the times of its great innovator, Aristoxenus; the supposition that it was practised being irreconcilable with the sacred music of the Greeks, as preserved in the popular airs to the epoch of Plutarch.

It may not be inexpedient to pass a transient observation upon the diatonic scale, as disposed in the diagrams of the perfect system. In regard to it we have equally to observe, that it was as little respected by the practitioners as the enharmonic. In which consideration, it may be further observed, the last objection is conveyed against the entire systems of the harmonists, as vain speculations, in theory, which had little connexion with practice. Numerous authorities have survived, which demonstrate the existence of a mutable scale, opposed to the immutable, as established in the system deemed perfect, to which that character was ascribed, as requiring the extremes of the tetrachords to be fixed and tuned perfect fourths to each other.[109] A single authority from Plutarch will suffice for this purpose.

The passage is supplementary to the remarks which the theorist offers in reply to the proscription of his favourite enharmonic by the practitioner, by whom we have observed it was rejected, on account of its intervals being inappreciable by the ear, and incapable of being taken in consonance. To those who urge this objection, the theorist, proceeding upon an assumption of the truth of his principles, replies in return:[110] "Such appear to use principally those divisions of the tetrachords in which most of the intervals are either superabundant or irrational. For they always soften the strings termed lichanos and paranete; and besides, *relax many of the fixed sounds,*

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[109] Vid. supr. p. 11. sq.

[110] Plut. ut supr. cap. xxxix. pp. 682, 3. al. 1145. c. Χρώμενοι γὰρ αὐτοὶ τοιαύταις τετραχόρδων μάλιστα φαίνονται διαιρέσεσιν, ἐν αἷς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν διαστημάτων ἤτοι περιττά ἐστι ἢ ἄλογα· μαλάττουσι γὰρ ἀεὶ τάς τε λιχανὰς καὶ τὰς παρανήτας· ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἑστώτων τινὰς παρανιᾶσι φθόγγων, ἀλόγῳ τινὶ διαστήματι, προσανίεντες αὐτοῖς τάς τε τρίτας καὶ τὰς παρανήτας· καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην εὐθοκιμεῖν μάλιστά πως οἴονται τῶν συστημάτων χρῆσιν, ἐν ᾗ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν διαστημάτων ἐστὶν ἄλογα, ἃ μόνον τῶν κινεῖσθαι πεφυκότων φθόγγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινων ἀκινήτων ἀνιεμένων, ὡς ἔστι δῆλον τοῖς αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων δυναμένοις.

remitting them an irrational interval, together with the strings named trite and paranete. And they appear to prefer the use of those systems in which most of the intervals are irrational, not only *the naturally moveable strings*, but *some even of the immoveable being relaxed*; as is manifest to those who are capable of perceiving such things."

To comprehend this important extract, from which valuable inferences will be hereafter drawn, it is merely necessary to understand, that by the term "irrational," the theorist meant those intervals which were not reducible to the ratios of harmonical proportion, on which they founded their hypothetical music.[111] The perfect system, from which they admitted of no deviation, having its tetrachords ordered by those proportions, had their respective extremes consequently rendered immoveable. It must have been, therefore, entirely superseded in that practical system in which the naturally fixed strings were relaxed, for the purpose of tempering those intervals which were otherwise harsh and impracticable.

Nor should it be overlooked, that the practice into which the ancients were thus seduced by their ear, in relaxing the immoveable strings, and which coincides with that which is still observed by the moderns, is opposed, in this extract from Plutarch, merely by speculative deductions from arbitrary principles. Instead of protesting against the licenses thus taken in the art, or convicting them of error by an appeal to the science of more skilful practitioners among contemporaries, the objector contents himself with stating the incompatibility of the practice with the principles of his system. Although, from the permanence of the national music, they might be convicted upon the evidence of the earliest composers, in whose works the enharmonic music must have been preserved, had the account been conformable to truth, which they propagated of its invention by Olympus.

(3.) As we proceed, from considering the concessions made by the theoretical musicians, and the objections urged by the practical, to take the sense of the naturalists upon the music which they termed institutive, we find it unfortunately exposed to an accumulation of objections. The theories advanced in its support by the harmonists were refuted by these philosophers with invincible powers of reasoning. We find the Epicureans, in this controversy, opposed to the Stoics; the most popular writer of which sect, Diogenes

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[111] Vid. Euclid. ut supr. p. 16. d.

the Babylonian, has received a detailed refutation in the work of Philodemus, which has been recovered from the ruins of Herculaneum. To do justice to the force of argument with which the baseless visions of the theorists are dissipated by this philosopher, it would be necessary to epitomise his valuable treatise. The reasoning which he employs in subverting them is strictly conformable to our present views of the art, and would not discredit any writer of the present age, which is distinguished by a precision in metaphysical deduction which will be sought in vain among the ancients.

In the opening of his work, he accuses the Stoics — for seeking in those fanciful systems a species of music which was to instruct and to improve the morals and manners — as pursuing a vain chimera.[112] And he reasons in proof of its having a merely theoretical existence, from the doubts entertained by its advocates as to the peculiar kind adapted to such an end, some supposing it the chromatic, and some the enharmonic.[113] In the ground on which he advances in combating this phantom of their imagination, two positions are taken up by him, from which the controversy appears to be decided. He justly objects, that the sounds of music, as void of rational meaning, were incapable of addressing the understanding;[114] and that, as not being imitative, but solely constituted to gratify the sense, they were incompetent to express or influence the passions.[115]

But, to pass to a point in which we are at present more immediately concerned: in his observations a positive testimony is comprised by which the existence of this music in practice is directly affected. Near the commencement of his work, while on the subject of the chromatic and enharmonic, he declares, that the artist who sought after a science professing to give that control over the understanding to which this music pretended, sought after a science of things without existence, and delivered precepts devoid of application or meaning.[116] And in inquiring into the causes which led to the supposed existence of an art endued with such powers over the mind, while he rates the Athenians for their predilection for such speculative

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[112] Philodem. ut supr. cap. i. col. i.

[113] Id. cap. i. col. iii.

[114] Id. ibidem.

[115] Id. ibid. et cap. xvii. col. xxxiv.

[116] Id. ibid. cap. iii. *Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζητῶν μουσικὸς τὴν τοιαύτης σύνεσιν, ἢ δυήσεται διαγινώσκειν αἱ τοῖαι τῶν αἰσθήσεων πῶς διατεθήσονται, τῶν ἀνυπάρκτων ἐπιστήμην ζητεῖ, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦτο κενῶς παραδίδωσιν.*

trifles, he explicitly states, that they had transmitted to posterity no specimens of this music,[117] which was so highly extolled by his opponents.

On recapitulating the authorities which I have here cited in detail, the external testimony produced against the theoretical music appears to me to be invincibly conclusive. Not to dwell further on the immense period through which this testimony extends, as ranging three centuries before the Christian era and one century after it, in the national songs and sacred hymns of the Greeks a standard was preserved, by which its pretensions are utterly subverted. Specimens of this music, as referred to Olympus,[118] must have been preserved from a period antecedent to the Trojan war. It appears, likewise, that the harmonic nomes, which were ascribed to that poet, and which gave rise to the supposition that an enharmonic genus was in use, were celebrated in the festivals of the gods as late as the times of Plutarch.[119] And, as the learned commentator on this writer admits, and the name of nome fully implies, these compositions were preserved unaltered among the Greeks with a superstitious veneration.[120] The jealousy with which this people regarded all innovation in their sacred music, appears from the celebrated Spartan decree, preserved in Boëthius, in which the ephori mulcted Timotheus for dishonouring the ancient music, and vitiating the hymns introduced in the rites of Ceres and Bacchus.[121] A standing test having thus existed, in the divine and national airs of the Greeks, by which the controversy between the actual and the speculative musicians might be decided; as the only

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[117] Philodem. ut supr. cap. xvii. col. xxxiv. Καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπαινημένης ᾠδὴν διδόασι. The Neapolitan editors render this passage, " Et ejus musicæ quæ hodie ab istis laudatur, nihil tradiderunt;" adding the subjoined observation: " Non alio plane sensu exponi posse verba isthæc, fortasse abnuent peritiores: his enim ad recentiorem musicam, quam minime veteres agnoverunt, abludit." The allusion of the author is plainly to the theoretical music.

[118] Vid. supr. p. 183. n. 104.

[119] Plut. ut supr. cap. vii. p. 635, 4. al. 1133. e. cap. xix. p. 651, 5. al. 1137. d. cap. iv. p. 630, 12. al. 1132. d.

[120] Burette, ut supr. Rem. xxxvii. p. 121. " En effet les musiciens avoient grand soin de conserver à chacun de ces anciens airs le ton qui lui étoit propre. De là vient qu'on appelloit ces chants *nomes*, c'est-à-dire, loix, modèles; parcequ'ils avoient tous différens tons qui leur étoient affectés, et qu'on regardoit comme des règles invariables, dont on ne devoit point s'écarter." Conf. Plut. ut supr. cap. vi. p. 633, 11. al. 1133. b.

[121] Vid. Decret. Laced. contr. Timoth. à Cleaver, with the very learned " Vindication" of the Right Rev. Prelate, late Pres. of the R.S.L.

appeal to this criterion is by the practitioners against the theorists, it seems to lay the question which they mooted at rest, in raising an insuperable boundary-line between their artificial systems and the practical Greek music.

III. The speculative system of the harmonists presents even a more vulnerable point to the objector. It may be assailed at the very foundation. Its last support must collapse under the proof, that the principles on which its advocates raised their artificial systems were palpably founded in error. In confirmation of this position, I shall now undertake to shew, 1. That the theoretical music was positively deduced, by its contrivers, from a spurious and imperfect science; 2. That the notion which they entertained of its existence in practice rested solely on an ambiguity in some terms of art, which were perverted from their true sense when advanced in support of so groundless a supposition.

1. As the theorists deduced their system of harmony from the gods, appealing to Aristotle and Plato in confirmation of its divine original,[122] they derived the philosophy of the art from Pythagoras,[123] to whom chance had suggested the means of investigating it as a science. Accident having led the philosopher near the forge of a smith, whose hammers happened to sound concords, he thence formed the conception of discovering in their weight some analogy to the consonances which they produced by percussion. Having thus discovered, by experiment, that the consonances of the fourth, fifth, and eighth to the gravest sound, were produced by hammers of 8, 9, 6, and 12 pounds, he applied those weights to four strings of the same thickness and length, and again discovered that they sounded the same concords when set in vibration. Thus determining the ratio of the musical sounds, and the proportion of those numbers to be analogous, he accordingly constructed the first harmonical system. The whole length of hypate being divided into 12 equal parts, 9 of them were assigned to parhypate, 8 to lichanos, and 6 to nete, which, when tended by equal weights, sounded the fourth, fifth, and eighth, to the longest string that gave the fundamental.[124]

If the science of the ancient harmonics depended upon the truth of this account, or was to be estimated by the accuracy of this experiment, all con-

[122] Plut. ut supr. cap. xiv. p. 644, 11. al. 1135. f. Philodem. ut supr. cap. xviii.

[123] Plut. ut supr. cap. xxxvii. p. 680, 1. al. 1144. f. Nicomach. ut supr. p. 10. c.

[124] Vid. Nicomach. aliosque, ut infr. p. 190. n. 128.

troversy respecting the theory constructed upon such a foundation must be at an end, as it is now found to be contrary to experience. Galileo, on applying weights to musical strings, in the same manner as Pythagoras is represented to have done in this account, ascertained that, to produce the specified consonances, the weights, instead of being in the ratio of 6, 8, 9, 12, should be as the squares of those numbers.[125] And Bontempi, on repeating the experiment ascribed to Pythagoras, discovered that the consonances produced by the specified weights, instead of the fourth, fifth, and octave, were the minor and major third and the tritone.[126] What renders the account of the ancient experiment still more unfortunate is, that while these consonances, really produced by the tending weights, were rejected by the ancient harmonists as discords, a string, rendered musical by tension, and divided in the ratio of the numbers said to be suggested by Pythagoras, produces the consonances on which this system was founded.[127] There can be, therefore, no doubt that the story of the philosopher's visit to the forge is a fiction, and that the ratios on which the ancient harmonics are founded were derived from the division of the monachord, an instrument by which they are usually computed. It must be indeed obvious, that the real object sought, in the account of the Pythagorean experiment, was to appropriate to the Greeks an invention which was originally Egyptian. From this story, however, the accuracy of which is generally vouched by the ancients, from Nicomachus to Boëthius,[128] we may deduce one important inference — it teaches us how far implicit faith is due to the theorists, when occupied on any subject in which the credit of their art was implicated.

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[125] Vid. Burn. uti supr. vol. i. pp. 441, 442.

[126] Id. ibid. Dr. Burney, indeed, carries his objections further, and rejects the whole account as a fable; because, as he declares, different hammers will no more produce musical sounds than several clappers to the same bell. I can, however, offer in its support the testimony of experience; as I have heard the consonance of a third produced by different hammers upon the same anvil. The Abbé Roussier observes, in reference to this subject, with greater justice: "Ce n'est point le son des *marteaux* qu'on entend, mais bien celui de *l'enclume*, ou quelquefois celui de *la pièce* qu'on façonne, selon les circonstances." Mém. sur la Mus. ut supr. Avant-Prop. p. 2. n. a.

[127] Aristox. ut supr. pp. 55, 56. Nicomach. ut supr. p. 18. d. 19. a.

[128] Nicomach. ut supr. p. 10. c. Gaud. ut supr. p. 13. Boëth. de Mus. cap. x. Censorin. de Die Nat. cap. x. Macrob. Somn. Scip. lib. ii. cap. vi. Iamblich. Vit. Pyth. cap. xxvi. n. 115.

Though we should be disposed to overlook this fundamental objection to their statements, and to allow them all the merit which they claim in this invention; though we should admit their science to be founded on the experiment from which it has been really deduced, the credit of which is with more justice given to Hermes;[129] still the foundation which the theoretical music finds in this principle from which it is derived, is so narrow and imperfect, as to confirm the charge of palpable deficiency upon the science on which it is professedly supported.

In assuming, with the ancients, that the science of harmonics is founded on arithmetical proportions, only two kinds appear to be recognised in their scheme — the superparticular, by which they determined the ratios of the fourths and fifths, and the multiplex, by which they determined those of the octave and its repetitions.[130] Under the superparticular they included the ratio sesquitertia, which determined the fourth or tetrachord, and the sescupla, which determined the diapente or fifth; and under the multiplex they included the double, which determined the octave — the treble, which determined the octave of the fifth — and the quadruple, which determined the double-octave or disdiapason.[131] From the consonance produced by the proportion which gives the least interval, they naturally took the elementary division of their perfect system; and from that which gives the greatest, they as naturally determined its fullest compass. While they extended it to a double octave, they divided it into tetrachords; and to preserve those characteristic divisions of their scale unchanged, rendered the extremes of those intervals immoveable.[132]

As the whole of the proportions producing those consonances are expressed in the progression of the natural numbers extending to four, and as the proportions which give the consonances of the natural scale are found,

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[129] Sulzer, ut supr. vol. iv. p. 482. Euler, uti supr. Præf. p. 18. et § 17.

[130] Select. ex Lud. Folian. de Mus. sect. ii. cap. i. MS. Bodl. 224. fol. 108. "Duo tantum genera proportionum veteres et præsertim Pythagorici ad musicas consonantias aptaverunt, videlicet multiplex et superparticulare. Ex multiplici quidem duplam ad diapason, triplam ad bisdiapason applicantes." Vid. infr. n. 131. Conf. Euclid. ut supr. p. 23. d. Aristid. ut supr. p. 119. a. Gaud. ut supr. p. 13. c. Macrob. ut supr. cap. i. p. 83. c.

[131] Select. ex Folian. ut supr. "Ex superparticulari vero sesquialteram ad diapenten, sesquitertiam ad diatessaron fore aptas [veteres] putavere. Nec plures his [vid. supr. n. 130.] posuerunt consonantias, ut apparet ex his quæ ad nos pervenerunt opinionibus." Conf. Euclid. Aristid. &c. uti supr. Macrob. ibid. cap. ii. p. 87.

[132] Vid. supr. p. 161.

by later experiment, to extend to six,[133] a neglect or ignorance of the supplementary ratios, introduced a radical imperfection into the system deemed perfect. The thirds, minor and major, were accordingly rejected from the number of its consonances[134]—not upon the judgment of the ear, for the theorists rejected its decisions altogether, as opposed to their speculations—but upon the narrow principles of an arbitrary science; for I am disposed to coincide in opinion with those who think the foundation on which this science rests is mere hypothesis, as the assumption on which it is grounded has never been proved—that concords in music are produced by an exact coincidence in the pulses, communicated to the air by the vibrations of a sonorous body.[135]

Various causes have been assigned, by writers upon harmonics, for the limited number of proportions admitted by the ancients into their science. It has been asserted by Zarlino, that their choice was thus confined, because the proportions expressed by the number four are most simple and perfect, and comprised in the quaternion, which was held sacred by the Pythagoreans.[136] The reason which he thus assigns may be admitted, with some modification; for many wild and fanciful analogies were introduced by them into the system of harmonics, which they dignified with the name of science.

The general distribution of the notes in the perfect system, its division into tetrachords and compass of two octaves, were obviously suggested by the proportions discovered by means of the monachord.[137] A curiosity in

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[133] Select. ex Folian. ut supr. "Nec verum est etiam duæ tantum superparticularis generis species aptæ sunt ad consonantias: sed præter has sunt duæ aliæ ejusdem generis species, scilicet sesquiquarta et sesquiquinta, quæ ditonum generant et semiditonum." Vid. Zarlin. ut supr. passim. Essai sur la Mus. ut supr. tom. iii. p. 373. "Il [Zarlin] adopte de préférence le diatonique synton de Ptolémée, par la raison que les proportions de ce diatonique se trouvent dans l'ordre naturel des nombres, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6," &c.

[134] All intervals less than fourths were rejected by the ancients from the number of consonances; vid. Nicomach. ut supr. p. 25. c. Aristox. ut supr. p. 20. a. The Aristoxenians even termed the third or ditone a discord; vid. Aristox. ib. p. 55. b; and the same language was implicitly held by the Pythagoreans; vid. Nicomach. ibid. p. 26, 12.

[135] Rousseau, Dict. de la Mus. au mot "Consonance." Serre, Essais sur les Princ. de l'Harm. p. 7. n. p. 94. n. Roussier, Mémoire ut supr. p. 2. et seq.

[136] Zarlin. ut supr. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 73. conf. Macrob. ut supr. I. vi. p. 24. c. Philo Jud. de Mund. Opific. p. 10. b.

[137] Euclid. ut supr. pp. 37, 38. Aristid. ut supr. p. 115. d. 117. d.

investigating the secret properties of numbers, soon led to the discovery, that the extremes in the harmonical progression 6, 8, 9, 12, supplied by that instrument, were arithmetical means to the geometrical progression 4 : 8 : 16.[138] It was likewise observed by the theorists, that the former progression, when reduced to the lowest terms, might be expressed by the numbers in the simple arithmetical series 1, 2, 3, 4.[139] Having thus determined the harmonical proportion to be a mixture of the arithmetical and geometrical,[140] they deduced from their common properties the grounds of their preference for the particular numbers which supplied the ratios of the consonances admitted into their perfect system. In a word, as they considered 3 the first perfect number in arithmetic, as having a beginning, middle, and end;[141] and 4 the first perfect number in geometry, as forming the first plane[142]—upon these, and other equally puerile analogies, they decided that those numbers were equally perfect in harmony, and, consequently, adopted them in the elementary division of their musical scale. The science on which they thus pretended to found a system of harmonics was imperfect, as they were sensible;[143] but for this objection they readily found a palliative. Music, in their conception, was of a celestial nature;[144] the imperfection with which it was chargeable, was that to which terrestrial objects were subject, and such it had contracted in its transmission through an earthly medium.[145] To disengage it from the gross material encumbrance by which it was depressed, and restore the celestial science to its divine rank and nature, consequently became the great end of their science.[146] Over the means by which they laboured to secure this object, they allowed the ear to possess no control,[147] as they believed it shared the common imperfection which all earthly objects inherited from a material nature.

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[138] Aristid. ibid. p. 121. b. Plat. ap. Plut. uti supr. cap. xxii. p. 655. al. 1138. d. Arist. ap. eund. ib. xxiii. p. 658, 1. al. 1139. b.

[139] Plut. ibid. p. 655, 13. al. 1138. d.

[140] Aristid. p. 120. b.

[141] Id. ibid. p. 119. d.

[142] Id. ut supr. p. 120. b. Macrob. ut supr. II. ii. p. 85. c. Philo Jud. ut supr. p. 22. b.

[143] Aristid. ibid. p. 114. c.

[144] Id. ibid. p. 124. b. 126. c. Plut. ut supr. cap. xxiii. p. 658. al. 1139. b.

[145] Macrob. ut supr. I. xix. p. 67. c.

[146] Plut. ut supr. cap. xiv. p. 644. al. 1135. e. xxv. p. 661. al. 1140. a.

[147] Pythag. ap. eund. ibid. cap. xxxvii. p. 680, 1. al. 1144. f.

Of this solemn trifling it must be nugatory to engage in a serious exposure. The imperfection of the science, (if the solecism of the term may be allowed,) founded upon such principles, sufficiently betrays itself in the limited number of consonances of which they had discovered the ratios. Such, in substance, is the sentence passed against it by Zarlino, and the condemnation pronounced upon it by Euler, both of whom have so far subscribed to the principles on which it was built, as they have taken the arithmetical proportions for the basis of their own computations. Even upon the hypothesis maintained by the Abbé Roussier,[148] that the ancient harmonics were founded on a geometrical progression and triple ratio generating perfect fifths, they lie open to equal objections; for it is justly observed by Dr. Burney,[149] who acquiesces rather incautiously in this hypothesis, which its author gratuitously bestows on the ancient theorists, " that the triple progression of the Pythagoreans, which rendered fourths and fifths perfect, could furnish no thirds or sixths that were tolerable." There can be, however, no ground for distrust that the ancient system was built upon the mixed harmonical proportion which I have described; the main ratio of which, as expressed by the numbers 3, 4, rendered fourths the generating intervals.[150] Such is the only view of the subject which is borne out by their statements.[151] Sulzer has indeed explained, in a manner so natural and satisfactory, the method in which the ancient scale was extended, by interpolating it with fourths taken in ascent and descent from the primary consonances that Pythagoras was believed to have discovered, as to remove every reasonable doubt as to the manner in which it was completed.[152] But the scale constructed upon such principles, is exposed to the accumulated objections of all those writers whose opinions have been collected upon its merits. And the ancients, in rejecting the judgment of the ear in deciding upon its pretensions,[153] have confirmed the sentence in which the moderns have denounced it. If the name of music could be at all applied to a system of sounds which claimed such an exemption, it must be obvious, that whatever might have

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[148] Mém. sur la Mus. des Anciens. art. v. p. 25. et seq. Par. 1770.

[149] Burney's Hist. of Mus. vol. i. p. 144. [150] Vid. supr. p. 191. n. 131.

[151] This conclusion might be inferred from the internal evidence of the systems constructed by both Pythagoreans and Aristoxenians. Vid. supr. p. 175. n. 80. infr. p. 195. n. 158.

[152] Sulzer, uti supr. vol. iv. pp. 483, 484. [153] Vid. supr. p. 60. n. 147.

been its claims on the grounds of science, on the principles of art it must have been rude and imperfect.

This fundamental defect in the harmonical system of the Pythagoreans was felt and acknowledged by Aristoxenus, who, passing into the opposite extreme, professed to found his system in the experience of the organ whose judgment was rejected by his predecessors.[154] From all that we can collect in his works, it appears that the division of the system into shades and genera must be referred to him, as its original author.[155] Now, it is to be premised that of the two genera on which he of all the ancients first professedly treated, the enharmonic was distinguished by the third major, and the chromatic by the third minor.[156] It is further to be observed, that, by the tempering of the perfect system these consonances were rendered so harsh and untunable, as to be degraded into the order of discords.[157] It will be therefore readily admitted, from what has been declared, that the main object of his innovations was to restore those consonances, which are so grateful to the ear and essential to harmony, to that rank in the science which they possessed in the practice of music. As his scheme was, however, built upon an unstable foundation, in the ancient scale, the main pillars of which he retained, in the immoveable sounds which formed the extremes of its tetrachords,[158] it necessarily partook of the inveterate defects with which the ancient system was chargeable. It is accordingly included in the common censure passed upon that system, by those who have brought its pretensions to the test of genuine science.[159] After allowing it every benefit to be derived from the last improvements, it has been proscribed, as erroneous in principle and impossible in practice.

The grounds of this fundamental error in Aristoxenus's plan for the improvement of music, lay in the respect which he shewed to the perfect system. For the partiality which it had thus unduly obtained, it was partly beholden to the authority of the philosopher from whom it took its origin,

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154 Aristox. ut supr. p. 32. d.

155 Conf. Aristox. ib. p. 2. b. p. 36. d. Plut. ut supr. cap. xxxii. p. 675. b. al. 1143. e.

156 Vid. supr. p. 162.

157 Whether we consider the ancient scale as constructed according to the hypothesis of Sulzer or Roussier, it is exposed to this objection. Conf. Burney, uti supr. p. 144. Sulzer, ut supr. p. 485. c.

158 Aristox. ut supr. p. 22. b. p. 46. d.

159 Vid. supr. p. 174. n. 77.

but chiefly indebted to the facilities which it afforded the harmonists, in bringing the science of sounds within definite and explanatory limits.[160] It furnished him with direct means for defining and proving intervals,[161] of which it would have been difficult to give any description had the system been moveable, like that which was used by the practical musicians.[162] It likewise rendered the description of his genera more feasible and easy. As certain sounds, by means of it, became not merely common to all the kinds, but fixed in all, the more complex were thus easily explained by reference to the more simple,[163] and all the varieties of the intonation made sensible by comparison with the sounds which were immoveable.[164] Though his essays for the improvement of music reduced the art within its proper province, in submitting it to the cognizance of the ear, his theory, as retaining the imperfections of the ancient system, was nearly as irreconcilable with the genuine principles and practice of the art as the scheme of his predecessors, the Pythagoreans.

The success which attended the innovations of Aristoxenus was consequently such as might be expected. Among the speculative musicians he had many converts and admirers. The principle on which he professed to build his system, in referring it to the judgment of the ear, was intelligible to all reasoners; and he had freed the science from the abstruse principles and intricate calculations of those who founded it in arithmetical and geometrical proportions. He thus easily obtained disciples among those who were rather disposed to receive a system which it required little study to comprehend, than to labour for the acquirement of a science involved in difficulty and obscurity.[165] But by the practical musicians he was held in very different estimation. His efforts to gain support or authority for his theory in the practice of Olympus, they refuted, by an appeal to the music of that early composer.[166] It is indeed problematical whether he ever gained more than one solitary convert to his principles among the practical musicians; and he speaks even of him as seduced by his speculative novelties but for a short time, and as finally abandoning them for the more substantial realities

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160 Aristox. ut supr. p. 33. d.

161 Id. ibid. p. 55. c.

162 Vid. Euclid. ut supr. p. 17. d. 37. a. 39. a.

163 Aristox. ibid. p. 22. b. c.

164 Id. ibid. p. 46. c. d.

165 Meibom. Præf. in Gaud. p. i.

166 Plut. ut supr. cap. xi. p. 640, 3. al. 1134. c.

esteemed by contemporary artists.[167] Among the ancients, some, who were more deeply versed in the philosophy of music, have passed sentence upon him as having been in reality no musician, but a visionary, who was misled by a vain affectation.[168] On the pretensions of his system to merit, either for its sound principles or practical uses, I have already stated the opinions of Zarlino and Euler; and with the reputation of this harmonist, the entire credit of the theoretical music expires. As the Aristoxenian system superseded the Pythagorean, it prevailed, to the exclusion of every other, until a new way was opened into the harmonical science by Ptolemy. For, from his discoveries of the ratios by which the thirds were restored to their due rank among concords, that revolution in the art must be dated, when philosophy directed its attention from seeking after a theoretical, to illustrate a practical music.[169]

2. A paradox, it may be conceived, still remains to be solved. It may be, indeed, naturally inquired, how a supposition so groundless and improbable could have originated, as that this music, which existed only in theory, had been really admitted into practice. But the difficulty introduced by this objection into the subject will vanish, on the statement of a stubborn fact. In the technical language of the art, there were ambiguities by which the theorists were not merely liable to be misled, but positively imposed upon, while they yielded to an illusion so congenial to their prepossessions, and

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[167] Plut. ut supr. cap. xxxi. p. 669, 9. al. 1134. e.

[168] Adrast. ap. Procl. in Tim. Plat. lib. iii. p. 192. ed. Basil. 1534.

[169] The latest writer who follows the ancient hypothesis considers the science as nearly stationary from the times of Hermes; by whom the ratios of the octave, fourth, and fifth, on which the perfect system was constructed, were discovered. Euler. ut supr. cap. viii. § 17, 18. "Hocque est primum genus, cujus auctor erat primus musicæ inventor in Græcia Mercurius, qui hos quatuor sonos totidem chordis expressit, unde instrumentum tetrachordon erat appellatum. .... In hoc ergo primo musicæ genere quod cum legibus harmoniæ mirifice congruit, atque etiam ob hanc auditores, qui ante nullam adhuc harmoniam cognoverant, in summam admirationem pertraxit, præter *quintam*, *quartam* tonum majorem et *octavam*, alia non inerant auribus grata intervalla. Atque etiam post hoc tempus usque *ad tempora Ptolemæi* incognita mansit consonantia tertia dicta, quippe quam Ptolemæus primus in musicam induxit." Zarlino expresses himself with greater accuracy in confining the discovery to the *ratios* of the concord; vid. supr. p. 31. n. 85. Whatever might have been the improvements introduced into the practice of music, the theory, according to this account, could have received no solid improvement.

advantageous to their systems. If this point can be substantiated, the very slight credit which may be due to their impressions will disappear, without subducting any thing from their evidence as delivered upon a disputed question, and as equally at variance with the traditionary testimony of music, and the convictions of the practical artists.

(1.) The term *Music* alone furnishes a striking confirmation of the position. Among the ancients, it possessed that latitude of meaning which might have favoured the object of those who were inclined to believe the speculative system had been practised, or were disposed to make converts to that opinion. When taken in its primary signification, it comprehended the arts which the Muses invented, or over which it was supposed they presided.[170] In a sense so enlarged, it is explained in express treatises on music, and is accordingly interpreted as signifying the circle of the sciences.[171] Such is the sense in which we are assured it is used by Aristophanes,[172] when it recommended itself by those high pretensions to the study of Socrates and Plato:—

> Ἀλλ' ὦ 'γαθ', ἀδὶ μουσικὴν ἐπίσταμαι,
> Πλὴν γραμμάτων, καὶ ταῦτα μέν τοι κακὰ κακῶς.
>
> *Aristoph. Equit.* act. i. sc. 2.

> "In sooth, good friend, in science I lack skill;
> Letters I wot, and these e'en passing ill."

But, what comes more immediately home to our purpose, with such latitude the theorists expressly used the term, while objecting to the practitioners their employment of it in a confined signification, as limiting it to the science of simple harmony.[173] And a charge is reciprocally made by the actual upon the speculative musicians, as extending it beyond its proper sense to the entire range of literature and science.[174] Its adoption with this

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[170] Vid. Philod. ut infr. n. 171. Suidas, sub voc. Μέσα· ἡ γνῶσις ἀπὸ τῆ μῶ, τὸ ζήτω, ἐπειδὴ ἀπάσης παιδείας αὐτὴ τυγχάνει αἰτία.

[171] Philod. ut supr. cap. vi. col. xi. Τὸ γὰρ λελίχθ' ἀπὸ μουσῶν μουσικὴν οἷς καὶ πᾶσαν παιδείαν καὶ τίχνας ὅσας ἀναφέρουσιν καὶ καταρχὰς πανταχῆ ἄρχισθαι τὸ ἄγριόν ποτι καὶ ἰ.

[172] Schol. Aristoph. ut supr. Ὅτι μουσικὴν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν φησί.

[173] Plut. ut supr. cap. xlii. p. 686, 7. al. 1146. d. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Σωτήριχος, Ἔχεις, ἔφη, τὰς ἐπικυκλίους περὶ μουσικῆς λόγους, καὶ ἰ.

[174] Id. ibid. cap. xiii. p. 643, 11. al. 1135. d. Καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον, καὶ παραδώσω τῷ ἑταίρῳ Σωτηρίχῳ, ἐσπουδακότι οὐ μόνον περὶ μουσικὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν.

comprehensive force they seem to have justified, from the extraordinary effects which it was conceived that it had wrought in politics and morals. Instances were even adduced to prove, on the authority of antiquity, that the barbarism of nations had been tamed, and the walls of cities raised, by the powers of music, where the term obviously included in its comprehension all the arts of civilisation.[175]

To those who employed a term endowed with such a latitude of meaning, evidence might be easily found to justify it in any sense in which it might be necessary or convenient to use it; and various considerations, independent of those arising from an attachment to system, tended to confirm the advocates of music in the belief, that those effects which are attributed to the power of harmony, were rather to be imputed to the art which they professed than to any branch of science which the term included. Independent of the celestial origin from which they held it to be derived, and which furnished the justification of its highest pretensions,[176] the irresistible sway which this divine art exercised over the senses tended to impress them with the most exalted notions of its powers.[177] For the effects so fondly ascribed to its influence, it was further indebted to its alliance with poetry,[178] which contributed, in bringing the language of sentiment and passion in aid of musical expression, to lead the judgment captive to the feelings. And the illusion was finally completed which it wrought upon the senses, through the enthusiasm excited by the powerful associations inseparable from the sentiments which this language breathed, as devoted to the praises of gods and heroes.[179] That of these adscititious circumstances advantage was taken by the speculative admirers of the art to magnify its powers over the understanding and passions, abundant evidence exists in the treatise of Philodemus, by whom the several pleas advanced in support of its extravagant pretensions are successively examined and solidly refuted.

But, to the same end, various ambiguities in the technical language of the art contributed in nearly as great a measure. Some terms were employed by the theoretical innovators, to designate the imaginary improvements introduced by them into the art, which their predecessors had employed in a

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[175] Nat. Com. Mythol. lib. viii. cap. xv. p. 891.

[176] Plut. ut supr. cap. xiv. p. 644, 3. al. 1135. e. cap. xxv. p. 661, 8. al. 1140. a.

[177] Philodem. ut supr. cap. xiv. fin. cap. xvi.

[178] Philodem. ut supr. cap. xii. xiii. xiv.

[179] Plut. ut supr. cap. xxvii. p. 663, 6. al. 1140. d.

sense with which those speculative novelties were but remotely connected. Thus, of course, while the language of art remained unchanged in sound, its sense was totally perverted. The judgment of ordinary observers was consequently baffled in detecting the change passed upon it, and unsuspectingly acquiesced in the antiquity of the thing, from acknowledging the antiquity of the term. Instances of the process which thus insensibly prevailed, occur in the very terms by which the genera were designated; and what furnishes matter of still greater surprise, even the enharmonic, and the particular interval from which it derived its character, cannot be excepted from this observation. It may not be inexpedient to point out some instances in those parts of the ancient music, on which, as essentially theoretical, the present discussion particularly turns.

(2.) Of the diatonic, which Aristoxenus pronounces the most ancient and natural of the genera, we are assured by that writer, that it was disregarded in the treatises of the early harmonists, who confined their attention exclusively to the enharmonic.[180] And in confirmation of this assertion, he appeals to the diagrams in which the musical scale was laid down, according to their peculiar notions.[181] The same assertion is made, in nearly the same terms, by the speaker who sustains the part of the theorist in the Dialogue of Plutarch.[182] The assumption of Aristoxenus is, however, combated by Proclus,[183] who, in controversion of his opinion, asserts that diagrams had been formed of the diatonic by Plato and Timæus: and, on the veracity of his assertion, he grounds the charge which he brings against Aristoxenus, and which he supports by the authority of Adrastus, that he was no musician, but a vain affecter of novelties.[184] Now, it appears to me, that there is but one mode of reconciling this contradiction, which lies in the supposition, that in the new science and nomenclature of Aristoxenus, the terms diatonic and enharmonic were first more nicely distinguished. Previously to

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180 Aristox. ut supr. p. 19. d. p. 2. 6.

181 Id. ibid.

182 Plut. ut supr. cap. xxxiv. p. 675, 9. al. 1143. e.

183 Vid. Procl. ut supr. p. 66. n. 168.

184 Id. ibid. Φησὶ γοῦν ὁ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἁρμονικῆς στοιχειώσεως· 'τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν.... ὡς ἀληθῶς ἁρμονικοὺς εἶναι· αὐτῆς γὰρ τῆς ἁρμονίας ἥπτοντο [μόνον], τῶν δὲ ἄλλων γενῶν οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἔσχον [ἔννοιαν.]' Ἐν οἷς καὶ λέγει τι θαυμαστὸν ὁ Ἀριστόξενος, ὅτι τὸ διατονικὸν διάγραμμα οὐκ ᾔδεσαν οἱ παλαιοί· γράφει γὰρ οὕτως· σημεῖον δὲ· 'τὸ μὲν γὰρ διάγραμμα αὐτῶν ἐναρμονίων μόνον ἔκκειται συστημάτων· διάτονον δὲ ἢ χρωματικὸν οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἑώρακεν.' Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα λέγει, καί τοι καὶ τοῦ Πλατώνος καὶ τὸ διατονικὸν γένος ἐκθεμένου τὸ διάγραμμα, καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Τίμαιον, θαυμάσαι ἄξιον. Conf. Aristox. p. 2. b.

the revolution which he introduced into music, the harmonists knew nothing of an enharmonic, different from the diatonic peculiarly tempered.[185] Such are the limits which he prescribes to their knowledge, in describing the degree of perfection to which the art had attained under their efforts to improve it;[186] while he arrogates to himself the merit of introducing the generic distinctions, through which it became enriched with an enharmonic and chromatic, in addition to the diatonic.[187] The error of Aristoxenus consequently lay in superseding, with his novel terms, the ancient language of the art; and that of Proclus in transferring the harmonists' recent distinctions to the state it had merely attained under Plato and Timæus. The course which either pursued, as confounding the enharmonic or theoretical music with the diatonic or practical, must have led to that substitution of the one for the other, for which I contend. And whatever may be thought of this mode of reconciling the contradiction between them, one of them is plainly chargeable with an error, which fully substantiates the position it is my object to establish.

(3.) If this incongruity originated in the use of the term diatonic, it cannot excite surprise that it should have arisen in the use of the term chromatic. The natural sense in which this word is now employed, was that in which it was first used by the ancients, as meaning simply the diatonic divided into semitones. By the scheme of Aristoxenus, those generical distinctions were introduced, from which it acquired a new signification;[188] we consequently find various instances in which it is used in the sense that he grafted on it, though applied to the ancient music, as existing previously to his innovations. Plutarch gives us a chapter[189] upon the chromatic, in which this assertion is curiously verified. In the vindication which he offers, in the course of his remarks, for the tragic and lyric poets, by whom it was neglected,[190] his proofs that their neglect did not originate in their ignorance of its use, go merely to establish the point for which I contend, that it was actually not practised. The solitary instances which he adduces in support of the contrary position, disclose the process by which the ancients

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[185] Id. ibid. p. 36. d. Nicomach. ut supr. p. 24. a.

[186] Aristox. ibid. et p. 35, 11. p. 19, 21.

[187] Id. ibid. p. 35. a.

[188] Aristox. ut supr. p. 2. b. p. 7. d.

[189] Plut. ut supr. cap. xx. p. 652. al. 1137. e.

[190] Plut. ut supr. cap. xx. p. 652, 13. cap. xxi. p. 653, 4. al. 1137. f.

were brought to acquiesce in the truth of it.[191] The instance of Timotheus alone,[192] from whom he deduces his evidence, that the chromatic was used by the lyrists, furnishes a striking exemplification of the misconception into which they were led upon this subject, by the employment of an equivocal term. From the nature of the improvements introduced by this musician into his art, it clearly appears, that the chromatic he used was identical with that which obtains in the modern music. Without extending this observation to the case of Pancrates and Antegenidas,[193] on whose practice Plutarch equally supports his point, the case of Timotheus alone affords abundant proof of that confusion of the theoretical with the practical music, even by writers of the highest repute, which I am endeavouring to substantiate.

(4.) The inferences deducible from the case of the enharmonic are, if possible, even more conclusive than those drawn from the diatonic and chromatic. The term, literally signifying *harmony,* by which this highest kind of Greek music was expressed, had been originally used in the sense of *mode,*[194] and sometimes even in that of *octave.*[195] Instances of its employment, in different senses, are accordingly found in Aristoxenus;[196] indeed, the equivocal nature of the term is so palpable, that it is fully admitted by the moderns.[197] It must be thus almost needless to observe, that a field was necessarily opened, by the ambiguity, for endless misconception and error. But, from one circumstance, that confusion seems to have been almost unavoidable, in which the theoretical music would easily take the place of the practical. The *genus* and the *modes,* to which they gave a common name, were not merely produced by a similar process of relaxing the strings of an instrument, but by carrying this process into effect, in an alteration of the *octave.* When to this similarity of the object sought in those different

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[191] It is particularly deserving of remark, that while Plutarch and Aristoxenus represent the chromatic genus, however neglected by the tragic poets, as known to the lyrists, they do not speak of it as having been practised by them, but merely as observed by them in the manual use of their instruments. Vid. Aristox. ibid. p. 11. b. 35. b. Plut. ibid. p. 652, 3. The lyrists, in the process of tuning their instruments, must have observed all the shades of the genera, of which the tragic poets could have no experience, as they were not practitioners.

[192] Plut. ibid. cap. xx. p. 652, 13. al. 1137. f.

[193] Id. ibid. cap. xxi. p. 653. al. 1137. f.

[194] Aristid. ut supr. p. 25. a. Plut. ut supr. cap. xvii. p. 649, 9. al. 1137. a.

[195] Aristid. ibid. p. 17. d.

[196] Aristox. ut supr. p. 36. d. 52. d.

[197] Meibom. not. in Aristox. p. 2, 9. "*Harmonia* vocabulum frequentissime usurpatur Aristoxeno ejusque sectatoribus pro *genere enarmonico.*"

divisions of the ancient music, we add the identity of the term by which they were expressed, the difficulty really lies in conceiving how confusion could be at all avoided, in the employment of a term so equivocal in its meaning. A striking example of the misconception to which it has led, occurs in the very account in which the theorists professed to give a description of the invention of the enharmonic genus; as, when it is understood through the interpretation of the practitioners, it proves to be merely the discovery of the major mode, which forms so essential a part of the art as cultivated by the moderns. But upon this discovery of Olympus, on which I have offered some remarks, and that attributed to Timotheus, to which I have recently alluded, I must defer my observations until I am indulged with a future hearing upon the subject of the Greek practical music. The necessity of pursuing these inferences at present to a greater length, is indeed precluded by the conclusiveness of the observations arising out of the term *diesis*, which expressed the division of the tone common to all the modes, while it designated the interval peculiar to the enharmonic. In the changes of sense through which it migrated, we find it first used to signify a *semitone*,[198] but afterwards taken to mean a quadrantal interval:[199] it is at length defined *the half of a semitone*,[200] though expressly contrary to the authority of Aristoxenus,[201] who seems to have had an object in confounding its meaning. While the theorists employed a language thus indefinite, and measured by a rule which changed with every varying proportion, we can feel little surprise that they should have succeeded in establishing a paradox, even more extravagant than that which they were interested in proving,—that the theoretical music had been actually practised.

Of the art on which the ancient harmonists conferred the name of music, and of which they have transmitted an account in their writings, there is consequently no just ground for forming a second opinion. Like the notes of the dying swan, it has been indeed often celebrated, but has never been heard by mortal. The theorists, who conferred upon it an imaginary existence, having discovered some of the more striking phenomena in the philosophy of sound, of which their notions were as extravagant as their know-

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[198] Philolaus. ap. Nicomach. ut supr. p. 27, 21. p. 17, 20.

[199] Aristox. ut supr. p. 46, a. p. 50, c. [200] Nicomach. ibid. p. 46, 8.

[201] Aristox. ibid. p. 46, 8. The term diesis, according to Meibomius, was used to express intervals of very different values. Vid. not. in Aristid. p. 123, 1.

ledge was limited, thence formed the conception of a science, which should captivate the sense while it enlightened the understanding.[202] Having thus laboured to supersede practical excellence by speculative perfection, they brought an art into neglect, in which there is reason to believe the Greek genius reached an eminence equal to that which it attained in poetry and sculpture. On antiquity they have, consequently, conferred no other benefit than to effect the obliteration of almost every memorial of an art which added to its splendour, and the consequent extinction of an interesting branch of its literature. From their positive labours the moderns derive little more than an experimental proof of the evil consequences of that affectation of learning, by which science is inconsiderately obtruded into the province of art, and those aids sought from philosophy which are only to be drawn from the stores of nature.

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[202] Philodemus, ut supr. cap. xii. col. xxiii. *Καὶ φιλόσοφα λέγοντες εἶναι τῆς μουσικῆς, τὰ περὶ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ φθόγγου φύσεως, καὶ διαστημάτων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, ἀνυπομονητοί τινες ἦσαν, οὐχ ὅτι μόνον εἰς ἀλλοτριωτάτην ἐνέβαινον θεωρίαν, καὶ παιδαριώδως ἐκάλυν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀτάκτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι μίαν ἀπεφήναντο μουσικὴν τὴν τοιαύτην θεωρίαν.*

Addition to Note 3.

Rousseau, de l'Imitat. Theatr. tom. xii. p. 273. n. " Nous ne savons point encore, si notre *système de musique* n'est fondé sur de pures conventions; nous ne savons point *si les principes n'en sont pas tout-à-fait arbitraires*, et si tout autre système, substitué à celui-là, ne parviendrait point, par l'habitude, à nous plaire également. C'est une question discutée ailleurs. Par une analogie assez naturelle, ces réflexions pourraient exciter d'autres *au sujet de la peinture* sur le ton d'un tableau, sur l'accord des couleurs, sur certaines parties du dessin *où il entre peut-être plus d'arbitraire qu'on ne pense*, et où l'imitation même peut avoir des règles de convention. Pourquoi les peintres n'osent ils entreprendre des imitations nouvelles, qui n'ont contr'elles que leur nouveauté, et paraissent d'ailleurs tout-à-fait du ressort de l'art?" &c.

Addition to Note 5.

It is objected by Rousseau, de l'Imitat. Theatr. uti supr. p. 273—" Un magistrat studieux qui, dans ses momens de loisir, au lieu d'aller entendre de la musique, s'amuse à en approfondir les systèmes, a trouvé que la rapport de la quinte n'est de deux à trois que par approximation, et que ce rapport est vigoreusement incommensurable. Personne au moins ne saurait créer qu'il ne soit tel sur nos clavecins en vertu du tempérament; ce qui m'empêche pas ces quintes ainsi tempérées de nous paraître agréables. Or où est, en pareil cas, la simplicité du rapport qui devrait nous les rendre telles?" The observation has not less force, in invalidating the principles on which the Greek theoretical music was founded, than in confirming those on which the modern practical music depends.

X. *On the Services rendered to General Literature by Archbishop Laud.*

By Archdeacon Todd, R.A. R.S.L.

Read March 15th and April 5th, 1826.

The character of Archbishop Laud, both as an ecclesiastic and a politician, has been treated, by men of opposite opinions, with severe obloquy, and with high commendation. What has been pronounced in him by one party firmness of principle and disinterestedness, by another has been called intolerance and slavishness of mind. His revival of neglected usages has thus been termed by some an innovation not to be borne, and by others a proper check to the desolating progress of puritanism. Of such discrepancies my purpose is not here to offer any discussion; only I may observe, that the times in which the archbishop lived were against him: he was "fallen on evil days and evil tongues." But my intention is to present him in the light which will be universally agreeable, *as the friend and patron of learning and learned men.* For, as South has eloquently said of him in reference to this illustrious part of his history, both to what he magnificently performed, and to what he further intended, "Si vel ea quæ scripsit, quæ extruxit, quæque dederit, metiamur, liquebit certè nihil esse posse grandius iis quæ perfecit ac præstitit, nisi ea quæ idem cogitavit. Quis enim literatus, quem non promovit? Quis felicis indolis, quem non studiosè ad se undique attraxit?"[1] Nor may the observation of Welwood be overpassed: "Laud was certainly, in spite of malice, a man of an elevated capacity and vast designs; a great encourager of learning and learned men; and spared no pains to enrich England with such a noble collection of books and manuscripts, in most languages, as looked rather like the bounty of a king than of a subject. As he left behind him many lasting monuments of his beneficence to the learned world, so was he in a way to have carried it much further if his misfortunes

[1] South, Opera Posthuma, Orat. p. 89. "Such a liberal benefactor he was," Anthony Wood also relates, "towards the advancement of learning, *that he left himself little or nothing for his own use.*"

had not intervened, and deprived learning of so powerful a benefactor."[2] Of his services, a collection into one cheering view, dispersed, as they are, in various treasures of information, is a tribute of gratitude, however humble, to the memory of the intelligent and generous benefactor, who has "given so much distinction to literature, and convinced the world of its usefulness."

After his advancement to the see of London, in 1628, opportunities for the exertions, which Laud had long wished, often presented themselves, and were employed with success. Before the close of that year, he obtained from two distinguished persons very considerable benefactions to the University of Oxford. "The 240 Greek manuscripts," he has told us, "were sent to London House, January 26, 1628-9. These I got my Lord of Pembroke to buy, and give to Oxford."[3] Then, on the 6th of February, he adds, "Sir Thomas Roe sent to London House 28 manuscripts in Greek, to have a catalogue drawn, and the books to be for Oxford." These manuscripts from the Earl of Pembroke, it may be observed, had nearly passed into other custody, as appears by a letter from Archbishop Usher, dated Dublin, Jan. 22, 1628-9, to some nobleman, whose name is not preserved:

"My most honourable Lord,

"The noble respect, which in a singular manner you have still borne to the preservation of all monuments of antiquity, hath emboldened me at this time to put your lordship in mind of a present occasion, which may conduce to the general good of all us that employ our studies in this kind of learning. That famous library of *Giacomo Barocci*, a gentleman of Venice, consisting of 242 Greek manuscript volumes,[4] is now brought into England by Mr. Fetherstone, the stationer. Great pity it were, that such a treasure should be dissipated, and the books dispersed into private hands. If, by your lordship's mediation, the king's majesty might be induced to take them into his own hand, and add thereunto that rare collection of Arabic

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[2] Memoirs, ed. 1702, p. 62. [3] His Diary, published in 1695, p. 44.

[4] They are in number 242, in the Catalog. MSS. Angl. et Hib. 1697, p. 34, with the following additions:—

No. 243. Catalogus Librorum præcedentium per Petrum Turnerum.

No. 244. Catalogus alter alphabeticus per Edmundum Chilmeadum.

No. 245. Liber palmeus linguâ *Malabaricâ* stylo ferreo scriptus.

No. 246. Liber palmeus linguâ *Brachmanum* apothecâ inclusus.

manuscripts,[5] which my Lord Duke of Buckingham purchased from the heirs of Erpenius, it would make his majesty's a royal library indeed; and make some recompense of that incomparable loss, which we have lately sustained in the library of Heidelberg."[6]

Dr. Bainbridge, of Oxford, not long afterwards informed the primate of Ireland, that to the Bodleian Library the *Barocci* manuscripts had been consigned. " I suppose," he says, " that Fetherstone did send you a catalogue of *Baroccius* his manuscripts: they be now prisoners in our publick library, by the gift of our chancellor (Lord Pembroke); and with them[7] some few more given by Sir Thomas Roe; amongst which there is, as I take it, a fair[8] copy in Arabick of the Apostles' Canons."[9]

In the following year, Laud, himself then chancellor of the University of Oxford, wrote to Usher upon many important circumstances; at the close of which he refers to these celebrated volumes of Barocci; and, at the same time, appears in negotiation for other monuments of antiquity, which, at subsequent periods, he largely purchased, gold and silver and copper coins. " My honourable predecessor (Lord Pembroke) enriched his name," he says, " by the Greek manuscripts he gave; and it gives me much content that I was the means of it. And now for the bargain which you mention of ancient coins, to the number of 5500, I cannot upon the sudden say any thing; for my own purse is too shallow, and my lords the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Pembroke are dead. You say they are a great bargain at 600*l.*: I pray, therefore, if you have so much interest in the seller, send me word, as soon as you can, how many ounces the gold coin comes unto, and how many the silver; and then I shall be able to judge of the copper. And then, upon my return to those your letters, I will give you answer where I can find any

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[5] This collection is now in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge. See the Catalog. MSS. Angl. et Hib. P. III. p. 173, et seq.

[6] Dr. Parr's Life and Letters of Abp. Usher, &c. 1686, p. 400.

[7] They are 26 Greek manuscripts, 1 Hebrew, 1 Arabic, and 1 Latin. Catalog. MSS. Angl. et Hib. p. 35, et seq.

[8] It is thus described:—" Liber Arabicus grandis, in quo habentur *Apostolorum et Conciliorum Canones* cum Epistolis Patrum Canonicis." " Constitutiones Imp. Justiniani," &c. Catalog. MSS. p. 37.

[9] Dr. Parr's Life and Lett. ut supr. p. 411.

noble spirit that will deal for them or no."[10] They were probably bought by Laud himself, and might form part of the collection of coins, which, in 1636, we shall find he presented to the University of Oxford.

He had no sooner been admitted to the chancellorship than he professed it to be his duty to reform the University, "which was extremely sunk from all discipline, and fallen into all licentiousness."[11] To this end he considered the reducing of the statutes into order and form, with the addition of some new ones, as absolutely necessary. To the design he resolutely adhered, and happily accomplished it; congratulating himself, as he proceeded, "that God had given him strength and ability to do this service for his ancient mother, the University, whom he had ever so much honoured, and was still ready to serve."[12] In the thanks from the University upon this occasion, it was elegantly said of him, "Immisisti enim conjuncta stimulis lora, libertatibus leges, et utrasque tam suavi internexas moderamine, ut fiant privilegia pretium obedientiæ, et statuta licentiæ frænum."[13]

In his first letter to the Convocation at Oxford, as chancellor, he communicated to them, what he had obtained from the king, the annexation of a canonry of Christ Church to the regius professorship of Hebrew. "And now," he says, "as that place is so enriched and honoured, I hope you will take care that the reader (or professor) thereof, as well as the rest, do the duty of his place; for the study[14] of that language is too much neglected, and not without the great prejudice both of the University and the church."[15]

In the next year (1631), he proceeded upon adding a quadrangle to the college in which he had been educated. In June, his memorandum is: "My business, &c. about the trees, which the king had given me in Shotover, towards my building at St. John's, which work I resolved on in November last, and published it to the college about the end of March."[16] This quadrangle was begun in July 1631, from a design of Inigo Jones; and was com-

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[10] Dr. Parr's Life and Lett. of Usher, &c. ut supr. p. 449.

[11] Hist. of his Chancellorship of Oxford, p. 7, et seq.

[12] Ibid. p. 72. [13] Ibid. p. 96.

[14] Heylin says, in his Life of Laud, that, "by means of this encouragement from the archbishop, the Hebrew and Chaldaic tongues, which few in Oxford understood when I first came thither, became to be so generally embraced, and so cheerfully studied, that it received a wonderful proficiency," &c. p. 299.

[15] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 11. [16] His Diary, p. 46.

pleted in 1636, as Laud himself tells us, who also appears to have intended recording what it cost him; but upon second thoughts to have suppressed that information.[17] This house of learning is also deeply indebted to him for his improvement of their library, for a great number of books and manuscripts,[18] for a part of its ecclesiastical patronage, and for his bequest of 500*l.*

Ever upon the watch for the interests of learning, he writes, in 1632-3, a very earnest letter to the convocation of his University upon the subject of a patent for printing, "in order," he says, "that they might enjoy this privilege for learning equally with Cambridge; and that, having many excellent manuscripts in their library, they might in time thereby be encouraged to publish some of them in print, to the great honour of that place, this Church, and kingdom."[19] He secured this privilege; and subsequently he congratulated them with increasing zeal for the cause, and further encouragement to their duty. "You are now," he urges, "upon a very good way toward the setting up of a learned press; and I like your proposal well to keep your *matrices*, and your *letters*, you have gotten safe; and, in the mean time, to provide all other necessaries, that so you may be ready for that work. For since it hath pleased God so to bless me, as that I have procured you both privilege and means for that work, I should be very glad to see it begun in my own life-time, if it might be. And because the beginning of such a work will be very difficult, as also the procuring of a sufficient composer and corrector for the eastern languages, you have done exceeding well to think of him at Leyden, and to get him over upon as good terms as you can; and to give him an annual pension in the mean time, that he may not be tempted from your service. So God speed you."[20]

About this time the king's printers had committed a scandalous mistake in their impression of the English Bible, leaving out the word *not* in the seventh commandment. The king being made acquainted with it by Laud, an order was given for bringing the printers before the high commission; and for the fault, a fine of 300*l.* was the punishment, while the whole im-

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[17] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 98.

[18] See the Catalog. MSS. Angl. et Hib. P. II. p. 59, et seq. "Constat codicibus CXCIX., *quorum plerosque donavit* illustrissimus dominus Gul. Laud," &c.

[19] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 58.

[20] Ibid. p. 130.

pression was also called in. To the promotion of sound learning and true religion, Laud applied a considerable part, if not the whole, of this fine, sanctioned by his majesty's letter, which, with his own address to the printers, he caused to be transferred into his Register, and to be copied into another volume of his manuscripts, now in the library at Lambeth Palace. They are as follows; the king's letter, I should premise, being printed by Collier in the Appendix to his Ecclesiastical History, but not accurately, nor with the introductory letter of Laud himself:—

"S. IN CHRISTO.

"After my harty comendacons, etc.

"These are to lett you knowe that his Matie takes speciall care of furnishinge a Greeke presse, that such of his subjects as are learned in that language, may have meanes to sett forth such manuscripts as are in his Majesties library, or in either of his Universities: a thinge greatly tendinge to the honor of the kingdome and the good of the Church. *And because you have been faulty in the English print with which you are trusted, his Majestie is resolved your fyne shall be converted to buy matrices and letters, &c. for the Greeke.* And further, because the patent, which you hold under him by his gracious favour, is a thinge of great profitt to you, he expects that you, and all that succeed you, in the enjoying of that or the like patent for the presse, shall at your owne and your successors' proper costs and charges, print, or cause to be printed, one volume every yeare, of what bigness soever it be, in Greeke, or Greeke and Latine, if the reverend Father in God, Augustin, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, or Mr. Patrick Young, his Majesties library-keeper, or any other of his Majesties learned subjectes, provide it, and make it ready for the presse; as you will see more particularly, and at large, by his Majesties letters themselves directed unto me; which here followe, in these wordes:—

"'Most Reverend Father in God, right trustie and right entirely beloved Counsellour, we greet you well. Whereas our servant, Patrick Younge, keeper of our library, hath lately, with great industrie and care,[21] published

[21] It was published at Oxford in 1633, with a dedication to the king. The preface is dated in November 1632; and therein the history of the manuscript is thus related: — "Cyrillus qui

in print an Epistle of Clemens Romanus in Greeke and Latine, which was never printed before, and hath done this to the benefitt of the Church and our great honor, the manuscript by which hè printed it beinge in our library; and whereas we further understand, that the Right Reverend Father in God, Augustin, now Bishop of Peterborough, and our said servant Patrick Younge, are resolved to make ready for the presse one or more Greeke copies, every yeare, by such manuscripts as are either in our library, or in the libraries of our Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or elsewhere, if there were Greek letters, matrices, and money ready for the worke; which paynes of theirs will tend to the great honor of our selfe, this Church, and nation; we have thought good to give them all possible[22] encouragement herein, and doe therefore, first, require you that *the fine lately imposed by our high commissioners upon Robert Barker and Martin Lucas, for base and corrupt printing of the Bible, beinge the sum of three hundred pounds,* be converted to the present buyinge of such and so many Greeke letters and matrices, as shall be by you thought fitt for this great and honourable worke. And our further will and pleasure is, that the said Robert Barker and Martin Lucas, or patentees for printing which either now are [or] shall hereafter succeed them, being great gayners by that patent which they hold under us, shall, att their owne proper costs and charges of inck, paper, and workmanshipp, print or cause to be printed in Greeke, or Greeke and Latin, one such volume in a yeare, be it bigger or lesse, as the Right Rev. Father aforesaid,

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hodiè Constantinopoli patriarchatum obtinet, vir pietate et eruditione insignis, cùm sedem Alexandrinam relinqueret, magnam librorum supellectilem secum advexit; inter quos codicem omnium vetustissimum, et longè pretiosissimum, (in quo Veteris et Novi Fœderis libri literis grandioribus manu Theclæ nobilis fœminæ Ægyptiæ, circa Primi Concilii Nicæni tempora, bellissimè exarati sunt,) per ornatissimum et cl. virum dominum Thomam Roe equitem auratum, et apud Turcarum Imp. sere^mi^ Regis nostri oratorem, cùm ex oriente rediret, dono ad ser^mum^ Regem nostrum transmisit. Ad calcem venerandi hujus codicis, et *κειμηλίω τιμαλφεστάτω, in membranis laceris adjecta erat Clementis ad Corinthios Epistola, eâdem manu scripta, quam nunc bono publico in lucem damus.*" The Alexandrine MS., it is well known, is now in the British Museum.

[22] Dr. Augustin Lindsell, the Bishop of Peterborough here distinguished, is said by Heylin to have been a very solid divine, and a learned linguist; and that to him the Christian world remains indebted for *Theophylact's Comment on the Epistles,* and the *Catena upon Job,* published by him in Greek and Latin. See Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 215. Wood says, that Young published the *Catena Græcorum Patrum in librum Job.* Perhaps this publication was a joint performance.

or our servant Patrick Younge, or any other of our learned subjects, shall provide and make ready for the presse; and shall print such a number of each copy as yourselfe, or your successors for the time beinge, shall thinke fitt. And all this they shall performe, whether the said copies be to be printed in London, Oxford, or Cambridge, which shall be left free to their judgment and desier whose paynes prepare the copy or copies for the presse. And last of all, our further will and pleasure is, that the aforesaid patentees do, without delay, procure such and so many matrices and letters as aforesaid, that no hinderance be putt upon the worke; and that they be att all the charge of printing in the mean time with such letters as are already in the kingdome; of all which, or any other necessary circumstance for the furtherance of this worke, we shall not faile to call for a strict accompt from you, and therefore doe look that you call for as strict a one from them. *Provided always that it shall be, and remayne, in your power to mitigate their fine aforesaid, accordinge as you shall see their diligence and care for the advancinge of this worke.* Given under our signett att our Pallace of Westm^r^ the thirteenth day of January, in the nynth year of our reigne.'

"I doubt not but that havinge taken this his Majesties most gracious letters into your due and dutiful consideracon, you will apply yourselves with all care and diligence to give his Majestie all satisfaction herein, in which I assure you his Majesty will not be pleased with any delay, knowinge that there will be a copy ready for the presse before you can be ready with letters and other thinges necessary. These are, therefore, to pray you, that you presently furnish yourselves with all thinges necessary, especially matrices and letters of all sorts for the worke aforesaid, that I may be able to give his Majestie such an accompt as he professes he will require of me; and that you give me your answer in writing what obedience you will yield to these his Majesties directions, of which I pray you not to fayle. So I bidd you farewell, and rest

"Your lovinge Ffreind, W. CANT."[23]

"*Lambeth, Jan.* 18, 1633."

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[21] Regist. Laud, vol. i. fol. 194. b.; and Lambeth MSS. No. 943, p. 299, et seq. In the margin, "His Grace's letters to Mr. Barker and Mr. Lucas, printers, signifying his Matie's^ pleasure about a Greeke presse."

The printers returned their answer on the 27th of January following, that they were ready to provide all things necessary for the employment thus assigned to them.

In the succeeding month similar attention was shewn in the cause of Oriental learning; and the following letter of the King, dictated, no doubt, by Laud, was sent to the Turkey merchants:—

"We have of late taken into our princely care how to furnish the Greeke presse within our kingdome, &c. With the consideration of this concerning the Greeke, we took into our care also a great difficulty, which yet we conceive may be well mastered if it be providently looked into. There is a great deal of learning, and that very fitt and necessary to be known, that is written in *Arabick;* and there is a great defect in both our Universities, very few spending their time to attain *that, or any other of the eastern languages;* which we impute not so much to the fault of the students there, as partly to the great scarcity and want of *Arabick* and *Persian* books, on which they might spend their pains, and partly to their lack both of opportunity and means to provide and furnish themselves with such books: while we took this into our royal consideration, and withal how useful and necessary the knowledge of those languages would be for our subjects, we could not but think and advise which way some better store of *Arabick* and *Persian* books might be gotten and brought to us. After a long deliberation, we could not find any way so good, and likely to be successful, as the employing your service which trade thereabouts. And because we would do it with little or no burden at all unto you, we have thought of this course, which we pray and command you to follow carefully, and with effect; namely, *that every ship of yours, at every voyage that it makes, should bring home one Arabick or Persian manuscript book, to be delivered presently to the master of the company, and by him sent or carried to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being,* who shall dispose of them as we in our wisdom shall think fitt. And we doubt not but you will be carefull at all times readily to perform this service, which so much tends to our own honour, the advancement of learning, and the good of our people; the value of one book being not a considerable thing. And always provided, that they bring any other books besides the *Alcorans,* because we have choice of them

already. Given under our signet, &c. the —— day of Feb^{y}, in the ninth year of our reign."[24]

We may thus account, in part, for the great number of Oriental manuscripts[25] which Laud acquired, and afterwards presented to the Bodleian Library, of which I shall have occasion again to speak.

Few months after this elapsed, ere we see the industrious and liberal prelate again in the exercise of his zeal for learning. "That which I know will be very beneficial to you," he says in a letter to the Convocation of his University, dated December 19, 1634, "is a parcel of manuscripts which I have obtained for your library, from a very learned and noble gentleman, Sir Kenelm Digby: their number is 235,[26] or thereabouts. Concerning the manuscripts, I am to give two advertisements of the donor's will and pleasure, which I must and do pray you to settle in this present Convocation. The one is, that he will not subject these manuscripts to the strictness of Sir Thomas Bodley's statute, but will have liberty given for any man of worth, that will be at the pains and charge to print any of these books, to have them out of the library, upon good caution given, and to that purpose and no other. The second is, that he will reserve liberty to himself, during his natural life, to borrow any of these books out of the library for his own private use, whensoever he shall ask them. And both of us desire the books may be put into the library with these two cautions expressly mentioned."[27]

But the following year brings with it his own most splendid benefaction to the University. In his letter to the Convocation, dated May 22, 1635, he thus modestly details it:—"Mitto autem nec tot, nec tales (libros manuscriptos), ut vestris studiis dignos existimem, sed quales amor meus, et erga communem matrem pietas, parare potuerunt: mitto tamen, ut per cato-

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[24] Regist. Laud, vol. i. fol. 196; and Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 761.

[25] See the catalogue of them, which the very learned Oriental scholar Dr. Thomas Hyde assisted in forming. Catal. MSS. Angl. et Hib. p. 46, et seq. The inscription over the whole of Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian informs us, that they are *Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Egyptian, Ethiopian, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Saxon, English, and Irish.*

[26] Their number is 238. Catalog. MSS. Angl. et Hib. p. 77.

[27] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 74.

logum, quem unà misi, constabit, *Hebraica volumina manuscripta quatuordecim, Arabica quinquaginta quinque, Persica septindecim, Turcica quatuor, Russica sex, Armenica duo, Chinensia duodecim, Græca quadraginta quatuor, Italica tria, Gallica totidem, Anglicana quadraginta sex, Latina supra bis centum, præter alia quadraginta sex, sed recentiora, et è Collegio Herbipolensi in Germaniâ tempore belli Suecici desumpta.*"[28]

Then follows the condition to be observed concerning these volumes:— "Hos libros, amoris mei testes, vestræ fidei committo, in Bibliothecâ reponendos, hac conditione, *ut nunquam inde extrahantur, vel mutuò cuipiam dentur sub quoque prætextu, nisi solùm ut typis mandentur, et sic publici juris et utilitatis fiant; nec tamen illum in finem, nisi datâ prius cautione à vicecancellario et procuratoribus approbandâ, et ut statim à prælo locis suis in Bibliothecâ prædictâ restituantur;* ut cautio istæc libros hosce à furibus, et conditio ista eosdem à blattis tineisque tutos conservare possit, quibus aliter præda futuri sunt, dum suo pulvere situque sepulti jaceant. *Siqui alii libri similes, aut meliores, ad meas fortè manus pervenerint, eos etiam ad vos mittendos curabo, sub eâdem conditione, et eodem loco figendos.*" Such, we shall find, he soon afterwards sent.

Meantime, before the close of the year in which he had thus endeared his name to Oxford, and the whole world of letters, he[29] obtained the annexation also of another canonry of Christ Church to the office of the Public Orator; which was enjoyed first by Strode, whom Wood describes as an exquisite orator, an eminent poet, and chaplain to Bishop Richard Corbet,[30] himself a poet and a man of wit; next by the learned and pious Dr. Henry Hammond; and then by Mr. Edward Corbet and Mr. Button, both of Merton College;

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[28] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 79. [29] Ibid. p. 85.

[30] Corbet was one of Usher's friends; and while he was vicar of Cassington, near Oxford, invited the great prelate to dinner in the following humorous address, which I believe has never been published. Usher was then on a visit at Oxford:—

"Reverendissime pater, præsulum optime, doctissime, clarissime.

"Die Jovis proximo paramus prandium, si amplitudinem vestram respicias, non satis amplum; sed quale vovere magis possumus quàm ostendere. Invenies quod afficiat potius, quàm reficiat; et multò lautius animorum quàm patinarum convivium. Apponetur mensa facilis omninò, et parabilis; nec convivæ gravis, nec emptori; cujus pars delicatissima illa erit quæ latet,

after whom, as Wood relates it, "the pious act of Laud was annulled by pretended authority, and now such a thing seems totally to be forgotten among us."

The archbishop now resolved to establish a public lecture for the encouragement of Arabic learning, which he tells us, under the year 1636, *he founded for his own time, "having not means to make it perpetual, in hope that by charity it might grow into perpetuity;* and appointed Mr. Edward Pocock, of Corpus Christi College, the reader of the lecture, with a stipend of 40*l.* per annum."[31] *What he hoped for by charity, his own purse, however, soon effected.* With the design of the lecture the archbishop had acquainted Pocock,[32] then at Aleppo, by letter; and, in consequence, the celebrated orientalist hastened home to undertake the employment. Accordingly the first lecture was read, Aug. 10, 1636.[33] In the following year, the desire of Pocock once more to visit the East was encouraged by Laud,[34] with the continuance of his stipend; and, in July, 1637, Mr. Thomas Greaves began to read the lecture as his deputy; a man of great piety, a master in Oriental learning, and honoured with the confidence of Laud. Pocock returned to witness the further zeal of the archbishop in behalf of Arabic literature. But before this is detailed, the correspondence of Laud with this learned person may be noticed, in regard to other important services; as, when Laud desires him to buy for him such ancient Greek coins, and such manuscripts, either in Greek or the Oriental languages, as in his judgment would best befit an university library;[35] and when, by the advice of Archbishop Usher, he directs him to a particular object, "the primate being persuaded," he says, "that the Patriarch Cyril can procure Clemens Alexandrinus's Hypotyposes. It were wonderful well worth getting, if it might be had. But, for my own part,

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et non apponitur. Poteris fortasse accuratiùs apud multos accipi; nusquam simpliciùs, nusquam incautiùs. In cibo et consortio tuta omnia, et orthodoxa, experiere; in cibo, nil quod nauseam pariat; in consortio, quod oleat Jesuitam.

"Amplitudini vestræ deditissimus,

"*Cassington, die Julii novissimo.* "Rich. Corbett."

Lambeth MSS. No. 596. p. 93.

[31] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 101.

[32] Dr. Twells's Life of Pocock, sect. 1.

[33] Ibid.; and Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 299.

[34] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 136.

[35] Dr. Twells, ut supra.

I do not think the patriarch hath it. Yet you may try and hearken after it, that I may be able to give the primate the better satisfaction. The primate writes farther to me, that Greece having been often gleaned, *the likeliest way left for good Greek manuscripts is, for you to strike over from the place where you are to Natolia, and see what that and Mount Athos will afford you, whilst you are so near them;* which yet I must leave to your own conveniences."[36] The unfortunate end of Cyril, however, prevented the application for the work of Clemens; and the Greek books at Mount Athos Pocock saw indeed, although his collections appear not to have been thence enriched. But to his researches elsewhere Laud was greatly indebted; and when Pocock afterwards visited him in the Tower, his grace thanked him for his exertions in procuring him so many curious manuscripts from the East, and for the valuable information which he had often sent him thence.[37] And in the year preceding this melancholy interview, the archbishop acquainted him, that he was then going to settle his Arabic lecture for ever upon the University, "*and would have his name in the deed, which was the best honour he could do for the service.*"[38] He settled it in June 1640,[39] without the aid of any kindred spirit, endowing it with lands; and the Laudian professorship of Arabic is still a proud distinction in the roll of Oxford honours. Whether the Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Armenian, Ethiopic, and other manuscripts given by the archbishop in 1635 and 1636, were any of them procured by Pocock, the biographer of the latter has not been able certainly to say. He found a letter from Laud to Pocock, dated in May 1634, in which he thanks him for Greek coins, but mentions no books. But there can be little doubt, that with the manuscripts of both the years in question the name of Pocock, as of Laud, must always be recorded. The collection of 1635 has been already noticed. That of 1636, according to Laud's own letter to the University, consists of *eighteen Hebrew manuscripts, fourteen Persian, fifty Arabic, one Armenian, two Ethiopic, one Chinese, twelve Greek, sixty-five Latin, twelve English, four French, two Irish.* "Quos omnes," he says, "non sine sumptu intra anni proximè elapsi spatium congessi, et nunc in Bibliothecam Bodleianam reponendos mitto. Socios, non diffiteor, agnoscent suos."[40] The use of these he subjected to the same rules as those in his donation of 1635.

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[36] Dr. Twell's Life of Pocock, sect. 2.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 198.
[40] Ibid. p. 94.

With the present benefaction he sent an astrolabe, which Selden had given him, and a portrait also of the king.

And now he made his valuable present of coins. "Nummi," he continues, "mihi novi sunt. Eâ in re Sancto Petro ferè æqualis sum. *Numismata tamen quædam diuturnâ sollicitudine conquisivi.* Acervum nolui vobis mittere; sic enim usui nulli sunt, nisi videre, et numerare ad studiosos pertinent. Redegi itaque omnia, quæ paravi in seriem, eamque doctrinalem; ut, per eandem, ordinem sæculorum et temporum possitis uno quasi intuitu aspicere; et per reversa, ut vocantur, maximas quasque imperatorum actiones, et temporum vices, et accidentia rerum publicarum planiùs videre; et per ea difficiliora quædam historicorum loca meliùs intelligere, et quandoque de historiarum varietate etiam in rebus cognitu necessariis judicare possitis."[41] His distribution of these coins and medals into cells and classes then follows; to which are subjoined the rules for the use of them. From Dr. Barcham, dean of Bocking, a noted antiquary, especially in the knowledge of coins (as Wood calls him), and possessing a fine collection of them, the archbishop afterwards obtained a noble addition to these monuments of antiquity at Oxford. And to these benefactions he afterwards added a catalogue, entitled *Elenchus Numismatum.*[42] But it has been said to be imperfect, containing only a description of the Greek coins, and that not without mistakes; and it is supposed that another catalogue of the whole was made by Mr. John Greaves,[43] of Merton College, a distinguished scholar and traveller, who had been very inquisitive in his searches into the subject, and had made many curious observations upon ancient medals. From Laud in the Tower, still mindful, amidst his sufferings, of literary service, an acknowledgment was sent to this gentleman, dated June 13, 1641:

"I see you have taken a great deal of care about the coins I sent to the University. And I hope, as you have seen the last I sent, with others, placed in the several cells respectively; so you have also seen their names written into the booke, that both may be perfect and agree together. For the placing of them, I leave that wholly to the University, whose they now are; yet

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[41] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 94.

[42] In 1639, when he sent to the University more MSS. Hist. of his Chanc. p. 179.

[43] Ward's Hist. of Gresham Coll. Professors, &c. p. 143.

I must needs approve of the way of placing them, which you have thought on, &c.

" Your unfortunate poor friend,

" W. CANT."[44]

From this attention to numismatics, we return to the archbishop's care of the press and its productions. In 1636-7, he received from the vice-chancellor of the University an account of an agreement with the Company of Stationers, in regard to certain books which were to be printed, and a reservation to the University of two hundred pounds per annum. To this intelligence, he replied, " I shall require this of you, and your successors, *that this money, which you yearly receive, may be kept safe, as a stock apart, and put to no other use than the settling of a learned press.*"[45] Of a very dishonourable practice at the press the archbishop had soon afterwards occasion to take notice. " Dr. Potter writes me word," he tells the vice-chancellor, " that Knott[46] is now in Oxford (I would you could lay hold of him), and hath the sheets of Chillingworth's book from the press, as they are done; and that he pays five shillings for every sheet, and that you are acquainted with this rumour. I pray be very careful in this; *for I know the Jesuits are very cunning at these tricks.* But if you have no more hold of your printers, than that the press must thus lie open to their corruption, I shall take a sourer course than perhaps is expected. For though perhaps they go so cunningly to work, as that I shall not be able to make a legal proof of this foul misdemeanour; yet [if] I find that Knott makes a more speedy answer than is otherwise possible, without such seeing of the sheets, I shall take that for proof enough, and proceed to discommission your printer and suppress his press."[47]

In order to the encouragement of a learned press, we find the archbishop, in 1637, proposing to the University, that bachelors of arts, " well-grounded and towardly to serve that press as composers, might be yeomen-bedels; and that they, who might thus do good service, should after be preferred

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[44] Hearne's Curious Discourses, p. 298, cited by Ward, Gresham Prof. p. 143.

[45] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 126.

[46] The Jesuit Matthias Wilson assumed the name of Edward Knott. See Des Maizeaux's Life of Chillingworth, p. 44.

[47] Ibid. p. 141.

to be esquire-bedels; *and so that press would ever train up able men for itself.*"[48]

In the following year, the archbishop expresses his gratification at the success with which his care for academical examinations was attended. "I see good effects already of that statute, which hath been most cried down by those from whom I least expected it, the statute *de examinandis candidatis;* and promise myself much more hereafter. I was present at one examination, and was glad to hear both the regents examine so sufficiently and discreetly, and the candidates [answer] so ably and readily."[49] He was soon afterwards informed by Dr. Baylie, that what he enjoined "gave life to the private pains of tutors, and the public pains of readers; making the auditors diligent, &c. Your grace in this one course hath completed all that the founders of colleges and lectures intended. They intended the means to make men scholars: *your grace applieth this means, and effecteth it.*"[50] About the same time, the archbishop wrote to the vice-chancellor to be careful, that the University, "*now advancing in learning,* might not sink in manners, which would shame and destroy all;"[51] and, having been informed of "extreme liberty given and taken by young noblemen and gentlemen of the better sort," he insists upon their conformity to the discipline enacted for the good of all; "that they should be carefully held to all manner of exercise, which they are able to perform, as any other whatever; that they should be kept in obedience to all the statutes within the several colleges respectively, and to the statutes of the University; and that the difference he would allow between the sons of noblemen and others of meaner condition, should be in an honourable usage of them, not in giving them any liberty at their own hurt and the dishonour of the University."[52]

We are now advanced into the year 1639, in which his literary bounty almost equals the whole of his various and most important gifts at former periods. "June 28. — I sent," he says, "the remainder of my manuscripts to Oxford, being in number 576. I had formerly sent them above 700 volumes."[53] Of these, *sixteen are Hebrew and Syriac, fifty-five Arabic, fifteen*

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[48] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 132. [49] Ibid. p. 170. [50] Ibid. p. 187.

[51] Ibid. p. 189. [52] Ibid. p. 192.

[53] His Diary, p. 56. Heylin, in his Life of the Archbishop, notices, with the present benefaction, the place prepared for the reception of it by Laud: "He erected a stately and most

Persian, twenty-six Greek, four hundred and thirty-nine Latin, three French, three Italian, twelve English and Saxon, three German, one Chinese, and one Armenian. With these were sent two printed volumes (which complete the number recorded in the archbishop's diary), of which the title is *Libertates Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ;* describing which, he says, "In priori tomo sunt Libertates istæ; in posteriori Probationes earundem per certa et antiquissima regni illius munimenta. *Opus in regno illo revocatum scio, et per quosdam ibi episcopos in gratiam Romanæ sedis condemnatum,* connivente interim, aut non publicè renuente, Cardinali Riorlejo: *sed eò magis curiosiusque servandum in Bibliothecis Reformatarum Ecclesiarum:* et hæc causa est, cur unà cum MSS. hunc librum (duobus tomis) misi, nescio an unquam iterum typis mandandum."[54] For some of the Latin MSS. the archbishop acknowledges that he had been obliged to the Earl of Arundel.

In this year, Laud had received from Hugh Menard, a Benedictine of the congregation of St. Maur, his Annotations upon the Epistle ascribed to St. Barnabas, which he intended to publish, with a dedication to the archbishop; which, however, appeared not till after the death of both.[55] The original answer to this address from the archbishop is preserved in the library of Sion College, and a copy of it exists among the manuscripts in Lambeth palace, made by the hand of Archbishop Sancroft.[56] His observations in it are friendly and forcible. "Gratæ fuerunt mihi valdè literæ tuæ," he says, "quas unà cum Epistolâ (ut dicitur) Barnabæ, et lucubrationibus tuis annexis, accepi. Benevolentia vestra erga me, nescio unde orta, pergrata est. Is tamen non sum qui illud ausim in me suscipere, quod et in literis privatis et præcipuè in epistolâ dedicatoriâ ascribis, et calamo (ut mihi videtur) uberiori quàm par

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elegant pile at the west end of the Divinity School and Public Library; the lower part whereof was fitted for the convocations, &c. *The upper part he trimmed with all the curiosities of art and cost, to serve as a repository for learned writings, &c.*" p. 379.

[54] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 178.

[55] "Anno 1645, opus (edit. Barnab. Epist.) ab Hugone Menardo, monacho congregationis S. Mauri, annotationibus eruditis illustratum, curâ confratris Lucæ Dacherii, *Menardo morte prærepto,* in lucem Parisiis prodiit." Barnab. Epist. ed. Oxon. 1685. Præf. p. 2.

[56] No. 577, p. 41. In the Catalogue of the MSS. Angl. et Hib. tom. ii. p. 107, the archbishop's letter is described as if addressed to G. Vossius; and I have heard it mentioned as if addressed also to Archbishop Usher, because they were both concerned in an edition of this Epistle; but, as Sancroft states it, the letter is certainly to Menard.

est.—Ad annotationes vestras quod attinet, doctas quidèm et eruditas, quia vis (sic enim scribis) ut aliquid meorum admisceam, loquar eâdem libertate quam ipse tibi vindicas. Quædam explicanda, quædam corrigenda sunt, sive critica spectes, sive theologica. Quin et properante calamo aliquid excidit, quod hìc apud nos viri doctiores non nimis approbant, ne quid gravius dicam.—Alia fortè sunt limatiùs adhuc perpendenda. Sed et alia etiam me ab altiori de hâc re consideratione, et à libris ipsis et eorum usu, penitùs avocârunt. Hæc tamen summatim, negotiis licèt penè obrutus, scribere in animum induxi, ne benevolentia vestra in ingratum tibi videatur incidisse. Breviter itaque hæc velim, ut aut ipse accuratiori filo rem omnem perpenderes, et in hunc finem, si placet, chartulas tuas remittam per manus honoratissimi viri Dñi Scudamore, nuperrimè ad Regem Christianissimum legati, qui eas mihi tradidit: aut, si visum fuerit, chirographum à te expectabo, quo opus hoc mihi vel capellanis meis summittas, ut quædam vel refigantur, vel addantur, priusquam in lucem prodeat." It is probable that Menard profited by the criticism of the archbishop.

The days unpropitious to sound learning were now at hand. Yet the activity of Laud in behalf of it was unsubdued. "Non datur scribendi otium," he feelingly says, in a letter to the University, with more manuscripts, dated Nov. 6, 1640, "hoc tamen quale quale est arripio lubens, ut pauca ad vos transmittam. Tempora adsunt plusquam difficillima, &c. Dum sic fluctuant omnia, statui apud me in tuto (id est, apud vos spero) manuscripta quædam temporum priorum monumenta deponere. Pauca sunt, sed prioribus similia, si non æqualia: *et talia, quæ, non obstantibus temporum difficultatibus, in usum vestrum parare non destiti.* Sunt verò inter hæc *Hebraica sex; Græca undecim; Arabica triginta quatuor; Latina viginti et unum; Italica duo; Anglicana totidem; Persica quinque, quorum unum, folio digestum ampliori, historiam continet ab orbe condito ad finem imperii Sarracenici, et est procul-dubio magni valoris.*"[57]

We now approach the close of all his labours. Confined in the Tower, he made on the 22d of June, 1641, a resignation of his authority as chancellor of the University of Oxford, which he sent to the vice-chancellor, and the rest of the Convocation, on the 25th; together with a letter,[58] of which a

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[57] Hist. of his Chanc. p. 213.

[58] Wood, Fasti Oxon. ann. 1641.

copy has been given in an interesting publication.[59] In it he says: " This unfortunateness of my great affliction doth not trouble me for any one thing more, *than that I can be no further useful or beneficial to that place which I so much love and honour.*"

The archbishop was also chancellor of the University of Dublin; and to his zeal that University was indebted for a new charter and new statutes. These, too, were accompanied with a letter from the King in commendation of learning, and with reference to a former flourishing state of it in Ireland; a composition in the spirit, and doubtless from the pen, of Laud.[60] And to him the church of Ireland owes not only the gift of all the impropriations then remaining in the crown, but the introduction into it, either directly or eventually, of men who were the glory of their times.[61] By his means it was honoured with the learned primate, Archbishop Bramhall; for " he moved his majesty earnestly" in the first instance, and with success, " for Dr. Bramhall to succeed the Bishop of Derry."[62] He was also instrumental in placing Bedell, a man of eminent learning too, as well as piety, among the Irish prelates; although Burnet, the biographer of Bedell, has overpassed the fact. " I was, under God," Laud honestly observed to Bedell, " the man that put your name to his majesty for preferment."[63] And he " whose accomplishments through various kinds of literature it would be too great a task to pursue;" he who has been described as having " devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for an university, and wit enough for a college of virtuosi;"[64] he, the eloquent Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor, received from the discerning Laud his first encouragement to study, was preferred by his recommendation to a fellowship at All Souls' College, and was appointed his chaplain. And when we turn our view to the exercise of the archbishop's patronage in his own country, if it relates to the prelacy,

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[59] The Student, or Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany, 1751, vol. ii. pp. 145 et seq. Both the Wartons are said to have been contributors to this collection. I should observe, that Heylin cites *part* of a letter from the archbishop on the present business, dated June 28. The same transcript is in the Hist. of Laud's Chanc. p. ult. But Wood agrees with the letter now cited.

[60] Charter and Statutes of Dublin, ed. 1753, p. 24.

[61] His Diary, p. 68.

[62] Strafforde's Letters, &c. vol. i. p. 255.

[63] Ibid. p. 126.

[64] In the sermon preached at his funeral in the cathedral of Dromore, (for he had the administration of the see of Dromore, together with that of Down and Connor), by Dr. Rust, which was published in 1668.

we behold the mild and munificent Juxon, the humble and judicious Sanderson, through his means adorning it. If to political eminency we look, his kindness, we shall find, brought into notice the talents and attainments of Selden and of Whitlock. The study of antiquity, as well as the illustration of sound theology, flourished under his support in the labours of Heylin, and Twyne,[65] and Pocock; of Chillingworth and Hales; and of the celebrated foreigners, the elder Vossius and the younger Casaubon.[66] To these illustrious examples might be added the names of many, less known to fame, both of our own and other countries, whose literary diligence he was eager to notice, and happy to reward. "*Quis enim literatus,*" as already has been said, "*quem non promovit?*" And with such the biography of the seventeenth century abounds.[67]

His own learning was certainly extensive; and, as a theological controversialist, his book against the Jesuit Fisher bespeaks him matchless. His other publications are speeches, sermons, and prayers. Many of his letters are among those which are entitled *G. J. Vossii et clarorum Virorum ad eum Epistolæ;* in the *Cabala;* in the *Præstantium Virorum Epistolæ;* and in other books. His Diary, his History of his Troubles and Trial, his Accounts of his Province, and a tract or two, had been published by the learned Henry Wharton before the following wish had been recorded:—"Optandum tamen, ut *scripta plurima ipsius antistitis,* quæ scrinia privata adhuc occultant, tàm politica quàm theologica, hisce donis demum adderentur."[68] Afterwards a volume, indeed, was published, entitled his Remains; but it contained only his Answer to the Speech of Lord Say against the Bishops; his Speech at the Censure of Bastwick, Prynne, and Burton; and his Account of Transactions relating to the University of Oxford, while he was its chancellor. I have found him in print as a poet; in company too with Richard Hooker, Robert Burton, and John Hampden, presenting upon the occasion their

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[65] Brian Twyne was the first *Custos Archivorum* at Oxford, the office being founded in 1634, by the chancellor (Laud) and scholars of the University, after the statutes were completed. Wood, Ath. Ox. ii. p. 29.

[66] Both prebendaries of Canterbury, through the interest of Laud.

[67] See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. passim; Ward's Gresham's Professors; Twells's Life of Pocock; Vossii Epist. &c.

[68] Catalog. MSS. Angl. et Hib. p. 76.

metrical offerings.[69] Indeed, in the *Parallel between Wolsey and himself*, which was published in 1641, with a view to injure him, poetry forms a part of his literary character. "In their particular colleges," the author of the Parallel observes, "they were alike proficients; both as active of body as braine; serious at their private studies, and equally frequent in the schooles; eloquent orators, either to write, speake, or dictate; daintie disputants; well verst in philosophy, both morall, physicall, and metaphysicall, as also in the mathematicks; *and neither of them strangers to the Muses.*" Jealous, as it were, of any opposition to the progress of learning, the archbishop, I may add, after reporting to the King his punishment of a schoolmaster for refusing the oath of allegiance, facetiously adds, "Besides, this precise man will read nothing but divinity to his scholars; no, not so much as the grammar rules, *unless Mars, Bacchus, Apollo, and Pol, Ædepol, may be blotted out!*"[70]

It might be expected, that in Lambeth Palace numerous proofs of his literary munificence exist. But when the palace was subjected to military devastation, his entire private library of books and manuscripts was plundered, which is said to have happened in 1644. From these perhaps there would have been a selection, if the fury of civil war had not thus prevented it, for the archiepiscopal library. There are, however, among the manuscripts in this noble repository, three which bear his name; the first, a beautiful copy of *Gervasius, Monachus Dorobernensis, de Archiepiscopis Cantuar. cum continuatione Steph. Birchingtoni;*[71] the second, *A Collection of Records respecting the Rights and Privileges of the Clergy, transcribed and decorated with much elegance at his expense;*[72] the third, *a volume containing Papers and Letters illustrating political and ecclesiastical history, many of which are written with his own hand, and most of them indorsed by him.*[73] There are, besides, in this important volume[74] many papers relating to Chillingworth, and letters by Chillingworth himself, which (whatever hitherto has been copied or said of them) are worthy of the nicest examination.

But if we look for variety of information, whether in regard to characters, or events, or manners, of former days in our own country, we must turn to

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[69] In the Epithalamia, sive Lusus Palatini, &c. Oxon. 1613.

[70] Accounts of his Province, &c. 1637, p. 546.

[71] No. 303. Codex, sec. xv. [72] No. 323. [73] No. 943.

[74] From p. 857 to 935, b.

the manuscripts with which the archbishop has enriched the Bodleian Library. And he who will carefully examine the list of those which Laud himself gave, and which Sir Kenelm Digby through his means presented, may find, in the productions it records of our elder poets and historians, abundant invitations to the diligence and the gratification of minute inquiry. The lovers of literature, then, when they call to mind the services of the archbishop, which we have considered, will ever gratefully and with one accord acknowledge, that

> " in bestowing
> He was most princely."

XI. *On the Vitrified Forts of Scotland.* By the Rev. JOHN JAMIESON, D.D., R.A. R.S.L.

Read Feb. 21 and March 7, 1827.

SCOTLAND exhibits a species of ancient fortification, of which, as far as I can discover, there are no vestiges either in England or in Ireland; or, indeed, in any other country. These erections have, in our own time, been denominated Vitrified Forts; but the era of their formation so far transcends that of all genuine history, that it seems nearly to set fable itself at defiance. In regard to them, vulgar tradition has, in some parts of the country, betaken itself to its last resource — they were the habitations of giants, when giants were in the land.[1]

Since the attention of the public has been called to these forts, which was within the last fifty years, various theories have been formed concerning their origin; and some of these have been supported with a greater or less degree of ingenuity, and, even where there was a great deficiency of evidence, with no inconsiderable degree of pertinacity. In some instances, at least, they have undoubtedly been adopted rather hastily, on a passing survey, without sufficient opportunities of investigating facts, or the means necessary for doing so, and without a proper comparison of one fort with another. It may also be suspected, that, as too frequently happens even with scientific men, a particular theory has been formed in the mind, and obtained a firm footing there, before there has been any actual inspection; in consequence of which, all the facts afterwards discovered have been brought to the test of the favourite theory, instead of the theory itself being rigidly and impartially tried by the facts.

Four different hypotheses have been thrown out on this subject. It has been supposed that these forts have been formed by pouring some kind of liquid mortar between two walls of loose stones; or, that they are the

[1] Williams's Account of some remarkable Ancient Ruins in the Highlands, &c. p. 18.

remains of volcanoes;—that the vitrification has been the effect of accidental fire; or, that they have been intentionally vitrified.

The first of these theories will require little discussion. It was first published in the Edinburgh Magazine for September 1787, in a letter, as is believed, from the late George Dempster, Esq. of Dunnichen, M.P., who was not more distinguished by his patriotic spirit, than by his love of literature, and by his amiable qualities as a man. In this letter he gives an extract from a manuscript containing the "Genealogical History of the Earledom of Sutherland, by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, Baronet," written before the year 1630. This work has been since published at Edinburgh, 1813, from the original MS. in the possession of the Marchioness of Stafford. The following passages refer to the subject under consideration:—

"Doun-Creigh wes built with a strange kynd of mortor, by one Paull Machtyre. This I doe take to be a kind of vre;[2] howsoever, this is most certaine, that ther hath not been seen ane harder kynd of morter."—P. 8.

"Paul Mactire wes a man of great power and possessions. In his tyme he possessed the lands of Creich, in Sutherland, and built a house ther (called Doun-Creich) with such a kynd of hard morter, that at this day it cannot be knowne whereof it wes maid. As he wes building this hous and fortresse, he had intelligence that his onlie sone wes slain in Catteynes, in company with one Murthow Raewick, ane outlaw and valiant captane in these days; which maid him decist from further building, when he had almost finished the same. Ther are many things fabulouslie reported of this Paul Macktire among the wulgure people, which I do omitt to relate."—P. 37.

Sir Robert Gordon assigns this Mactyre to the thirteenth century. In the Statistical Account, it is said that he began this work in the twelfth.[3] But as Sir Robert acknowledges that "ther are many things *fabulouslie* reported of this Paul," there is every reason to view this as one of them—that he built Doun-Criegh. Being uncovered, like other erections of the same class, "the vulgar people" had found it necessary to discover a reason for its being left in this unfinished state. They have therefore connected the discontinuance of the work with the information he had received of the slaughter of his only son; a circumstance which would rather have insti-

[2] *i. e.* ore. [3] Stat. Acc. of Criech, viii. 373.

gated him to greater diligence, from the probability of his being, on this account, more exposed to personal danger. Had this mode of fortification been continued to so late an age, as the specimens of it would have been more numerous, the historical evidence respecting it would not have been confined to the solitary testimony of a family record. But "the vulgar" have done in this instance as in many others. The memory of Mactyre, floating on the current of local tradition, as having been "a man of great power and possessions," who, perhaps, on some occasion, had found it necessary to entrench himself in this fortress, which, from its jutting out into the Frith of Tain, promised greater security to a small body than any inland one, they had, in subsequent ages, ascribed the erection of it to one whose celebrity was so well known in that district; in the very same manner in which many places of strength, especially in the west and south of Scotland, have, without any hesitation, been ascribed by the vulgar to the celebrated Wallace, the intrepid assertor of the liberties of his country.

No stress whatever can be laid on the account here given of the mode of construction. Although this has a claim to be viewed as the earliest theory broached on the subject, it is merely that of a writer in the seventeenth century, and, in fact, nothing more than a vague conjecture; for, in one place he views the cohesive matter as metallic, and in another as a "kynd of hard morter;" fairly acknowledging that "at this day it cannot be known whereof it was maid."

The next theory, in point of time, is, that these forts must have had a *volcanic* origin. This idea, it would appear, was first thrown out by that amusing and ingenious traveller Pennant. Speaking of the more modern structure called the castle of Finhaven, he says: "Above the castle is the hill called the Castle Hill of Finehaven (*r.* Finhaven), a great eminence or ridge, with a vast and long hollow in the top. Along the edges are vast masses of stone, strongly cemented by a semi-vitrified substance, or *lava.* These masses seem of a ton weight; they were procured out of the hill, and placed as a defence to the place, it having been a British post. The form of the hill (which ends abrupt[ly] at one end, at the other is joined by an *isthmus* to the neighbouring land), together with the cavity in the middle, renders it extremely fit for the purpose. This isthmus is secured by a deep ditch, cut transversely.

"This hill is certainly the effect of a *volcano;* at the one end of the hollow are two holes of a funnel-shape, the *craters* of the place through which the matter had been ejected. One is sixty feet in diameter, and above thirty deep, and had been much deeper, but was from time to time made more shallow by the flinging in of stones, as cattle were sometimes lost in it.

"On both sides of the hill are found in digging great quantities of burnt earth, that serves all the purposes of tarras, or the famous *pulvis puteolanus* or *puzzolana,* so frequent in countries that abound with volcanoes, and so useful for all works that are to be under water."[4]

In the short statistical account given of this hill it is said: "At the foot of it, immediately south of the castle, there is the appearance of a crater of a volcano, and all around something that resembles *lava.*"[5]

Mr. Pennant has assumed that the two circular openings must have been *craters.* But it will appear to be fully as reasonable to suppose that they had been wells, when it is considered, that there is scarcely a hill, the summit of which has been chosen as the site of a fortification, where there is not at least one such crater; although, as at *Catterthun,* to be afterwards mentioned, not a single stone should bear a vestige of ignition — although there should not be another circumstance that could suggest to the most fervid imagination the idea of a volcano. Mr. Pennant would doubtless have formed the same conclusion with respect to Knockfarril in Ross-shire. But Mr. Williams, mineral engineer, having made a section quite through the ruins of this fort, "found two hollow places" within the area, "upon examination, to have been wells."[6] Mr. Pennant has mentioned, that one of the *craters* was from time to time "made more shallow, by the flinging in of stones, as cattle were sometimes lost in it." But here we have only part of the truth. When the whole is known, it must set this question at rest. The largest aperture, I am certainly informed, was actually, within the memory of man, a *well* containing water. When I first inspected this fort, the person was alive who had filled up the hollow with stones, "because his sheep were sometimes drowned in it."

That springs, nay rivers, burst forth from volcanic mountains, cannot be

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[4] Tour in Scotland, A. 1772, vol. iii. pp. 165, 166.

[5] Stat. Acc. vol. i. p. 466.

[6] Account, pp. 7, 8.

denied, as Mount Etna affords unquestionable proofs of this. It seems probable that water, as well as combustible matter, is necessary for the operation of subterraneous fire.[7] But in mountains of this description there are generally so many fissures, that the water seeks a way for itself; and it may perhaps be doubted, if any volcanic mountain has been discovered which contains a pit-well.

Had this been a volcano, as the vitrified substance surrounds the very margin of the precipice, it is inconceivable that part of the lava should not have flowed downwards, and that it should not have been found forming a crust on the sides, or bedded at the bottom, of the hill. But, notwithstanding the industry of the tenant in searching for vitrified matter in the places most adjacent to his farmstead, for the purpose of building dry-stone walls, no marks of vitrification have appeared, except in a few detached pieces that have evidently fallen, or been rolled down from the summit.

In regard to the "great quantities of burnt earth," asserted by Pennant to be found "on both sides of the hill," I can say nothing, having never heard of this discovery by any other channel of intelligence.

It has been argued, that as the natural stone of the hill is of the plum-pudding kind, it affords a strong presumption that there has formerly been a volcano here, because this species of stone exhibits undeniable evidence that its materials have been once in a state of fusion. That part of these have been once in a liquid state, cannot well be denied. But must it thence be inferred that this part has been fused by fire? It seems every way as consistent with reason and with fact, to suppose that this mass, in which stones of different qualities are bedded, has received its cohesion from the operation of water and fixed air, or by some other operation of nature. That stones are constantly in the progress of formation in this way, we have undoubted proof from caves and grottoes, and from the effects of petrifying springs. On the sea-shore we observe concrete masses of pebbles, shells, and sand, bearing a great resemblance to the plum-pudding stone; and it cannot be imagined that these have been cemented by the operation of fire. The very appearance of the stone in question precludes this notion; for, as subterraneous fire is so intense as to fuse the materials of the hardest rocks, as it is supposed that the more friable parts of the plum-pudding stone have thus been fused,

[7] Vid. Bishop Watson's Chemical Essays, vol. i. Ess. 5.

it is not easily conceivable that such small stones as are found in it, often not half an inch in diameter, should have resisted its operation.

At any rate, the argument that this must have been a volcano, from the nature of the stone of which this, and the hills adjoining, are composed, is fallacious; for it may be turned either way. It may be urged with equal force in support of the opposite system. The difficulty of conceiving how such a mass could be fused, by the application of external fire, has inclined some to the volcanic system, as affording an easier mode of solution. But it seems not to have been sufficiently adverted to, that, as this species of stone constitutes the principal part of the vitrified mass, its friable nature sufficiently accounts for its being more easily fused; while many of those stones, that are more solid, are bedded in this, without the appearance of having suffered much alteration from the action of fire.

The great resemblance of the vitrified substance to *lava* has also been urged as a proof that it had a volcanic origin. The resemblance, it must be acknowledged, is in some respects very striking. I have, however, compared specimens of *lava* from *Hecla* with pieces of vitrified matter from Finhaven, and some other forts, and remarked one considerable difference. The various parts of each mass of genuine *lava* exhibit such uniformity of appearance as to suggest the idea that they have been all equally in a state of fusion. This is by no means the case as to the vitrified matter of which these forts are composed. The only exception is in regard to one in the parish of Kingarth, Isle of Bute, denominated *Dun-gall,* or " the fortified hill of the strangers," which I examined an. 1797. Here, as far as I can recollect, the vitrification seemed pretty uniform. But one piece of the substance found on the hill of Finhaven, of five or six inches in diameter, presents as many different appearances.

But, although it should be ascertained that there is a perfect similarity between the vitrified matter of some forts and some kinds of *lava,* it will not follow that these have been volcanic; unless it can be proved that materials of the same kind will not assume the same appearance, in consequence of the external application of fire to a great degree, that they would have assumed had the fire been subterraneous. It is presumed, that the *scoriæ* of any stones, which have been completely in a state of fusion, will present the same appearance with some kinds of *lava.*

I have, perhaps, said more on this theory than it merits. But at first it

had many adherents; and this seems to have been partly owing to a singular coincidence. These forts were brought into notice only a few years before the publication of Dr. Hutton's Theory of the Earth, in which he endeavours to shew that fire is the chief agent in the formation of mountains; and indeed the great principle of operation in the material world. This system having been hailed by many learned men as a most important discovery in physics, it was natural enough for its votaries to lay hold on the external appearances with which their own country supplied them, as at least collateral proofs of the truth of a dogma espoused with so much ardour; especially as the idea of volcanic operation seemed the *easiest* mode of solving the problem in regard to the origin of these extraordinary concretions. When it was admitted as a general principle, that this present earth, with all its loftiest mountains, once had its place at the bottom of the sea, and had thence been gradually elevated into its more honourable station, could there be any difficulty in believing that one puny hill had received its superficial form from the same universal cause?

The next theory which demands our attention is, that the vitrified appearance of these forts has been produced by *accidental fire.* Those, however, who have embraced this opinion are not agreed as to the most probable cause of its operation.

As it seems to be admitted, on pretty good grounds, that in a very early period, in different districts, there was a regular chain of British forts on elevated situations, and often in sight of the sea, which not only offered a place of refuge to those in the vicinity, but afforded them the means of communicating, in the most expeditious mode, intelligence of the approach of a hostile tribe, or invasion of a foreign enemy, by kindling fire-beacons; it has been supposed, that all the vitrifications apparent in these forts had been the effect of these occasional fires. This has always appeared to me so improbable a conjecture, that it has seemed difficult to imagine how acute and intelligent men should for a moment have given it a place in their minds. Such fires must have been undoubtedly kindled in the most elevated spot within the enclosure; or, let it be supposed in more spots than one, if it can be admitted that such a slight variation of place within the same fort would be of any use as a particular signal at the distance of eight or ten miles. It may, perhaps, on this supposition be admitted, that in a succession of ages

the stones on which such beacons had blazed might be in some degree vitrified. Is it at all probable, however, that, from a mere occasional ignition, the vitrification would be so complete, or extend so far below the surface, as it must have done in the places referred to? It must be supposed, indeed, in order to find a correspondence with undeniable facts, that the place of the beacon, after vitrification had been effected in one spot, had been regularly changed, till the whole surrounding wall or walls had, in a similar degree, felt the force of the flame, so as to be in a greater or less degree vitrified.

The British forts, usually denominated *the White* and *the Black Catterthun*, sometimes "the east and west Cater,"[8] were doubtless equally designed for the protection of the inhabitants of the vicinity. These are situated on the North Esk, on a hill projecting from the Grampian ridge towards the plain, and marking out, as it were, a proper site for an advanced post. They are distant about eight miles north-east from Finhaven, to be afterwards described; and may be viewed as a continuation of the chain of forts. The one fort has been denominated the *White* Catterthun, from the colour of the loose stones of which it is composed, as the other is called the *Black* Catterthun from its dark appearance, as consisting solely of turf. One of these, the White fort, most probably must frequently have been the site of a signal-beacon, when it was meant to give an alarm; and it might reasonably be supposed that the stones must have retained the marks of fire. But, on examining the place, I could not discern the slightest vestige of vitrification.

But here another theory has been adopted, which has at least less improbability. It has been conjectured, that the walls of these forts have been brought into a state of fusion by the external application of fire in the hostile attacks of enemies. This solution of the difficulty under consideration was, if I mistake not, first proposed by a gentleman with whose friendship I was honoured, the late Alexander Fraser Tytler, Esq., better known as one of the senators of the College of Justice by the title of Lord Woodhouselee,—a gentleman not more distinguished by the urbanity of his manners, than by his classical taste and acquirements in literature. But notwithstanding the high regard I must ever feel for the memory of this amiable and excellent person, and the singular modesty with which he states his sentiments, it has still appeared to me, that in his dissertation on this subject, although

[8] Stat. Acc. of Scot. vol. iv. p. 214.

undoubtedly one of the best that have appeared, he, like many learned and ingenious writers, in attempting to avoid one difficulty has fallen into another, which does not at all seem less insuperable.

"I am disposed," he says, "to think that the appearances of vitrification on some of these hills are the accidental effects of fire upon a structure composed of combustible and fusible materials, and by no means the consequence of an operation intended to produce that effect. The most formidable engine of attack against a structure of this kind would be fire; and this, no doubt, would be always attempted, and often successfully employed, by a besieging enemy."[9]

He had previously remarked, in regard to three of the fortifications in the neighbourhood of Inverness, that they are "crowned with dry-stone structures, without any appearance of the effects of fire;" adding, "I am inclined to believe, that, upon an accurate survey of these extraordinary works, the number of those that shew marks of vitrification will be inconsiderable when compared with those that have not been at all affected by fire. I am led *from this circumstance* to form an opinion different from that of Mr. Williams, and of such as believe those structures to be the proofs of an ancient mode of building, in which fire was employed for the purpose of cementing, before our ancestors knew the use of lime."[10]

It seems most probable that his lordship is right in the opinion which he forms as to the dry-stone forts exceeding in number those that have been vitrified; and he acknowledges that this is the circumstance which chiefly induced him to prefer the theory of accidental ignition. The number of the latter, however, is, I suspect, greater than what is generally imagined. I have been assured by intelligent persons, that they have discovered vestiges of vitrification in hill forts, particularly in the district of Tweeddale, where nothing of the kind had been supposed to exist. These may, in various instances, have been hitherto overlooked, in consequence of the cursory view that is generally taken of such places, or of the walls being covered with soil that has never been broken up.

But although it should be found, from accurate examination and com-

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9 Vide an Account of some Extraordinary Structures on the Tops of Hills in the Highlands. Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 18, 19.

10 Ibid. pp. 17, 18.

parison, that the number of dry-stone forts were greater than that of such as have been vitrified, I do not see that this single circumstance could at all warrant the conclusion deduced from it. These may have belonged to different ages; or the trouble of vitrification may have seemed less necessary in one place than in another; or, from the prodigious accumulation of stones, as forming a base so broad as to support a very high sloping wall, and perhaps from their very looseness, as affording additional means of defence against their enemies, this mode of erection may, in some instances, have been preferred. Of this description the *White Catterthun* seems to have been "made," as Pennant has observed, "of a stupendous dike of loose white stones, whose convexity from the base within to that without is a hundred and twenty-two feet, the oval four hundred and thirty-six feet, the transverse diameter two hundred." "There is also a hollow," he adds, "now almost filled with stones, the *well* of the place."[11] For this pleasant traveller, in the complete absence of *volcanic matter*, could not get this converted into a *crater*. Our inability, however, to give a satisfactory reason for this difference, cannot determine the controversy. But one thing must be admitted as certain, even on the ground of concessions made by those who embrace the system of accidental fusion—that our ancestors, either in the same remote period, or at different periods, must have had at least two modes of erecting their forts, the one merely with stones, the other with wood and other combustible matter intermixed with the stones.

It is a singular fact, that Lord Woodhouselee, in order to account for the accidental vitrification of these forts, should call in the aid of a plan almost entirely the same with that supposed by Mr. Williams to have been adopted in their construction with the intention of eventually vitrifying them.

"Where the stone," he says, "is of that nature as not to be easily split into square blocks, or separated into *laminæ*, but is apt to break into irregular, or generally small fragments, as the rock of Craig-Phadrick, and all others of the plum-pudding kind, it would be extremely difficult to form a regular structure of such materials alone, which should be endowed with sufficient strength. The mode in which I imagine building was practised in such situations was by employing wood as well as stone in the fabric. The building, I suppose, was begun by raising a double row of palisades, or strong

[11] Tour in Scot. vol. iii. pp. 157, 158.

stakes, in the form of the intended structure. These stakes were probably warped across by boughs of trees laid very closely together, so as to form two fences, running parallel to each other, at the distance of some feet, and so close as to confine all the materials, of whatever size, that were thrown in between them. Into this intermediate space, I suppose, were thrown boughs and trunks of trees, earth, and stone of all sizes, large or small, as they could quarry or collect them. Very little care would be necessary in the disposition of these materials, as the outward fence would keep the mound in form."

" It appears," he afterwards observes, " highly probable that fire has been employed, not in the construction, but towards the demolition of such buildings; and for the latter purpose it would certainly prove much more efficacious than for the former."[12] It must be evident that, in this instance, the worthy writer has, from attachment to a peculiar theory, been hurried into an assumption which is by no means supported by the premises.

If, on the supposition that fire was intentionally employed in the construction of such walls, vitrification, as perfect as possible, being all that was designed for their consolidation; if it be also supposed, that the same means were used in the erection of these walls, which would have effectually operated to their destruction as previously existing, how can it possibly appear, that fire " would certainly have proved *much more efficacious*" towards their demolition than in subserviency to their construction?

Now, according to the theory quoted above, as to their original formation by means of rows of palisades, warped across by boughs of trees, with trunks, &c. thrown into the intermediate space, every thing is prepared for the act of combustion. Great quantities of combustible materials are supposed to have been accumulated, and even thrown into the heart of the wall, merely for supplying the want of such stones as could be brought to a proper level. It is taken for granted, that the builders were universally so destitute of foresight, as beforehand most amply to provide for their future assailants the means of their own destruction. But, not to say that much longer time would have been necessary for reducing a garrison, by so complete a fusion of their defences as the remains of these forts generally exhibit, than was commonly devoted to warfare in the incursions of hostile neigh-

[12] Vid. Phil. Trans. ut sup. pp. 18, 19. Compare this with Williams's Account, pp. 48, 49.

bours or of foreign invaders; or, that this mode of attack would have been attended with fully as much danger to the assailants as to the defenders; it must be admitted that not a little depended upon the wind. The aid of this powerful agent has therefore been also called in. "If there happened to be *any* wind at the time, to increase the intensity of the heat, the stony parts could not fail to come into fusion; and (as the wood burnt away) sinking by their own weight into a solid mass, there would remain a wreck of vitrified matter, tracking the spot where the ancient rampart had stood."[13] It is, indeed, to suppose a very convenient and a very complaisant wind, that would not only blow so powerfully as to give intensity to the fire, but would gradually veer about from one point to another, till the surrounding wall and the advanced works were all brought into a state of fusion!

It is very singular, that our ancestors should have manifested so much judgment in the choice of the places where they erected their fortifications—such diligence and patience in the accumulation of the necessary materials—such knowledge of the proper means of defence, and foresight in providing a regular chain of these; and that, after all, they should be only industrious in supplying their foes with the most effectual means of accomplishing their own destruction! But they were ignorant, it may be said, of the power of fire in fusing stones. It is granted, that the greatest and most useful discoveries have been generally the result of accident. I beg leave, however, to put a single question here. If the inhabitants of any one district, previously ignorant as they may have been, happened to discover, in consequence of a hostile attack, that the fire applied by their assailants to the walls, reduced even the stones into such a state of fusion as to combine them so completely that they formed a far more secure defence than before, can it be reasonably supposed that this discovery would be completely thrown away upon them, that a fact so new and striking would not immediately suggest to them the idea of substituting a similar mode of erection for the awkward and equally troublesome one which they had formerly used, and which, they had learned from experience, only supplied their enemies with the means of victory?

It may be viewed as a sufficient reply to this question, that, from the great quantities of wood supposed to have been employed in the formation of such walls, they would, in consequence of being set on fire by assailants, if

[13] Phil. Trans. ut supr. pp. 19, 20.

the ignition was complete, sink down into a formless mass, totally unfit for the purpose of subsequent defence. But if it shall appear that, in some instances at least, this was not the case; if proof can be brought, that many of the stones used in the erection were of such a size as to admit of their being regularly built, nay, that they were in fact laid in this level form; if it can be shewn, that they must have been so closely laid as to have admitted of no *strata* of turf between them,—the conclusion would seem to be irresistible, that the fusion was not accidental, but *intentional.*

Mere names, it is readily admitted, are in themselves of no weight in determining any controverted point; but, undoubtedly, the judgment of those individuals is especially worthy of attention, who have the best opportunity of minutely examining facts, and whose professional attainments and experience have rendered them most fit to form an accurate judgment.

Mr. John Williams, to whom we are indebted for the first particular intelligence concerning these forts, was a mineral engineer, who visited the most inaccessible places of Scotland in the line of his profession, and has been attested as a man of unquestionable veracity. He published his *Account* in Edinburgh, in the year 1777; for he informs us, that more than a year before, having sent the manuscript to London, he could not get it published there, because the booksellers "looked upon it as a fiction." Williams had proceeded in his survey, in one instance at least, entirely like a professional man. For he says, "At the desire of the Honourable Board of Annexed Estate, I made a section quite through the ruins of the vitrified fort [Knock-farril], beginning without all the ruins, and cutting to the rock all the way, not only through the ruins, but also through the enclosed area, in order to observe every thing that appeared."[14] He gives a more particular, or a more cursory, account of six vitrified forts which he had discovered on the north side of the Grampian ridge, Knock-farril, Craig-Phadrick, Castle Finlay, Dun-Evan, Tordun, and one near Gleneves in Lochaber; also of Finhaven in the county of Angus; and after the most accurate examination of some of them, was fully satisfied that they had been originally erected for the purpose of being vitrified.

Henry Home, Esq. (Lord Kames) expressed his full satisfaction, that the theory embraced by Williams was well founded; remarking, in addition,

[14] Account, pp. 7, 8.

"This discovery of yours will serve to detect an error that several ingenious naturalists have fallen into, of burning mountains formerly in Scotland — verified, say they, by the burnt remains still to be traced."[15]

The learned Dr. Black, late professor of chemistry in the University of Edinburgh, admits the probability of this mode of solution. "It is very probable," he says, "that they were executed in some such manner as you have imagined. There are in most parts of Scotland different kinds of stone, which can, without much difficulty, be melted or softened by fire, to such a degree as to make them cohere together. As the whole country was anciently a forest, and the greater part of it overgrown with wood, it is easy to understand how those who erected these works got the materials necessary for their purposes."[16]

To these I might add the name of the justly celebrated James Watt, of Birmingham, who is universally acknowledged to have been a competent judge of the operation of fire. As he spent some time in surveying part of the north of Scotland, Craig-Phadrick particularly arrested his attention; and he has accordingly given a drawing of this fort. He concludes his account of it in these words:—"The country people call it the Giant's Castle; but I could hear no tradition of its formation. For my own part, I think it a work of art, probably formed by piling up layers of stones and wood, and setting them on fire." His letter is dated March 29, 1777.[17]

But whatever may be the result of reasoning, in regard to objects known merely by report, nothing can carry such conviction to the mind as careful inspection; and it is not easily conceivable that any intelligent person, who is not under the influence of strong prejudice, can attentively examine some of these forts, without being perfectly satisfied that they have owed their vitrified appearance to design. This I can especially assert with respect to *Finhaven,* and that which takes its name from the *Laws of Monifieth,* both in the county of Forfar. With both of these I had the best opportunity of being well acquainted, having resided for many years in the vicinity. The former I examined no fewer than four different times. At both places I took notes, which I afterwards extended, giving a distinct and particular

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[15] Letter to Mr. Williams, prefixed to his Account.

[16] Vide Dr. Black's Letter, Account, pp. 81–83.

[17] Vide Williams's Account, pp. 75, 81.

description of each of these forts. In addition to the observations already made, and in further elucidation of the theory preferred, the most simple mode, perhaps, is here to subjoin the substance of these descriptions, which were written nearly forty years ago, with occasional references to *Williams's Account.* It may be proper to observe, that I had not seen this account till several years after these descriptions were written. I trust I shall receive the indulgence of the learned Society, although, while for the sake of simplicity and perspicuity the narrative form of writing is retained, somewhat more of egotism should appear than would be otherwise admissible.

The Castle-hill of Finhaven, as this fort has been denominated, is situated about five miles north-east from the borough of Forfar; it belongs to that ridge which is vulgarly called Angus-hill, although on all sides detached from the rest of the ridge. The top of the hill is nearly a mile from the bed of the river South Esk, which runs on the north. Another hill fronts it to the south, from which it is separated by a narrow glen. The height of the hill above the level of the plain is about fifteen hundred feet. It lies nearly a mile north from the parish church of Aberlemno, the site of which is distinguished by those celebrated obelisks, called the *Standing Stanes of Aberlemno,* which have been viewed as erected in commemoration of the signal victory gained by our ancestors over the Danish invaders, in the battle of Loncarty.[18] The whole summit of this hill is enclosed by a stone-wall; the principal enclosure is about one hundred and sixty paces in length, and from thirty to thirty-six in breadth. At the western extremity are the remains of a large circular opening, supposed to have been a well. A wall runs across the area, separating this opening from the rest of the enclosure. Twelve paces east from this wall, a second wall also crosses the area. There is another circular opening near the eastern extremity, but far less extensive than that already mentioned: the entrance has obviously been on this quarter. At the extremity of the enclosure here, there is a narrow gully, resembling a ditch, across which a wall has been carried, where, according to the rules of modern fortification, there would have been a drawbridge. On the east side of this gully, another wall crosses the hill from north to south, evidently for increasing the means of defence.

[18] Vide Pennant's Tour, vol. iii. pp. 166, 167.

There is also an advanced work to the south of the principal enclosure; here the ground is defended by a wall, extending the whole length of the fort from east to west, on the brow of the hill.[19] But this is intersected by another wall, stretching from the proper fort, about thirty-four paces from the western extremity: this has been rendered necessary by a natural breach in the hill. The whole breadth of the fort, including the principal area, the advanced work, and the intervening wall, is seventy paces. It has been calculated to include somewhat less than two acres. The soil is good, pretty deep, and covered with a rich greensward. The tracks of a winding path from the north-west corner to the summit of the hill are still discernible.

When I first went to view this hill, it was under the impression of what was then pretty generally believed, that it exhibited the remains of a volcano. I found, however, sufficient evidence of the contrary, being satisfied that Finhaven had the same general appearance with a vitrified fort which I had formerly examined in the parish of Kingarth, Isle of Bute, in the year 1779.[20] A second inspection confirmed the opinion I had formed in consequence of the first. A third was the result of a dispute with my late amiable and excellent friend, George Dempster, Esq. M.P., formerly mentioned, who was firmly persuaded that Pennant was right in viewing Finhaven as the remains of a volcano. It was agreed to bring the question *ad experimentum crucis.* A day was fixed for the purpose; and it was deemed most proper to take workmen with us, with spades and mattocks, that the wall might be examined with all possible accuracy. This was done accordingly. Besides Mr. Dempster and some other gentlemen, the learned Professor Thorkelin of Copenhagen and Dr. James Anderson of Moonie, the ingenious editor of *The Bee,* were of the party. I may safely assert, that all who were present renounced the volcanic theory as wholly absurd, being satisfied that the appearance proceeded merely from vitrification, however much at a loss to account for the mode in which this had been effected.

Some considerable time after this, my attention was again called to this remarkable hill, from having learned a circumstance which peculiarly favoured investigation. The tenant on the ground was engaged in clearing away part of the principal wall, for the purpose of employing the stones in enclosing his

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[19] Williams takes notice of a similar outwork at Knock-farril, v. Account, p. 14.

[20] Vide Stat. Act. vol. ii. p. 312.

lands. Besides having an opportunity of viewing the wall in an exposed state, I had the additional advantage of receiving information from him as to various important facts which I should not otherwise have known.

He had found many stones which had been evidently quarried, and these not on the outside, but in the very heart of the wall. He had observed one only with any artificial marks on it. This in form resembled a mill-stone, with a hole bored in the centre, not, however, perforating the stone. Around this orifice was a circular groove, with diagonal lines proceeding from it all the way to the circumference. This might be meant as a figure of the sun, who, it is generally believed, was worshipped by the Celts under the name of *Grian*, or, as Latinized, *Grannus*, or *Apollo Grannus*, whence Celtic *grianach*, "hairy, or spreading hair, like the scattered beams of the sun."[21] The lines diverging from the opening in the centre had probably been meant to represent the solar rays. Unluckily this singular relic of antiquity had been built into some wall before I heard of its being discovered.

Stones are found in this structure from various quarries. In one heap which had been cleared away from it, not exceeding four cart-loads, I counted seven or eight kinds of stone. Besides the natural stone of the rock, which is plum-pudding,[22] and *bullets* or land-stones, there were some from quarries two miles distant, and others which did not seem to belong to any quarry nearer than eight.

Human bones have been found in various parts of the wall. In the middle of it, about three feet below its summit, an entire skeleton of a grown person was discovered. The bones were all burnt, but the teeth seemed very fresh. The intelligent farmer did not seem to think that the skeleton was different from the ordinary size. He found it necessary to bury it as quickly as possible, as the superstitious labourers had left their work, refusing to have any hand in rifling what they considered as the repositories of the dead.

The influence of the fire has by no means been uniform. Those stones which are more porous and friable have been thoroughly vitrified. Some of

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[21] Vide Shaw's Moray, p. 248. Baxteri Gloss. vo. *Grannus*.

[22] Williams, I find, has observed: "The rock of all the fortified hills I have yet seen is more or less of that coagulated kind commonly called the plum-pudding rock. This sort of stone is easily run down with a strong fire." Vide Account, p. 28.

them assume the appearance of a honey-comb. Such as are more solid are evidently burnt, but have not been brought into a state of fusion. In some places, the outer part of a stone is vitrified, the middle merely scorched, and the innermost side exhibits no marks of the fire. Many of the quarry-stones appear as fresh as if recently raised from their original bed. Parts of the wall have been observed, which, from top to bottom, afford no vestiges of fire, while others are completely burnt.

Eight or ten feet inward, from the outer side of the projecting rubbish, the wall was found to be regularly built. I saw it from ten to fourteen feet high, just after it was freed from this rubbish by the labour of those who were carrying off the stones. But it is supposed that it must have been at least twenty originally; for, in the operation of cleaving, the wall never attained its full height till the workmen reached the base. Williams entertained a similar idea in regard to Knock-farril. "The height," he says, "of the ruins of this north wall is now no less than twelve feet perpendicular, though certainly all fallen down; what, then, must it have been when standing! I am of opinion," he subjoins, "that the whole of this surrounding wall has been run together by vitrification."[23]

The farmer assured me that he had found a great quantity of the ashes of burnt wood, mixed with the stones, at the bottom of the wall. We can form no reasonable conception as to the cause of this, but by supposing that wood had been employed in the structure; for these ashes were found exactly in that situation in which they must have been, had the wall been originally built with stones and wood intermixed, as having sunk down through the crevices left in consequence of the wood being consumed.

An objection to this theory, as to the origin of these forts, has been founded on the supposed difficulty of procuring wood in such quantities as would be necessary for vitrification. But this objection has been materially anticipated by what has been quoted from the learned Dr. Black's letter, in which he says:—"The whole country was anciently a forest, and the greater part of it overgrown with wood." In confirmation of this assertion, especially as applicable to the Castle-hill of Finhaven, it may be worth while to mention, that the district in the vicinity still retains the distinctive designation of *the Forest.*

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[23] Vide Letter II. pp. 10, 11.

But it would be an unnecessary loss of time to say any thing more on this head; for, if there must have been such difficulty in procuring a sufficient quantity of wood for the construction of such a building, would the difficulty have been lessened afterwards, because it was meant to destroy it? Would a smaller quantity have sufficed for vitrification, because of the difference as to the intention? or because it could be, in this case, applied only externally? Or, could invaders be supposed capable of collecting the materials for fusion more easily, during their hostile attacks, than the inhabitants of the country during a season of peace? For the supposition that the wall was originally filled up with wood, nay, cased in it, and left in this state as a finished fort, is so futile as to appear a mere *petitio principii.* It demands a concession of such a kind as necessarily involves an indelible stigma on our warlike ancestors, as if they had been, without exception, a race of fools.

On the whole, from all the appearances at Finhaven, the only conjecture I can form is, that a wall of about four feet in depth, consisting of large stones pretty regular in their shapes, has been built as high as it might be supposed to stand; that great quantities of wood have been laid around the foundation, and transversely through the wall; that wood and faggots have been piled on each side, with smaller stones of every form intermixed; and that the mass has then been brought into a state of ignition. While it was burning, more fuel would be thrown on it, and additional quantities of stones, till the irregular concrete mass formed a buttress on each side for the regular intermediate wall. For here the wall is vitrified both within and without. It might afterwards be raised to a greater height, and its buttresses be also elevated by the same process as before. The fact of the wood having appeared thoroughly burnt at the foundation, and in the inmost part of the wall, strongly confirms the idea that the vitrification was the result of design, and carried on gradually. The wall, at the time I last examined it, when a section had been made into it, exhibited the appearance of having been between twenty and thirty feet broad at the base.

As stones have been obviously collected from so many different quarries, it seems natural to suppose that it was meant as a place of common refuge to the inhabitants of a certain district around; and that every individual fit for labour contributed his quota of these, driving or dragging them from the quarry most adjacent to his ordinary residence, or most convenient for him.

In no other way can I account for the various kinds of stones collected on this hill.

Such variety of orthography is there in giving the name of this fort, that the origin of the term is thereby rendered more obscure. In charters of Robert Bruce it appears in the form of *Fothenevin;* in those of his son David, as *Fythenevynt* and *Finevin;* in those of Robert II. again as *Fothnevyn* and *Fothenevin,* and also in the form of *Futhenevin.*[24] It is also written *Finaven* and *Finhaven.* I need scarcely say, that the latter, although the more modern form, has no support from antiquity, and can have no relation to the term *haven* as used in English, because the river in the vicinity is not navigable. Could we suppose that any regard should be paid to the orthography of some charters, *Fothenevin,* &c. the initial syllable *Foth* might be traced as Gaelic *fuath,* a spectre or apparition, also terror; as if it had signified "the hill of the ghosts," or of "fear." But as another vitrified hill formerly mentioned is, when fully named, called *Knock-farril-naphian,* said to have been denominated from *Phian,* or Fingal, to whom this habitation is assigned by tradition,[25] it has been suggested by a very well-informed Gaelic scholar, that the name *Finavin* or *Finevin* (for this is the sole traditionary pronunciation), may have had a similar origin, from Gaelic *Finn-a-bheinn,* compounded of *Finn* or *Fian,* the name given to Fingal; *beinn,* a mountain or hill (in a state of construction *bheinn,* sounded *veinn*); and *ath,* pronounced *a* long, a ford, as signifying, because of its proximity to the river, "the hill of the ford of Fingal," or of "the Fingalians." For *Fian,* or, as written in the full designation of Knock-farril, *Phian,* is a term in Gaelic traditionary poetry not confined to Fingal himself, but extending to the people who followed him. As *na* is the mark of the genitive, in the plural more properly *nam, Knock-farril-naphian,* he says, may be literally rendered "the watch-hill of the Fingalians." There is in the county of Sutherland a lofty and rather conical hill called *Fion-a-bheinn,* which by tradition is also given to the same celebrated chieftain. Another vitrified fort, about two miles north-west from the church of Kiltarlsly, county of Inverness, is called *Dun-Thioun,* which is undoubtedly an *erratum* for *Dun-Fhioun,* or Fingal's fort.[26]

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[24] Vide Robertson's Index of Charters. [25] Vide Williams, p. 18.

[26] Vid. Stat. Acc. vol. xiii. p. 524. Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 471.

In Drumsturdy Moor, parish of Monifieth, seven or eight miles east from Dundee, there is another vitrified fort on one of that collection of hills called the Laws.[27] The rocky hill on which it is situated is said to be about 530 feet above the level of the sea. From its situation it commands an extensive prospect, not only towards the sea, but of the country round.

This fort consists of two walls of vitrified matter, which surround the hill. The outer wall runs along its slope, and forms a kind of circle, although by no means perfect; for on the east side, where the access is easiest, it keeps pretty near the bottom of the hill; and then, although its traces are less distinct, it seems to take a slanting direction upwards, according to the change of the ground, which here becomes very steep, till it extends half-way between the summit and the brink of the precipice on the south. Thus it continues to proceed along the declivity to the north-east corner, towards which it gradually descends. It is evident that the principal gate was here, in whatever manner it was defended. The circumference of this outer wall, including the angular part, is, according to my measurement, five hundred paces. From this wall there are others which run in parallel lines towards the brink of the precipice. Two are discernible on the east side, and there are some marks of one on the north. These are formed of the same materials with the outer wall, and cannot be supposed to have had their origin from the fall of the inner one, because of the regularity of their form.

The inner wall surrounds the summit of the hill, at the distance of several paces from the outer. This varies, however, according to the nature of the ground. At the north-east corner, and round in that direction towards the north-west, are seen the foundations of several houses within the inner wall, which here seems to have formed the back wall to these houses.[28] On the west side of the hill the interstice between the two circular walls has been filled up by buildings of a small size. A wall runs nearly through the middle

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[27] Vide Stat. Acc. Scotl. vol. xiii. p. 484. From the description written when I visited this place many years ago, I find that I had forgotten to mark its extent. The measurement of the hill itself is thus given in the work referred to. "Its summit is 133 yards in length, 66 yards in breadth, and 316 yards in circumference."

[28] Williams has remarked the same appearance at Knock-farril. "Immediately," he says, "on the inside of this surrounding wall there are ruins of vitrified buildings. I imagine these inner works have been a range of habitations, reared against, or under the shade of the outer wall." Acc. p. 12.

of the fort, extending from the south to the north side of the inner wall. The design of this has undoubtedly been to form a separation between the defenders and their cattle; for in the eastern division we observe no foundations of buildings, except a few on the wall itself. There was, it is said, a well here some years ago; but it has probably been choked with rubbish, as the foundations of many of the houses have been barbarously dug up for enclosing the adjoining lands. The hill has, however, had an abundant supply of water, there being a fine spring at the north-east gate, and another a little further east on the brow of the hill, although without the walls.

The greatest part of the western division of the fort has been occupied by buildings, the most of which have been small, like those resting on the walls. But in one place I observed the foundations of some of larger dimensions. All the buildings have been as regularly vitrified as the walls; for the stones, as far as can be judged, retain their original foundations, and have no appearance of having been collected from fallen masses, huddled together in haste on the spur of the occasion.

Besides the gate formerly noticed, there seems to have been one on the west side. The vitrification here is as perfect as that of the fort of Finhaven, and assumes the very same appearance. Here, as well as there, the stones have been so completely fused as in many places to seem as if they had been connected by some cement resembling melted ore; but this can be viewed only as the *scoriæ* forced from the stones themselves when in a state of fusion. Several circumstances, however, give peculiar interest to the fort at the *Laws*, when compared with the other. At Finhaven no traces of buildings are discernible. There also there is but one wall. Besides, the fort of Finhaven, and most of those that have hitherto been accurately inspected, appear to have been merely temporary residences provided for the moment of danger in case of foreign invasion, or the hostile attack of some powerful inland enemy. But from the great number of buildings at the *Laws*, there has been, in all probability, a regular station constantly held by a considerable number of the men capable of bearing arms in the territory adjacent. Its vicinity to the estuary of the Tay, from which it is only one mile distant, might well point it out as a proper station for guarding against the depredations of those marine freebooters, whose hostile descent this beautiful arm of the sea might seem to invite. For a great extent, indeed, towards the north, there is not another inlet by which any foreign enemy could penetrate into

the country. In relation to the country around, no other spot could have been chosen with equal propriety as a regular station. This hill seems to break off from the high grounds on the north, and step forth into the plain, jutting out towards the sea, as if it peculiarly claimed the honour of being appropriated to the purposes of a perpetual watch-tower, whence the vigilant speculators might survey a considerable part of the coast, as well as observe the motions of any hostile tribe in their own country.

As it has been supposed, according to what has been already mentioned, that there was a regular chain of forts, this probably formed an important link. That at Finhaven is about eighteen miles north-east from this: the one cannot, indeed, be seen from the other; but there is one, it is said, on the *Sid-law* hills, which lies between Finhaven and the *Laws* of Monifieth. If this information be correct, the communication might have been regular, as Finhaven is distinctly seen from the *Sid-Law*, and the whole range thus denominated, from the *Laws*. Thus, by means of fire-beacons, intelligence would be speedily communicated from the *Laws* to *Sid-law*, thence to Finhaven, and from this again to Catter-thun, so that the whole country would be alarmed nearly to the eastern extremity of the Grampians; as, in case of any landing near Montrose, with the same facility the whole district called Strathmore would be roused to battle. No other plan nearly so expeditious could have been devised. It is the very plan, indeed, which in our own time was adopted, as the most proper mode of preparation for the long-threatened invasion of a late powerful ravager.

In regard to the name of this hill, it seems probable that it is of a more modern date than the fort itself. It would appear, indeed, from its plural form, that it has been borrowed from the place, being one of that collection of hills which has received the general designation of the *Laws*. This word does not indicate the slightest affinity with the Celtic. That it is apparently of Gothic origin, I have elsewhere endeavoured to shew.[29] Perhaps the most reasonable conjecture is, that it was primarily applied to those knolls

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[29] Vide Scottish Dictionary, vo. *Law*. The same term seems to be used in a very limited sense in Northumberland. "It is very extraordinary," says the venerable Camden, "there should be many large heaps of stones called *Lawes*, supposed by the neighbours to have been piled up in memory of persons formerly slain there." Britannia, vol. iii. p. 491. In this sense *law* is equivalent to Gaelic and Irish *cairn*.

or eminences on which the judges of particular districts met for making *laws*, or for the trial of delinquents, and that it was afterwards transferred, in the laxity of common discourse, to hills of greater elevation, although not appropriated to this use. Gough, in his Additions to Camden, has mentioned a fact which has a singular analogy. In one instance, at least, in Aberdeenshire, the term *Law* has been extended to those circles generally called Druidical temples. "The general tradition," he says, "of the country is, that these circles were places of heathen worship; and they call those here mentioned *Law-stones*, and Temple-stones."[30] Thus the former term, although in all appearance of later date than the latter, is made to alternate with it in the nomenclature of tradition; and also, perhaps, as involving the fact, that the places formerly devoted to heathen worship, were, after the introduction of Christianity, employed as the regular sites of judicial administration. It is not improbable, indeed, that they were, occasionally at least, thus employed before. It is an unquestionable fact, we know, that in the Highlands of Scotland, in regard to religious worship, there was in general merely a change of the mode, while there was no change of the place; for as the Gaelic word *clachan*, still appropriated to a village in which a parish church stands, literally signifies *the stones*, being the plural of *clach*, a stone, it is merely a continuation of the name once given to the Druidical circles, or as above denominated, the *Temple-stones*. Hence the more common expression in the Highland districts, is, "Will ye go to the stones?" or, "Have you been at *the stones?*" when it is meant to inquire, "Will ye go to church?" or, "Have you been there?"[31]

In regard to the *Laws*, it may be added, that from a charter of Robert II., dated at Perth, in the first year of his reign, it appears that these hills were then known by the same name. This deed refers to the lands of *Lawys* of Estyr (Easter) Athy, in the barony of Athy.[32]

As nearly connected with the preceding account, before leaving the subject I may be permitted to subjoin, that what has been celebrated by our more early writers, under the name of *Berigonium*, as the ancient capital of the kingdom of Scotland, seems to have been nothing more than a vitrified

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[30] Vide Britannia, vol. iv. p. 164. [31] Vide Scottish Dictionary, vo. *Clachan*.

[32] Vide Dissertat. de Nuptiis Roberti Senescalli Scotiæ et Eliz. More, ap. Fordun Scoticon. p. 3.

fort. It is situated in what is now called Argyleshire, although formerly it appears to have been included in the district named Lochaber, directly opposite to the beautiful island of Lismore. The building of this castle is ascribed to Fergus, viewed as the first of that name, who, it is said, came into Scotland more than three centuries before the Christian era.[33] It was situated on an insulated rock, well adapted for the purpose both of speculation and of defence.

In consequence of being on the spot a few years ago, I was perfectly satisfied that the appearances exhibited on this hill were quite parallel to those of Finhaven and the *Laws.* All the stones found here have been subjected to the fire. The mode in which vulgar tradition accounts for this circumstance is, that the place was destroyed by fire from heaven, and that the town continued to burn for no less than seven years. The name *Berigonium,* or, as it is given by our old Bellenden, in his translation of Boece, *Berigone,* is totally unknown by the present inhabitants of the district. It has been conjectured, indeed, with great probability, that it owed its existence to the error of some monkish writer, who, finding Rerigonium, in Galloway, mentioned by Ptolemy, had mistaken one letter in the name for another, and given it a different situation from that assigned to it by the ancient geographer. This fort is, by the people of the district, uniformly denominated *Dun Mac Sniachan,* or " the fortified hill of the son of Sniachan," a bard celebrated in the poems of Ossian, who is there mentioned as if he had been one of the Druids.

I have no doubt that this was anciently the chief seat of the *reguli* of Argyleshire, who, by the early writers of our history, were denominated the kings of Scotland. With the intervention of a little dale, it is contiguous to another rocky hill, of superior height, (consisting of plum-pudding stone), called *Dun-bhail-an-righ,* or " the hill of the king's town." In the vale between them there are yet the remains of streets, paved with common stones; and some years ago there was dug up one of the wooden pipes, supposed to have been used for conveying water from the one hill to the other.[34]

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[33] Vide Boëthii Hist. lib. i. cap. 12.

[34] Vide Stat. Acc. vol. vi. p. 180. Chalmers, in his Caledonia, has enumerated a variety of other forts of a similar description, vol. i. pp. 471—473.

XII. *On the Asiatic Origin of the Anglo-Saxons.* By Sharon Turner, Esq. R.A., R.S.L.

Read May 16, 1827.

Reverend Sir,

If more important communications be not, at the present moment, occupying the attention of the Royal Society of Literature, it may not perhaps be wholly uninteresting, if I submit to its consideration a few circumstances in regard to the Asiatic origin of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, which have lately occurred to me on examining the affinities of their ancient language.

It has been stated in the History of the Anglo-Saxons, that the most probable derivation of this people which had been suggested, was that which deduced them from the *Sakai* or *Sacæ*, who, from the Caspian, besides branching into Bactriana on the east, had also spread westward into the most fertile part of Armenia, which, from them, as we learn from Strabo, was called *Sakasina*. Pliny terms the Sakai, who settled there, the *Sacassani;* which is so similar in sound to *Saca-sunu*, or the sons of the Sakai, that we are tempted to identify the two appellations. It was Goropius Becanus who first hinted this etymology: the celebrated Melanchthon adopted it; and though, as is usual on such subjects, others doubted and disputed, our Camden gave it the sanction of his decided preference. It appeared to me to be the most rational derivation which had been mentioned; and the fact that Ptolemy, writing in the second century after Strabo and Pliny, actually notices a Scythian people, who had sprung from the Sakai, by the very name of *Saxones*, seemed to verify the conjecture, that the appellative Saxones did originate from Saca-sunu, or the sons of the Sakai. The Romans spelt the word with a *c* instead of a *k*, and we therefore call them Sacæ, with the *s* sound of the *c*. But this is only our mispronunciation of the Roman *c;* for we find that Cicero's name is written in the Greek authors who mention him, as Κικερων.

The preceding derivation thus leads to the opinion, that the progenitors

of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors came from Asia into Europe; and that before they made this emigration, they had dwelt in Armenia and in the regions about the Caspian. The Honourable Mr. Keppell, in his late interesting travels, visited this country, and thus notices it. After crossing the river Arras—the Araxes of Plutarch—he says: "Between this river and the Kur—the ancient Cyrus or Cyrnus—is the beautiful province of Karabaugh, formerly the country of the Sacæ or Sacassani, a warlike tribe of Scythians, mentioned by Pliny and Strabo, and supposed to be the same people as our ancient ancestors the Saxons." After quitting Karabaugh, Mr. Keppell proceeded to Shirwan, the Albania of the ancients. The beautiful province of Karabaugh, between the Arras and the Kur—the ancient Araxes and Cyrnus—may therefore be considered as one of the Asiatic localisations of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. The Kur has been the late boundary of the Russian acquisitions in this district.

The late war between the Russians and the Persians has been chiefly carried on in or near the regions where the ancient Sakai or Sacassani were seated, and which appear to have begun from the south of the Kur. If the Russians make any further acquisitions in these parts, they will become possessed of the country of our Sakai ancestors. These circumstances, drawing the mind to this part of the world, led me to recollect that former antiquaries had observed a few words in the Persian language to resemble some in the Saxon. Camden mentions, that "the admirable scholar, Joseph Scaliger, has told us that fader, muder, brader, tuchter, band, and such like, are still used in the Persian language, in the same sense as we say father, mother, brother, daughter, and band."[1]

Musing upon this intimation, it occurred to me, that if five words, so much alike as these, were found in the two languages, an attentive comparison of the Persian with the Anglo-Saxon might discover many more, if the allegation were really true, that the Saxons had come from these regions; and in that case, if any considerable number of similarities were really existing in the two languages, they would tend to confirm the belief, that the origin of our Saxon forefathers should be thus sought in Asia, and that their pri-

[1] Camden's Brit. Introd. cxxiii.

meval ancestors had gradually moved from the Caspian Sea to the German Ocean. This view of the subject induced me to attempt a cursory examination, whether such resemblances could, by a general inspection, be perceived, as would satisfy the mind that the chorographical relationship was not an unfounded conjecture.

But it was obvious, that whatever the ancient identity between these languages may have been in their original state, no very great proportion of it could be expected to be visible now, because the Saxons have been separated from these regions at least 2000 years; and in their progress along the north of Asia, and through the whole breadth of the upper surface of Europe, and amid all the evils, sufferings, triumphs, and events, which must have befallen them before they reached the mouth of the Elbe; and from the new scenes and conflicts which accompanied their three centuries of depredations on the Roman empire and upon the ocean, and which afterwards, for four hundred years more, awaited them in Britain, before those works were written which display their language to us;—from all these causes, the Anglo-Saxons, in the days of Alfred, must have used a very different tongue, in the mass of its words, from that simpler and ruder one which their progenitors had conversed with in the beautiful province of Karabaugh, and on the Araxes, the Kur, and the Caspian. So, during the same lapse of time, the Persian language has ceased to be what it was in the days of Cyrus or Darius. It has become, within the last 1000 years, the most polished language of the Eastern world, and has been most exercised in clothing with select and ornate phrase the finest effusions of the Oriental genius. Modern Persian can, therefore, be scarcely less unlike the original language of those, in his war, against whom the self-confident Julian found an early grave, instead of the victorious triumph he expected, than our present English is to the Anglo-Saxon of the same period. Neither Persian nor Saxon are now what they were when the Sakai and the Persæ confronted each other on their dividing rivers, and from their bordering mountains. Hence no such pervading identity could be expected as may yet be traced between the Welsh, the Bas Breton, the Irish, and the Gaelic, however originally similar.

The likeness would be also less, because the Saxons did not spring from the Persians. No one has alleged this parentage. The Sakai were the

relatives only, not the children of the Persæ. So far from any filial or paternal feelings existing between them, the most furious hostilities disparted the two tribes; and at one epoch, the Persians, by attacking the Sakai by surprise, nearly exterminated them. This disaster disinclined our valuable antiquary, Sheringham, from adopting this derivation of our ancestors. But as it is manifest that no attack of surprise could annihilate at that time more than the forces which were surprised, the calamity is more likely to have been a reason for the rest of the Sakai, after this weakening catastrophe, to have moved hastily out of their pleasing settlements in those parts of the world, and to have migrated westward to a safer locality. This defeat may have forced them from Armenia to other districts nearer Europe; and the war of the Romans, or of Mithridates, or similar disturbing causes, may have afterwards impelled them to proceed onward to the Vistula, and at last to seek refuge on the islands and peninsula of the western extremities of the continent.

The probability is, that all the tribes which anciently inhabited the immediately conterminous countries were, for the most part, branches of the same main parental stem. The Persæ, the Sakai, and their neighbours, may be therefore considered as ramifications of the great Scythian stock—part of the *audax genus* of Japetus, or Japhet; and as such, although the old Persians and the Sakai would not have spoken the same language in all its words and forms, yet their respective tongues would be dialects of their family original, and therefore would have many terms in common, as we still find between the ancient Franco-theotisc and the Saxon. Of these assimilating terms, I expected that many fragments would be preserved, both in the Anglo-Saxon and in modern Persian, notwithstanding all the changing fortunes of the two nations; but that they would, from these mutations, exist and be perceptible now only as fragments.

Proceeding on this principle—that if the ancestors of the two nations did once live in vicinity to each other, although this was 2000 years ago, some indications of their neighbourhood would appear from subsisting similarities in their languages, and expecting to find these only as occasional fragments, I have compared the Anglo-Saxon with the modern Persian. The result has been, that, upon a general examination, I have found 162 Persian words which have a direct affinity with as many Anglo-Saxon terms of

the same meaning; and these I beg leave to submit to the notice of the Society.

But before I attach the list of these, I will take the liberty also of mentioning, that I thought it right, after these similarities had been ascertained, to consider that two other languages, older than the modern Persian, had prevailed in that country. These were the Pehlvi and the Zend. The latter, the most ancient that we know of in those parts from actual specimens; the other, the Pehlvi, an intermediate one, in point of chronology, between the Zend and the Persian. Of both the Zend and the Pehlvi, M. Anquetil found some specimens among the ancient manuscripts which he consulted in exploring and translating the Zendavesta, or sacred book of the still subsisting worshippers of the sacred fire in those regions. Recollecting this fact, I have been led also to look into these specimens, and I have observed fifty-seven words in these fragments of the Zend language, which resemble as many in the Anglo-Saxon, and forty-three of accordant similarities between our old tongue and the Pehlvi. These one hundred and sixty-two Persian words, fifty-seven Zend, and forty-three Pehlvi, present to us two hundred and sixty-two words in the three languages that have prevailed in Persia, which have sufficient affinity with as many in the Anglo-Saxon to confirm the deduction of our earliest progenitors from these regions of ancient Asia.

That these affinities are too many to be ascribed to mere chance, there seems to be no difficulty in affirming. But on adverting to the positions suggested in my former papers, of a primeval oneness of language among mankind, and of the abruption of that into the diversities which now pervade the world, it is a reasonable question, whether these two hundred and sixty-two similarities are only remains of the primitive unity, or whether they be indications of specific subsequent relationship of two of the newer languages that were formed after the dispersion. Both the nature and the number of the analogies I have remarked satisfy my own mind that they are more truly referable to the latter than to the former cause, and therefore I will proceed to enumerate them, as corroborating testimony of our Sacassenian derivation, beginning with the Persian affinities, and then proceeding to those of the Zend and the Pehlvi.

ANGLO-SAXON.	PERSIAN.
am, *I am.*	am, *I am.*
ælan, *to burn.*	alaw, *a flame of fire.*
afora, *a son.*	afa, *the eldest son.*
andega, *an appointed term.*	andan, *a term.*
abidan, *to abide.*	abadan, *an abode.*
are, *honour.*	aray, *decoration.*
arian, *to honour.*	arayidan, *to adorn.*
ase, *as.*	asay, *like.*
andget, *the intellect, sense.*	angar, *reason.*
	andgashtan, *to think.*
enge, *trouble.*	anjam, *grief.*
	andjugh, *a sigh.*
angel, *a hook.*	angulah, *a button.*
ewe, *water.*	aw, *water.*
earmth, *misery.*	urman, *trouble.*
ende, *the end.*	anjam, *the end.*
berend, *fruitful.*	bar, *fruit.*
bæran, *to carry.*	bar, *a load.*
brother, *a brother.*	bradar, *a brother.*
barn, *a barn.*	barn, *a covered place.*
bearn, *a son.*	barna, *a youth.*
bedan, *to offer.*	bedroz, *a present.*
balew, *depraved.*	bulad, *a malefactor.*
beal, *destruction.*	bulaghan, *a calamity.*
bilewite, *simple.*	biladah, *foolish.*
beado, *cruelty.*	bada, *wickedness.*
barbacan, *a front tower.*	burbik, *a portico.*
bur, *a chamber.*	barkh, *an open room.*
blessian, *to bless.*	balistan, *to bless.*
blad, *fruit, the blade.*	balidan, balandan, *to grow.*
basing, *a pallium, a chlamys.*	baz, *a habit, a rich dress.*
basuian, *to be clothed in purple.*	
bered, *vexed.*	barat, *disgusted, tired.*
beard, *a beard.*	barbar, *a barber.*
breost, *the breast.*	bistan, *the breast.*
bysmor, *infamy.*	bazat, *a crime.*

ANGLO-SAXON.	PERSIAN.
	basaj, *depravity.*
bysgu, *business.*	bishing, *business.*
bile, *the beak, the bill.*	bull, *the beak.*
bio, *I exist.*	bud, *existence.*
benn, *a wound.*	bunawar, *a sore.*
bil, *a mattock.*	bil, *a mattock.*
blowan, *to flower.*	bilak, *a flower.*
bidan, *to expect, to await.*	bidar, *watching.*
	bidari, *vigilance.*
byld, *firmness.*	bilah, *firm.*
bend, *a bond.*	band, *a band, a chain.*
bendan, *to bind.*	bandan, bandidan, *to bind.*
bold, *a town.*	balad, *a city.*
bolt, *a house.*	bulud, *a dwelling.*
byan, *to inhabit.*	bingha, *a dwelling.*
binland, *cultivated land.*	
beam, *the sunbeam.*	bam, *the morning.*
beamian, *to beam.*	
sifer, *pure, chaste.*	saf, *pure.*
	safa, *purity.*
samod, *together, in like manner.*	sæhim, *a partner, even.*
mirran, *to hinder.*	maraw, *go not.*
	marang, *a bar.*
man, *wickedness.*	mang, *cheating, a thief.*
mona, *the moon.*	mang, *the moon.*
mæden, *a maiden.*	madah, *a female.*
moder, *mother.*	madar, *mother.*
mara, *the night-mare.*	mar, *sick.*
mal, *pay, reward, tribute.*	malwar, *rich.*
	maldar, *a rich man.*
mani, *many.*	mali, *many.*
morth, *death.*	murda, *dead.*
morther, *murder.*	murdan, *to die.*
mearc, *a limit.*	marz, *a limit.*
mus, *a mouse.*	murz, *a mouse.*
must, *new wine.*	mustar, *new wine.*
na, *not.*	nah, *not.*

ANGLO-SAXON.	PERSIAN.
nægl, *a nail.*	nakhun, *a nail.*
nafel, *the navel.*	naf, *the navel.*
nama, *a name.*	nam, *a name.*
namcutha, *illustrious.*	nami, *illustrious.*
necca, *the neck.*	nojat, *the collar.*
neow, *new.*	no, *new.*
nu, *now.*	nun, *now.*
nigan, *nine.*	nuh, *nine.*
hol, *health.*	hal, *quiet, firmness.*
hare, *hoary.*	harid, *venerable.*
isa, *ice.*	hasir, *ice.*
eam, *I am.*	hayam, *I am.*
iuc, *a yoke.*	yugh, *a yoke.*
rad, *a road.*	rah, *a road.*
reste, *quiet.*	rast, *secure.*
duru, *a door.*	dar, *a door.*
dem, *slaughter.*	dam, *a groan, black blood.*
dim, *obscure.*	damah, *a cloud.*
gabban, *to deride.*	ghab, *a foolish bitter expression.*
gaf, *loquacious.*	guftan, *speech, to relate.*
cu, *a cow.*	go, *a cow.*
gers, *grass.*	gryah, *grass.*
gifr, *greedy.*	guri, *avarice.*
facen, *fraud.*	faj, *a lie.*
sum, *some.*	suman, *a little.*
sæl, *prosperity.*	salaf, *luxurious.*
steorra, *a star.*	sitarah, *a star.*
losewest, *deception.*	losidan, *to deceive.*
leogan, *to tell a lie.*	lay, *lying.*
hlogun, *they laughed.*	lagh, *a jest.*
lof, *praise.*	laf, *praise.*
lufa, *love.*	laheb, *love.*
lam, *lame.*	lam, *crooked.* lang, *lame.*
lippa, *the lip.*	law, *the lip.*
laf, *the remainder.*	lab, *remaining.*
less, *the less.*	lash, *small.*
lar, *learning.*	lur, *ability.*
lust, *delight.*	lustan, *to sport.*
lust, *luxuriousness.*	lashan, *nice, soft.*
hlyd, *tumult.*	lud, *furious altercation.*
hlydan, *to rage, to make a noise.*	
list, *knowledge.*	lazir, *clever.*
listum, *skilfully.*	
thu, *thou.*	to, *thou.*
thinan, *to decline, to become thin.*	tanik, *thin.*
tinterg, *torment.*	tang, *tight.*
tintregan, *to torture.*	tangi, *anguish.*
tawian, *to cultivate.*	tan, *an inhabitant.*
teman, *to teem, to bring forth abundantly.*	toma, *twins.*
wen, *hope.*	awanidan, *to hope.*
wenan, *to expect.*	awanidan, *to expect.*
ysel, *a spark.*	azar, *fire.*
rænc, *pride, glorying.*	awrang, *power, glory.*
ae, *a law.*	aym, *a law.*
pæca, *a deceiver.*	pak, *vile.*
pæcan, *to deceive.*	pakh, *ingratitude.*
pæth, *a path, a footway.*	pay, pa, *a footstep.*
pal, *a stake.*	palar, *a beam of wood.*
pæll, *colour.*	paludan, *to besmear.*
pyndan, *to shut up, to impound.*	paywand, *a chain, a shackle.*
pynding, *a fettering.*	
to, *to.*	ta, *to.*
tær, *a tear.*	tar, *moist.* tarb, *torture.*
tæran, *to tear.*	tarakidan, *to split.*
telan, *to tell.*	talagh, *a voice.*
teiss, *affliction.*	tasah, *grief.*
teisse, *a stripe.*	tazyanah, *a scourge.*
tir, *a lord.*	tir, *a chief.*
tir, *glory.*	tur, *a hero, bright.*
siofotha, *bran.*	sapos, *bran.*

ANGLO-SAXON.	PERSIAN.
seel, *time.*	sal, *a year.*
	seelah, *age.*
sul, *a plough.*	suli, *a plough.*
sac, *discord, quarrel.*	sakht, *violent, stubborn.*
sur, surig, *sour.*	sirka, sirkah, *vinegar.*
salh, *a willow.*	salah, *a wicker-basket.*
sorg, *sorrow.*	sog, *grief.*
	sugwar, *sorrowful.*

ANGLO-SAXON.	PERSIAN.
sol, solen, *a shoe, a sandal.*	salu, *a coarse shoe.*
	sulwah, *a shoe.*
sole, *the sole.*	sul, *the sole.*
thunar, *thunder.*	tundar, *thunder.*
thunrian, *to thunder.*	tundidan, *to thunder.*
tan, *a bud.*	tundar, *the bud of a leaf.*

It is remarkable that all, or nearly all, of the Anglo-Saxon words spelt in the Lexicon with *sc,* which are now used in our English phrase, are at present pronounced by us as *sh,* and are written with this orthography. Thus the Anglo-Saxon *sceap, scyp, sco, scine,* and *sceam,* are spoken by us as *sheep, ship, shoe, shine,* and *shame.* Whether the *sh* was the original sound of those words, which, by a sort of conventional orthography, were written as *sc* by our ancestors, to distinguish their sound of *sh* from the proximate one of *s,* or whether it became changed by one of those gradual alterations of pronunciation which occur in all languages from various causes, we cannot now decide; but the Persian has some analogous terms with the *sh,* instead of the *sc,* as:—

ANGLO-SAXON.	PERSIAN.
sca, *excellent.*	shadbash, *excellent.*
scama, *shame, bashfulness.*	sharm, *shame, bashfulness.*
	shama, *naked.*
sceaming, *confusion.*	shamidan, *to be confounded.*

ANGLO-SAXON.	PERSIAN.
sceapian, *to shape, to put in order.*	shaplidan, *to smooth.*
sceaft, *a shaft, an arrow.*	shaftu, *a quiver.*
sceaft, *a point.*	shafar, *the edge.*
sceawian, *to see.*	shuwaz, *the eye.*

The other resemblances which I have remarked between these two languages are:—

ANGLO-SAXON.	PERSIAN.
fægen, *glad.*	farghan, *gladness.*
færan, *to go.*	feridan, *to walk.*
faroth, *a journey.*	faraz, *progress.*
fyr, *fire.*	faroz, *inflaming.*

ANGLO-SAXON.	PERSIAN.
ferhth, *the mind.*	farzah, *wisdom, knowledge.*
ferht, *fear, fright.*	farasha, *dread, trembling.*

ANGLO-SAXON.	PERSIAN.
suht, *languor.*	setoh, *weak.*
fæger, *fair.*	farah, *beauty.*
false, *false.*	faliyn, *fraud.*
suigung, *silencing.*	asudan, *to silence.*
wæl, *slaughter.*	walanah, *a wound.*
woge, *malice.*	waj, *malice.*
wandian, *to revere.*	wand, *praise.*
God	Khoda, *God.*

The congruities which I have perceived in the few specimens that have been published of the Zend with the Anglo-Saxon are the following:—

ANGLO-SAXON.	ZEND.
beran, *to bear.*	bereete, *to bear.*
ba, *both.*	betim, *the second.*
the, *thee.*	te, *thee.*
eahta, *eight.*	aschte, *eight.*
dochter, *daughter.*	dogde, *daughter.*
dohte, *he did.*	daschte, *he did.*
steorran, *stars.*	staranm, *stars.*
frend, *a friend.*	frem, *a friend.*
feder, *a father.*	feder, *a father.*
mid, *with.*	mad, *with.*
meder, *mother.*	mediehe, *mother.*
medo, *mead.*	medo, *wine.*
me, *me.*	man, *me.*
metan, *to measure.*	meete, *measure.*
med, *a recompense.*	mejdem, *a recompense.*
mæst, *chief.*	meze, meso, *great.*
micle, *much.*	mesche, *much.*
mecg, *a man.*	meschio, *a man.*
ma, *more.*	mae, *great.*
na, *not.*	noued, *not.*
nafel, *the navel.*	nafo, *the navel.*
æc, *an oak.*	hekhte, *an acorn.*
hera, *a lord.*	herete, *a chief.*
heretoge, *a chief.*	
pæth, *a path.*	petho, *a way.*
pur, *pure.*	peratche, *pure.*
uppa, *above.*	opero, *above.*
upper, *above.*	
threo, *three.*	thre, *three.*
thrydde, *the third.*	thretim, *the third.*
thu, *thou.*	thvanin, *thou.*
banc, *a floor, a board.*	bænthro, *a floor, a board.*
rot, *splendid.*	erode, *illustrious.*
rof, *illustrious.*	
astandan, *to subsist.*	asteouao, *existence.*
beoth, *they are.*	beouad, *he is.*
beo, *be it.*	boiad, *be it.*
theof, *a thief.*	teio, *a great thief.*
dreori, *dreary.*	drezre, *a desert.*
dæth, *death.*	dajed, *he is no more.*
rewa, *order.*	reso, *he puts in order.*
reswian, *to reason.*	razann, *intelligent.*
froe, *a lord.*	frethem, *greatness.*
guast, *the spirit.*	gueie, *the soul.*
mænde, *he mentioned.*	manthre, *words.*
midda, *middle.*	meiao, *middle.*
morth, *death.*	mrete, *mortal.*
merran, *to mar.*	merckhsch, *to destroy.*
gear, *year.*	yare, *year.*
earmth, *poverty.*	armete, *humility.*
starian, *to look at.*	astriete, *he sees.*
ba, *both.*	bee, *two.*
singan, *to say.*	senghan, *a word.*
scir, sheer, *pure.*	srere, *pure.*
snid, *a cut.*	snæs, *he strikes.*
seon, *to see.*	sodern, *to see.*
gnad, *he bruised.*	ghnad, *he strikes.*
athe, *easy.*	schiato, *easy.*
scina, shina, *brilliant.*	scheeto, *brilliant.*

I will now only trouble the Society with the few coincidences that I have found in looking over Mr. Anquetil's short vocabulary of the Pehlvi, as he has printed it from his old manuscripts.

ANGLO-SAXON.	PEHLVI.
bonda, *one bound.*	bandeh, *a slave.*
nam-cutha, *famous.*	nameh, *famous.*
starian, *to look at.*	astared, *he sees.*
halig, *holy.*	halae, *pure.*
eahta, *eight.*	ascht, *eight.*
sare, *troublesome.*	sareh, *wicked.*
morth, *death.*	marg, *mortal.*
	a-marg, *immortal.*
thu, *thou.*	tou, *thou.*
sex, *six.*	sese, *six.*
bysmor, *opprobrium.*	besche, *wicked.*
suht, *languor.*	satoun, *weak.*
dom, *legal judgment.*	din, *law.*
ræsan, *to attack.*	resch, *a wound.*
secgan, *to say.*	sokhan, *a word.*
gaf, *loquacious.*	goft, *he said.*
ofer, *over, above.*	avvar, *above.*
dem, *slaughter.*	damma, *blood.*
med, *recompense.*	mozd, *recompense.*
cneou, *knee.*	djanouh, *knee.*
steorran, *stars.*	setaran, *stars.*
setnian, *to be in ambush.*	sater, *war.*
sceacan, shakan, *to shake, to pluck.*	schekest, *he breaks.*

ANGLO-SAXON.	PEHLVI.
athe, *easy.*	asaneh, *easy.*
cu, *cow.*	gao, *ox or cow.*
ma, *more.*	meh, *great.*
bar, *bare.*	barhene, *naked.*
morth, *death.*	mourd, *he dies.*
	mourdeh, *mortal.*
meder, *mother.*	amider, *mother.*
nafel, *the navel.*	naf, *the navel.*
na, *no.*	na, *not.*
bog, *a branch.*	barg, *a leaf.*
pur, *pure.*	partan, *pure.*
agytan, *to understand.*	agah, *understanding.*
ac, *an oak.*	akht, *an acorn.*
brader, *brother.*	berour, *brother.*
bye, *a habitation.*	bita, *a house.*
secg, *a little sword.*	sakina, *a knife.*
saex, *a knife.*	
clypian, *to call out.*	kala, *crying out.*
cald, *called.*	
mare, *greater.*	mar, *great.*
necan, *to kill.*	naksounan, *I kill.*
band, *a joining.*	banda, *a band.*
ræd, *a road.*	ræh, *a way.*
eortha, *earth.*	arta, *earth.*

From what I have seen of the three languages of ancient and modern Persia which I have inspected, I think that by a more elaborate investigation of all their analogies with the Anglo-Saxon, a greater number of satisfactory congruities might be traced. But the preceding specimens will perhaps be sufficient to support the probability of the geographical derivation of our ancestors from the vicinity of the Caspian and of Persia; and we are now too many centuries removed from the actual period of the migration, to have

any stronger evidence upon it than that of warrantable inference and reasonable probability.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

32, *Red Lion Square*,
22*d March*, 1827.

SHARON TURNER.

N.B.—Since this letter was written, I have found several affinities of Anglo-Saxon words with others in the Arabic, Hebrew, Chinese, Sanscrit, Japanese, Coptic, Laplandish, Georgian, Tongo, Malay, and Susov, which are printed in the fifth edition of the Anglo-Saxon History. These present a range of similitudes, amid general dissimilarity, which corroborates the principle formerly stated—of the original unity of the primeval language, and of its subsequent abruption on the compulsory dispersion of mankind. But these affinities are not, in each language, near so numerous as the preceding collections from the Persian and its cognate dialects; and therefore do not lessen the weight of the argument, that so many Persian correspondences with the Anglo-Saxon, favour the derivation of the latter nation from the ancient Sacassani, who inhabited the regions near the Kur.

XIII. *Observations on some Monastic Libraries and Archives in French Flanders.* By Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. M.R.S.L.

Read November 17, 1830.

In consequence of the total destruction of the monasteries in France during the Revolution of 1792, I determined, in my recent journey through some of the northern departments of that kingdom, to employ myself in ascertaining the fate of their libraries, and in discovering whether any volumes or documents relating to England might not still exist. To the satisfaction of those who take any interest in English history, it appears that much is still preserved, which, having fallen into the hands of societies more national, as well as more numerous, than those in whose possession they formerly were, have a better chance (we may hope) of continuing to be preserved, and communicated to the world by printing. I allude to the corporate towns, in the possession of which they now are, and which liberally open them to the public; and to the monastic societies, which formerly secluded them.

The preservation of these libraries is due to the National Assembly; and before I proceed farther, I must pay a just tribute of approbation to the truly wise and secure regulations[1] adopted by that body, about three years before the horrible and degrading fanaticism of 1792 broke out, and which were at that time enforced for the security of libraries and records of all kinds, and more particularly those of monasteries: for they have been in a great measure, if not solely, the means of handing down to us those which still exist; and I cannot avoid recommending them to the particular notice of our own government, as far as relates to the safety of our records.

At St. Omer stood the ancient Abbey of St. Bertin, once the abode and asylum of St. Thomas à Becket, who did not fail, on his restoration, to

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[1] A pamphlet of Instructions to the Commissioners for examining the Monastic Libraries was printed in 8vo. by the National Assembly, about the year 1789, which were admirably calculated to preserve all the libraries from destruction.

make its inmates sensible of his gratitude, by various grants of privileges. At the suggestion of the Record Commission, established in France about the year 1750, this monastery transcribed all its ancient charters in ten large folio volumes, with drawings of the seals, the whole authenticated and signed by notaries, after their collation with the originals. These volumes, during the Revolution, were sold for waste paper; and a portion of the original charters and bulls are believed to have been buried in a chest in the foundations of the Abbey of St. Josse, or Jumièges: among the latter was one said to be of the sixth century, now, it is supposed, in the possession of the Bishop of Arras; and two more are the foundation charters, or original grants, of Treulegh, in Kent, which afterwards became a priory and cell to St. Bertin. These last charters were entirely unknown to Dugdale, Tanner, and the editors of the New Monasticon.

The above ten volumes were liberally deposited in the Public Library of St. Omer, where they are now preserved; and they are especially worthy of notice, because they contain documents relative to England, particularly to St. Thomas himself, and because they ought to be examined by those who are engaged in the publication of our national records.

Another volume in this library, of much interest to us, is the Cartulary of Treulegh Priory, hitherto totally unknown. It is on paper, of the fifteenth century, but not quite perfect at the beginning.

During my residence at St. Omer, I persuaded M. Piers, the librarian, to print one of the old catalogues of the MSS., which was drawn up by one of the monks at the command of the National Assembly; but in consequence of its having been printed while M. Piers was unable to revise the press, it is full of errors. The MSS., however, merit a well-detailed catalogue, for several are very ancient, and some of great historical interest. Among those connected with English history and literature (beside those already mentioned,) are—

Petri Blesensis Epistolæ, Sæc. XIII.

Alcuini Grammatica, Sæc. IX.

Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology abridged, with corrections by his own hand.

Life of St. Thomas à Becket.

Life of Brunichild, Queen of France, drawn up, I believe, by Lloyd, or Floyd, an English Catholic. In these volumes is the Correspondence of Floyd with Bolland, begging his saint's admission into his Acta Sanctorum; but Bolland, it appears, did not think her worthy of the honour.

There are also —

A fine copy of Gregory of Tours' History of France. Sæc. X.
Quintilian. Sæc. XV.
Ammianus Marcellinus. Sæc. X. A fragment.
Arrival of the Normans at St. Omer. Sæc. X. or XI.
Eginhardi Vita Caroli Magni. Sæc. X.
Life of Margaret Wake, an English Nun.

Also about twenty Chronicles, Annals, and Memoirs of St. Bertin Abbey, of various centuries; in which it is not unlikely some unpublished anecdotes of St. Thomas might be found.

The ancient copy of the Agrimensores cannot now be discovered.

The library contains about 1000 MSS., and was formed from the various ecclesiastical libraries in the town and neighbourhood; but several books were removed and purloined, before they were transferred from the monasteries to the town, or, more probably, during the anarchy of 1792 and following years.

From St. Omer I went to Lille, where is a good library of printed books, but not above 400 MSS., and those not very important. Among them is a curious Diary of Political Events in the sixteenth century, in which the author appears to have entered all he heard respecting the various wars around him. It contains much relative to the invasion of Henry VIII. and the siege of Terouenne.

In another MS. are transcripts of three deeds of King John, two of which are treaties of alliance between himself while he was only Earl of Ireland, and Baldwin, earl of Flanders. The first is dated 8 Ric. 1.

Here are the Travels of Anselm Adournes in the Holy Land in 1470. This author dedicates his work to a King of Scotland.

Two Cartularies are here preserved; one of the Cathedral of Lille, Sæc. XIII.; the other of the Friars Preachers, Sæc. XIII. and XIV.: also a collection of Lives of "Hérétiques et Impies," (*i. e.* English Protestants!) which are amusing in consequence of the high party colouring given to the characters.

A very curious volume, containing drawings of the tournaments, called Les Festes de l'Epinette, is well worthy of being engraved and published, as an illustration of ancient customs.

The other volumes in this library contain chiefly genealogies, and his-

tories local or general, of Flanders; most of the former, and some of the latter, being inedited.

Among the printed books is a hitherto unknown edition of a work printed by Colard Mansion. It is perfect, and unique in the opinion of M. van Praet, of the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, who has written a bibliographical notice of it.

The archives of this town contain most valuable MSS. for the history, not only of Flanders, but also of all the surrounding nations—France, England, Holland, and Germany; of the importance of which, the following catalogue will enable the Society to judge.

1. Cartulaire de Flandres, No. I. ab an. 1065 ad 1316, folio, on vellum.
2. ——————————— II. ab an. 819 ad 1335, vellum.
3. ——————————— III. ab an. 1110 ad 1301, paper.
4. ——————————— IV. ab an. 1190 ad 1297, vellum.
5. ——— de Haynaut, — I. ab an. 1176 ad 1395, vellum.
6. ——————————— II. ab an. 1071 ad 1347, vellum.
7. ——————————— III. ab an. 1293 ad 1328, vellum.
8. ——————————— IV. ab an. 1159 ad 1495.
9. ———— d'Artois, — I. from 1192 to 1293.
10. ——————————— II. —— 1112 to 1407.
11. ———— de Namur, —— —— 1195 to 1323.
12. ———— Rouge, de Namur, —— 1187 to 1287.
13. ———— de Droits des Comtes de Flandres, ch. Sæc. XIV.
14. Registre des Revenus du Pays Bas et Haynaut, 4to. on vellum, from 1265. (At the end of this volume is " La Loi donnée à la Ville de Haspre an. 1197.)
15. Inventaire des Titres dans le Trésorerie de Hainaut à Mons, vers l'an 1450.
16. Lettres et Diplomes de Jeane de Bretagne, Dame de Cassel, depuis 1331 à 1350.
17. Registre des Affaires de la Duchesse de Bar, Dame de Cassel, ab an. 1370 ad an. 1387.
18. Registre aux Causes de la Cour de Yolente de Flandres, Comtesse de Bar, 1386. Registre aux Lettres de la dite Dame.
19. Jean Ruffault et Charles de Boulongne, Répertoire des Chartes dans la Chambre des Comptes à Lille. (These are extracts from 2812 Deeds.)
20. Seventy-nine large folio volumes, containing copies of Deeds from 1358 to 1687. The first ten volumes are on paper, and sixty-nine on vellum.
21. Index to the above seventy-nine volumes, in 3 vols.; two on paper, one on parchment.
22. 6041 Registers, Portfolios, and Bundles, containing the " Comptes des Douaniers, et Finances des anciens Comtes de Flandres, Hainaut, Artois, et Namur, des Provinces, Villes, et Seigneuries."
23. 152 Drawers, containing Deeds from the year 706 to 1307, which have been indexed in 5 vols. folio. (N.B.—The Deed of 706 could not be found when I requested to see it.)

24. Martyrologium et Obituarium S. Amati de Douay. Vel. Sæc. XIV.
25. Censuale Abbatiæ de Flines.
26. Répertoire des Chartes de . . . .
27. Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Marolles. 2 vols. folio, ch. Sæc. XVI.
28. Registre des Biens de Maubeuge.
29. Obituarium S. Amati de Douay.
30. Cartulaire de Liessies. Fol. ch.
31. ——— de Marbaix.
32. Répertoire de Lauda.
33. ——— de Felines. Thick 4to., vel. Sæc. XIII.
34. Terrarium de Roche.
35. ——— d'Auchy.
36. ——— d'Auchy, avec les Plans. 2 vols. folio.
37. Revenus de l'Abbaye de Flines, ou Felines, an. 1349.
38. A Collection of Royal Letters.

The continual intercourse which has taken place, from the earliest times, between this country and Flanders, must, of course, have occasioned numerous treaties between the two countries, and many transactions must have occurred between the inhabitants, as well as the kings, of each; entries of which, it is more than probable, may be found in some of the above-mentioned volumes: and as we have discovered many new historical facts, and verified others, or disproved the erroneous statements of our old historians, by the examination of our own records, so there can be little doubt but that the investigation of the records of a neighbouring kingdom will bring forth many additional facts hitherto unknown.—I hope the return of Mr. Stapleton, who has made great researches at Rouen and Paris, will fully prove the truth of that which I have here advanced.

XIV. *Illustrations of the Constitution of our ancient Parliaments before the time of Edward the First.* By the Rev. T. D. Fosbroke, M.A. M.R.S.L.

Read March 16, 1831.

The object of this essay is to exhibit the misconceptions (as they are presumed to be) of Selden, and succeeding writers misled by him. It is, of course, incumbent upon the present writer, to shew wherein the positions impugned are untenable, and to prove by authorities that they are so. These authorities will be deduced from contemporaneous historians, and be unaccompanied with hypotheses.

The chief positions here controverted are comprised in the following paragraph, extracted from a meritorious work, which, among its various contents, includes a chapter upon dignities. It will be seen, that the paragraph alluded to is a summary of the modern received doctrines concerning the origin of our respective Houses of Parliament. These doctrines are the points at issue.

" From the conquest, according to Selden," observes Professor Christian, " to the latter end of the reign of King John, *all* who held lands of the king had a right *to be summoned to parliament;* and this right being then confined to the king's tenants, *all peers of parliament during that period sat by tenure and writ of summons.* From the end of John's reign to the eleventh of Richard the Second (an. 1387), a very important distinction was introduced, *which eventually produced the lower house of parliament,* viz. a division of those tenants into greater and less barons.—*See Bl. Magn. Cart. John,* p. 144."

Now, if Selden had been guided by the letter of the authorities quoted by himself, instead of warping them to an hypothesis, he would have found that the *inferior tenants in capite had not, nor ever had, a right to sit in the upper house at all;* that they were summoned *en masse* to a muster *with arms,* and that they only appeared in parliament by *delegation.* The following quotations from his own book, the " Titles of Honour," will prove it. The first quotation is from Magna Charta. The only paragraph in that pre-eminent

document, relative to parliaments, is the following, as given by Matthew Paris.[1]

" Nullum scutagium vel auxilium ponam in regno nostro, nisi per commune consilium regni nostri, nisi ad corpus nostrum redimendum, et ad primogenitum filium nostrum militem faciendum, et ad primogenitam filiam nostram semel maritandam. Et ad hoc non fiat nisi rationabile auxilium. Simili modo fiat de auxiliis de civitate LONDINENSI, et civitas LONDONIENSIS habeat omnes antiquas libertates et liberas consuetudines suas, tam per terras quam per aquas. Preterea volumus et concedimus, quod omnes *aliæ* civitates et burgi et villæ et barones de quinque portubus et omnes portus habeant omnes liberas consuetudines suas, et ad *habendum*[2] *omne commune consilium regni* DE AUXILIIS ASSIDENDIS, aliter quam in tribus casibus prædictis, et de SCUTAGIIS ASSIDENDIS, submoneri faciemus archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, comites, *et majores barones regni, singillatim per literas nostras.* Et preterea faciemus *submoneri in generali* per vicecomites et ballivos nostros, *omnes alios* qui in capite tenent de nobis, ad certum diem; scilicet ad terminum quadraginta dierum ad minus, et ad certum locum, in omnibus literis submonitionis illius exponemus; et sic facta submonitione, negotium procedat ad diem assignatum, secundum consilium eorum, qui præsentes fuerint, quamvis non omnes submoniti venerint."

" *I* will levy no scutage or aid in *our* kingdom, unless by the common council of our realm, except to ransom our person, make our eldest son a knight, and marry our eldest daughter once. And for this only reasonable aid shall be required. In like manner may it be done concerning the aids from the city of London, and the city of London may have all its ancient liberties and free customs, both by land and water. Moreover, we will and grant, that all other *cities* and *boroughs* and *vills*, and the barons of the cinque ports, and all the ports, may enjoy all their free liberties and free customs, and *enjoy* the *common council of the realm concerning* ASSESSMENT OF AIDS, otherwise than in the aforesaid cases; and as to the ASSESSMENT OF SCUTAGES, we will cause to be summoned all the archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons of the realm, *singly* by our letters; and, besides, we will cause to be summoned, in a general form, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, *all others* who hold of us *in capite*, at a certain day; to wit, at the term of forty days at least, and at a fixed place; and we state the cause of that summons in all the letters of that summoms; and the summons having been so made, the business may proceed at the day assigned, according to the counsel of those present, although all summoned may not attend."

Now, here are the following distinct recognitions —

(1.) Of a " *common council of the realm.*"

(2.) Of including burgesses in it for the purpose of granting AIDS.

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[1] Page 216. ed. Watts.

[2] Ducange (v. *habere*) says, that the sense of that word is the same as that of the old French *avoir*, which Cotgrave defines by " *to use, possess, occupy*, and *enjoy*."

(3.) Of the *tenants in capite,* and the assessment of scutages.

(4.) Of summonses being addressed to the *barones majores* singly.

(5.) Of summonses being addressed *generally* through the sheriffs and bailifs to *all other* tenants *in capite.*

Each of these recognitions, taken singly, and confirmed by records and chronicles, will shew that Selden was entirely mistaken in his construction of this paragraph of Magna Charta.

(1.) The "*common council of the realm.*" The term of the Anglo-Saxons, *wytena-gemot,* seems to be of as indefinite and colloquial origin as *parliament.* A full *parliament* was termed "mycel-ȝemoc," (*mycel-gemot*) in the years 1015, 1020, 1047, and *witena-gemot* occurs only in 1036. In 1137, in King Stephen's time, a parliament held at Oxford is called a "*gadering,*" or gathering.[3] The first mentioned of such an assembly occurs in the reign of Ina, king of Wessex, who flourished anno 712. He says, according to Brompton:[4]

"Ego *Ine* Dei gratia *West-Saxonum* rex, exhortatione et doctrina Conredis patris mei, et *Heddæ* episcopi mei, et omnium aldermannorum meorum et seniorum sapientum regni mei, multaque congregatione servorum Dei, solicitus de salute animarum nostrarum et de statu regni mei, constitui rectum conjugium et justa judicia, pro stabilitate et confirmatione populi mei benigna sedulitate celebrari, et nulli aldermanno vel alicui de toto regimine nostro conscripta judicia liceat abolere."

"I, Ina, by the grace of God, king of the West-Saxons, by the exhortation and doctrine [instruction][5] of Conred my father, and Hedda my bishop, and all my aldermen, and senior wise men of my kingdom, and a large assemblage of the servants of God, anxious for the safety of our souls, and the safety of my kingdom, have appointed right matrimony and just judgments, for the stability and confirmation of my people, with kind anxiety to be observed; and let it be allowable to no alderman of any of our government to abolish the written judgments."

It is not within the scope of the present inquiry to ascertain who were the members of these parliaments. It is sufficient to say, that the Saxon Chronicle mentions the chief nobility, and higher thanes, and spiritual lords,[6] and also the writ of summons.[7]

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[3] Chron. Sax. sub annis.

[4] Decem Scriptores, col. 762.

[5] See Ducange.

[6] Anno MXV.

[7] Anno MXLVIII.

As to the term, *commune consilium* and *generale consilium*, or full parliament, Selden is unquestionably correct,[8] when he calls it one in which the *clerus* and *populus* were assembled together with the nobles. That the *clerus* implied the house of convocation is beyond a doubt; and how such a term as *populus* can be united with *clerus*, as joint members of the parliament, unless there existed a commons' house, is scarcely to be conceived. The terms appear in the reign of Henry the First at his coronation, an. 1100, and plainly did not originate at that era.

(2.) The second recognition includes burgesses in the "full parliament," or *commune consilium*, for the purpose of granting AIDS.[9] Burgage tenure was soccage tenure, and therefore taxation of them did not come under the assessment of SCUTAGE. The distinction is clearly shewn in the following passage of the Annals of Wigorn.

"Anno MCCLIV. Taxatio generalis tam de temporalibus quam de spiritualibus facta fuit per Angliam, *exceptis baroniis*."[10]

"Anno MCCLIV. A general taxation both of spirituals and temporals was made throughout England, *except the baronies*."

The paragraph in Magna Charta clearly shews, that the burgesses did possess a right of session in parliament, and other liberties, without which they could not legally be subject to taxation; for the demands of the barons in that document have a retrospective aspect to privileges which had been abused, and which are distinctly recognised, as to their parliamentary bearing, in the words, "clerus *et populus*."

(3.) The third recognition in the charter is of the tenants *in capite* for the assessment of scutages.

The manner in which the inferior tenants *in capite* were assembled *en masse*, and *delegated* representatives to act in parliament, is clearly exhibited in the following record, which Selden[11] denominates "a strange writ of summons, for aught he had seene, without example, and seeming to point to that distinction of tenants by knights' service, which he calls here *barones minores* of that time from the *majores*, or such as were properly barons," [*i. e.* peers of parliament].

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[8] Tit. of Hon. 702, c. v. sec. 20.

[9] See Littleton and Ducange, v. *Burgagium*.

[10] Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 494.

[11] Tit. of Hon. Part II. c. 5. sec. 20, p. 710.

The words of the record are—

" Rex Vicecomiti Oxon. salutem. Præcipimus tibi, quod omnes MILITES ballivæ tuæ, qui summoniti fuerunt esse apud Oxoniam ad nos a die Omnium Sanctorum in xv. dies, venire facias *cum armis suis;* corpora vero BARONUM *sine armis* singulariter; et iv. discretos milites de comitatu tuo illuc venire facias ad nos ad eundem terminum, ad loquendum nobiscum de negotiis regni nostri. Teste meipso apud Witten. xi. die Novembris. Eodem modo scribitur omnibus Vicecomitibus."—*Claus.* 15. *Joh.* p. 2. m. 7. dors.

" The King to the Sheriff of Oxford, greeting. We order you, that all knights of your bailiwick, who shall have been summoned to be with us at Oxford for fifteen days from the day of All Saints, you cause to come *with their arms;* but the persons of the barons without their arms singly; and cause to come [also] four discreet knights of your county, at the same term, to converse with us concerning the business of our realm. Teste meipso," &c.

The fact is, that the general assemblage was for a *muster,* implied by the term *cum armis,*[12] and for the election of the knights (now called *knights*[12] *of the shire*) to represent in parliament these inferior tenants *in capite* (now degraded into freeholders); a circumstance which seems to be alluded to in the modern fact, that copyholds, *olim* soccage tenures, do not confer votes for a county. As to the assemblage of the barons *sine armis,* it occurs in all the subsequent summonses, and may be inferred from the measures which were taken with relation to Earl Godwin, in the Anglo-Saxon parliament of the year 1048.

Selden, however, says,[13] from an ancient manuscript, that in the year 1165, Henry the Second determining to hold a solemn council, caused to be cited *all who held of him in capite* to the castle of Northampton; and from this document he infers, that all of these tenants had a right to sit in parliament, like the *barones majores,* or peers, and actually exercised that right: whereas, had he analysed the writ of John, just quoted, he would have seen that they only sat in parliament *by delegation,* and that he has confounded the military muster with election of the county members. He never considered how physically impossible and ridiculously irrational it was to think, that whole thousands of men could be assembled for the conduct of general business; nor did he reflect, that the words of the great charter only referred to one specific object, namely, that *scutage* was not to be imposed without a universal

[12] A county member at his election is *still girt with a sword.*

[13] Tit. of Hon. p. 705.

meeting of *all* the tenants *in capite;* and that such a necessity, if that military tax was meditated, occasioned King Henry the Second to have them summoned *en masse,* at the very place and time when a parliament was holden for the purpose of obtaining *aids* also from the clergy and people. Now this assemblage at Northampton was only preparatory to an expedition into Wales in the following year.

It is strange that Selden should fabricate a session of *all* the inferior tenants *in capite* in the upper house, as lords, when men of the highest rank in mediæval archæology saw the physical impossibility in the plainest light. Ducange says,[14] "It is evident, that in England, as in France, not *all* who held their estates immediately of the king were admitted to parliaments, *because their number was too great;* but those only who were next to the king, and exceeded the others in the dignity and number of their vassals."

But the mistake does not terminate with the matters specifically referred to. Mr. Palmer's well-digested compendium says further:[15]

"The practice of summoning the minor barons by the sheriff *ceased,* as appears from the great charter of 9 Henry III. (A. D. 1225), in which the chapter relative to the summoning of the tenants *in capite* in *John's* charter is omitted."

To a similar purport is the following passage, extracted by Mr. Stacey Grimaldi from the Encyclopædia Britannica,[16] and published in his valuable work, entitled "Origines Genealogicæ."[17]

"We find in our ancient histories, that when our kings went to war, they levied scutages on their tenants *in capite;* and these assessments, in the time of Henry the *Second,* seem to have been made arbitrarily, which occasioning a national clamour, King John consented, in Magna Charta, that no scutage should be imposed without consent of parliament. This was omitted in Henry the *Third's* charter, where it is only provided, that scutages should be taken as in the time of Henry the *Second,* that is, in a reasonable and moderate manner.

Neither of these two paragraphs is, as matter of history, to be admitted; for, 1st, The summonses of the minor barons did not cease with the reign of

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[14] Vide *Barones Parliamentarii.*

[15] Practice of the House of Lords, p. 286.

[16] Tit. *Knights' Service.*

[17] Page 55.

Henry the *Third;* nor, 2d, was there any difference between his charter and that of John.

1st, The *summonses of the minor barons did not cease with the reign of Henry the Third.*

Mr. Palgrave, in the preface to his "Parliamentary Writs," vol. ii. says, "Amongst the military writs will be found the remarkable returns made pursuant to writs tested at Westminster, 9th May, 17 Ed. II. (Part I. p. 636, No. 15, to p. 657, No. 112), by which *all and singular* the knights, &c. of and within the respective counties, were summoned by proclamation to appear at Westminster in a great council, *nearly analogous to those assemblages of the military tenants of the crown, indicated in Magna Charta.*"

No doubt, one political intention of these summonses *en masse* was to ascertain the fidelity and allegiance of the parties summoned, estimated by their appearance or absence.

The writ of the 17 Ed. II. (an. 1324) will shew that, as in that of John, and Henry II.'s parliament of Northampton, a *parliament* and *muster* were to be held simultaneously at the same place, and that the latter included *all* the military tenants, but omits the delegation and election mentioned in John's summons.[18]

"Edwardus Dei gr̃a Rex Angl', Dñs Hib. et Dux Aquit. Vic. *Lanc.* sal̃tem. Cum pro quibusdam magnis et arduis negociis nos et statum regni nr̃i multipliciter tangentibus, mandavimus prelatis, comitibus, baronibus, et aliis proc̃ibus regni nr̃i, ad nos apud Westm. *die Dñica* px' post *instans festum Ascensionis Dñi*, ad tractandum ibidem nobiscum sup' negociis antedi̇̃s, ac nos consilium et avisamentum de sin̄glis com' dci regni nr̃i sup' d̃cis negociis habere velimus. Tibi precipimus firmiter injungentes qd in pleno com̄ tuo et singulis locis in ballia tua tam infra libertates quam extra ubi videris expedire ex parte nrâ publice facias proclamari, *qd omnes et singuli milites* de eadem balliva tua tam infra lib̃tates quam extra,

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to the Sheriff of Lancashire, greeting. Since, for certain great and arduous business, in many ways affecting us and the state of our realm, we have commanded prelates, earls, barons, and other chieftains of our kingdom, to be with us at Westminster, on the Sunday next after the approaching feast of the Ascension of our Lord, to treat there with us upon the aforesaid business; and we would wish to have counsel and advice about the said business from every county of our realm. We [therefore] order you, under a strict injunction, that you order to be publicly proclaimed, on our part, in your full county, and every

[18] It hints at it generally under the words "consilium et avisamentum militum."

aliis pretermissis omni excusatione postposita, *sint ad nos* ad dc̃m *locum* Westm' *die M'curii px' post dcam diem Dnicam* nobcum et cum prelatis, comitibus et baronibus supra dictis, sup' dictis negociis tractaturi suumque consilium impensuri. Teste," &c.—*Orig. in Turr. Lond.*[19]

place in your bailiwick, both within and without your liberties, where you shall think fit, that all and singular the knights of the same your bailiwick, both within and without the liberties, other matters omitted, and all excuse postponed, be with us at the said place of Westminster, on the Wednesday next after the said Lord's day, to confer and give their counsel with us, and the prelates, earls, and barons aforesaid, concerning the said business. Witness," &c.

The same work shews[20] that the cause of this extraordinary assemblage was that specified in Magna Charta, viz. assessment of scutage; for the meeting was called with a view of an expedition into Aquitaine; and there followed the assemblage, orders for all who had 40*l.* land, to take up arms at Michaelmas, and a scutage.

2d, *There was no difference between the Magna Charta of Henry the Third and that of John.*

Matthew Paris says,[21] under the very year quoted (viz. 1225), that so far from there having been any change in Henry the Third's Magna Charta, that the two charters, both of him and his father, were *in no respects* dissimilar;[22] and as to a reference to the time of Henry the *Second,* according to the Encyclopædia Britannica statement, and a particular application *to the charter of Henry the Third,* the words are to be found in that of John,[23] as follows: " Let scutage be taken in future, as in the time of King Henry, our ancestor, was accustomed to be." Now, Henry the *Second* was the *father,* not ancestor (*avus*) of John, and the said *avus* could not be any other than Henry the *First,* his great-grandfather, who professed, as did the other Norman kings, to revive and patronise the old English *Saga* usual in the time of Edward the Confessor,[24] as well as allow his attendants the use of candles at night, which his brother had denied.[25]

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[19] Palgrave, vol. ii. divis. ii. p. 636. n. 15. [20] Ibid. p. 658. [21] Ibid. p. 272.

[22] " Ita quod chartæ utrorumque regum in nullo inveniuntur dissimiles."

[23] " Scutagium de cætero capiatur, sicut capi tempore regis avi nostri consuevit." M. Paris, p. 218. lin. b. ed. Watts. [24] M. Paris, pp. 46, 47.

[25] " Lucernarum usum noctibus in curia restituit, qui fuerat tempore fratri intermissus." W. Malmesb. Script. p. Bed. 88. al. ed. 1596.

It is very true, that Henry the Second is accounted the first author of Escuage, for his expedition to Toulouse; and very possibly Bishop Kennet might have suggested the idea. But, apparently, the ancient chroniclers used the word only as a generic denomination of the taxes to which the military tenants were subject from the very institution of knights' service.[26] Of such old historians as I have had the means of consulting, most of them contemporaries, all are silent, except Gervase of Canterbury, who only says that Henry exacted a most exorbitant scutage;[27] and therefore it is not possible that the clause in Magna Charta could refer to him instead of the *first* Henry. His grandson, the second Henry, may be deemed the *first* who extorted three marks for every fee; and he was enabled so to do, because it is admitted by Thorne, that the amount of the sum assessed was entirely dependent upon the will of the sovereign.[28] Lord (or rather Bishop) Littleton says, that the famous Becket, when archdeacon of Canterbury, saddled the clergy with the payment of this tax for the expedition to Toulouse; and that it was *first assessed only upon military tenants who were ecclesiastics,* (2 Hen. II.), and in 1159 made general.[29] The tax was a pecuniary substitute for personal service; and that such an imposition was long before levied, whether called scutage or not, is clear from the coronation grants of Henry the First.

" Si quis baronum vel hominum meorum infirmabitur, *sicut ipse dabit vel dare disposuerit pecuniam suam;* ita datum esse concedo militibus, qui per loricas terras suas defendunt, terras dominicarum carucarum suarum quietas ab omnibus geldis, et omni proprio dono meo concedo: ut sicut tam magno gravamine alleviati sunt, ita equis et armis bene se instruant."—*M. Paris,* 47.

(4.) The fourth recognition of Magna Charta is the summons of the *barones majores,* individually.

It has been contested whether a peer could claim a right of attending parliament without summons (*de jure*), and modern writers have settled it in the negative. Now, it appears from the old chroniclers, that the first Nor-

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[26] See Ducange, v. *Scutagium.*

[27] " Rex Henricus scotagium sive scutagium de Anglia accepit: de aliis vero terris sibi subjectis *inauditam* similiter census fecit *exactionem.*" Dec. Scriptor. col. 1381.

[28] " Et sciendum est, quod scutagium est aliquando majus et aliquando minus, secundum voluntatem regis." Id. 1939.

[29] Hist. Hen. II. vol. iii. pp. 428, 429.

man kings kept three great festivals in the year, viz. *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsuntide;* and, according to Cowell,[30] the barons then assembled for public business, and the king came among them with his crown on his head, and attired in his royal robes. This is perfectly correct, as will appear from the following passages in Eadmer; and to these festivals and parliaments, which followed immediately after the holydays, the peers came unsummoned (*de more*) from custom, but *not* to any parliaments held in the intervening periods, *without a writ of summons.* Eadmer, speaking of the time of William Rufus, says:[31]—"During these things, when, for the sake of our Lord's nativity, all the *primores regni* had come to the king's court, *according to custom*, it happened that the five best of them, with one consent, complained of the common mother of the realm, the Church, that it was deprived of its shepherd (Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury); and at Whitsuntide, anno 1095, when the nobility had in like manner come to court, unsummoned, *from custom*, they proceeded to business, upon the termination of the more festive days."[32] But it appears, from the same author, that they did not come, at least for parliamentary business, at other times, unless they were summoned; for he says, that in the August following the said Whitsuntide festival, they were again assembled "*præcepti sui* [*i. e.* regis] *sanctione*," by the sanction of the king's writ; and in the October following, were by the same means dissolved.[33] He shews further, in another place, that it was only upon extraordinary occasions that they were convened by summons. He says, that King Henry took the opportunity of an assemblage of his nobles at court, during the *Easter* festival, to discuss public business; but in

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[30] Vide *Parliament.*

[31] "Inter hæc cum gratia Dominicæ nativitatis, omnes regni primores ad curiam regis *pro more* venissent, contigit," &c. Hist. Nov. p. 15.

[32] "Cum igitur in Pentecoste, regiæ curiæ se præsentasset [Anselmus], et modo inter prandendum,* modo alias quemadmodum oportunitas (sic) se offerebat, statum animi regalis, quis erga colendam æquitatem esset studiose perquisisset, eumque qui olim fuerat omnimodo reperisset, nihil spei de futura ipsius emendatione in eo ultra remansit. Peractis igitur festivioribus diebus, diversorum negotiorum causæ in medium duci *ex more* cœperunt." Id. p. 37.

[33] Id. p. 38.

* When King James the First sat at dinner, it was customary for bishops to stand behind his chair and converse with him. See Nichols's Progresses of James I.

expectation of further intelligence, postponed it to *Whitsuntide*, the next festival.[34]

From the foregoing premises it is deducible—

I. That no peer *claimed a right* to be summoned to parliament, except it was held (in the words of Magna Charta) for the assessment of scutages.

II. That the lords attended the court *from custom* at the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and that then parliamentary business was transacted.

III. That they were summoned upon emergencies.

IV. That the inferior tenants *in capite* had a right to be summoned *en masse*, whenever a SCUTAGE was to be levied; and that when so summoned, they elected delegates from their own body to represent them in parliament; and that from hence came our knights of the shire.

V. That citizens and burgesses *had a right* to return members from their own body, when AIDS were to be granted.

VI. That a convocation of the clergy accompanied such parliaments of king, lords, and commons, as is evident from the terms "*clerus et populus*," thus used in the parliament held at the accession of Henry the First, in which it is said, "that the clergy of England and all the people were assembled at London," together with the magnates or lords.[35]

If these deductions are fair, it follows, that, whatever modifications, rather than changes, may have subsequently ensued, the ancient constitution of parliament was in substantials much the same as it now is, with this exception, that parliamentary business was transacted at the royal festival meetings, without apparently any convention of the Commons' House, although that was indispensable when taxes were to be imposed, or a "full parliament" (*generale consilium*) requisite on account of the importance of the business.

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[34] Id. p. 90.

[35] "Congregato Londoniis clero Angliæ et populo universo. . . . . Clero respondente et magnatibus cunctis." M. Paris, p. 46. ed. Watts.

XV. *On the Moral Fame of Authors, and the Moral Character of Shakespear's Dramas.* By Prince Hoare, Esq. M.R.S.L.

Read Feb. 16 and March 2, 1831.

" Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius et melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit."

Sect. I. ON THE MORAL FAME OF AUTHORS, &c.

In the preface to a work published about four years ago, containing memoirs of the late philanthropist Granville Sharp, some remarks were offered on the superior advantages of moral writers over those of a different description in the comparative duration of their fame; and in support of the opinion there expressed, the instances of Homer, Pindar, and other eminent poets of antiquity, were adduced, with that of Milton in our own country. In contemplating the subject, my thoughts extended beyond the limit there observed, on a topic which bore collaterally only on the general object of these memoirs; but all farther reflections were suppressed from an apprehension of extending the preface beyond its due length. As, however, the observations which will be the subject of this paper are intimately connected with that preface, I hope I shall be excused for extracting from it the portion which relates to my present subject, with some corrections and additions:—

" Mention having been made, in conversation, of the work which I was preparing for the press, a literary friend, whose talents I have long respected, observed to me, that, ' If a good man were a great one, I had an excellent subject for a memoir.' As I felt little disposition to reverence a sentiment which seemed to place goodness in the *second* rank, it was not without surprise that I heard it from the lips of one who had proved himself capable of feeling and expressing many of the finer affections of our nature; and I was on reflection induced to attribute it to the then prevailing influence of a genius, who, disdainful of the just feelings of society, has mixed nightshade with the waters of Castalia.

"Dissenting from such authorities, yet with a due deference to talents of every kind, I conceive the highest value of literary compositions to be MORAL UTILITY; and I consider the pretensions of any writer to fame, still more the exalted name of Poet, to be justly forfeited when that great end of literature is abandoned or perverted. Dangerous examples, indeed, may arise, which have a momentary tendency to impress a contrary belief. They have arisen in our day, as in the instance to which I have alluded, to the regret of every friend to genius, in works which, but for their deficiency in this important point, are entitled to strong and lasting claims on our admiration. But dangerous as such examples are to the real interests of literature, it is consoling to think, that they cannot ultimately be fatal, because, as far as their influence is felt by other writers, its consequences will appear, on a just consideration, to be prejudicial to that which every writer values in a very high degree—the stability of his reputation.

"A desire to promote the cause of virtue (and of course to strengthen the sources of human happiness) will be found to be the measure, not of the honesty only of the literary man, but to include also that of his understanding and fame. A full sense of the loveliness and pre-excellence of virtue is a primary and indispensable quality in the character of those who make pretensions to the highest human capacity.[1] Virtue is the truth of moral relations; and it is a wisdom of which universal experience is the ground and proof. What all men agree to call by the name of virtue, is that which the consenting acknowledgment of all mankind has demonstrated to be most right, because most useful. Whatever deviation either our passions or our interest may seem to justify in our own sight, he who mistakes deviation for rectitude will

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[1] The τὸ καλὸν of Plato. "We feel ourselves," says the divine philosopher, "in the rational part of our nature charmed with the sight of beauty, and smitten with the love of it. We feel our minds urged on to inquiries after truth, as it were, by a pre-sensation of its supreme beauty, and by a preconception of its being their own proper good. Impulses so strong, that, however often we are diverted from such inquiries by the necessities of the body, by fancy and passion, or by the desire of imaginary good, yet, left to the exercise of our own faculties unhindered or undisturbed, we are always in pursuit of it (tracing it through the natural and necessary connexion of ideas); and when we have found it, they are never to be driven away from their attachment to it, as long as they turn their inward eye towards it, until the sight of this eye failing, all its natural objects sink in the darkness of oblivion."—*On the Doctrine of Heraclitus; Sydenham's Translation of Plato.*

fairly be suspected of unsound faculties; and his works will, after a time, be cast aside by the world, because the world will take no pains to preserve what is useless to it.

"A writer or poet, therefore, who deserts his moral obligations to his fellow-creatures, by neglecting to impress images of excellence on the mind, does not write for immortality. The course of time affords examples of stable permanence of high fame, in those writers only in whose works a sense of religion and virtue holds a conspicuous station. Homer, Pindar, Plato, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, and as many more as are eminent on ancient record, are examples of this truth. Homer and Pindar, and Horace as a lyrical poet, teem in every page with religious sentiments.[2] The first of those, ranking the highest in fame, has sometimes been considered chiefly as the dramatist, as the natural representer of human passions, and his eminence has been attributed to that cause. But, besides the exalted tenour of innumerable passages dispersed through the Iliad, that work is distinguished above most others by its frequent reference of all that is passing, in its greatest events, to the deities who preside over human actions. In the first line of his exordium he invokes the assistance of the divine spirit:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε Θεά·

and in the fifth line he announces the circumstance which gave birth to his subject as the ordinance of the supreme will:

Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.

Three lines further, Apollo is introduced as the administering agent of chastisements to the Grecians under the sovereign fiat —

"Such was the sovereign doom, and such the will of Jove." (*Pope.*)

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[2] There was a law at Athens appointing the works of Homer to be recited during the solemnisation of the Panathenæa; "in order," says Socrates, in his Panegyrical Oration, "to raise in the Athenians an emulation of the virtues there celebrated."— *Plato in Hipparcho.*

In modern times they have been thought worthy to be proposed for our instruction in piety, as well as in poetry.

The author of the Gnomologia Homerica has not hesitated to exhibit many of the sentences in the Iliad and Odyssey as in strict parallel with the sacred writings.— *See Duport's Preface to the Gnomologia.*

I do not mean here to speak of the good sense or absurdity of those supposed deities who take so active a part in the transactions of that poem. They were the religion of Homer's time; and the submission of all human actions to their influence (absurdly called *machinery*) is one great source of the dignity of Homer's works.

"The case is in this point the same with respect to those far sublimer writings which we Christians venerate, exclusively of the prophetic reference of the Old Testament to the later events of Christianity. The history of the Bible in itself impresses us with awe, inasmuch as it is the history of a guiding Providence over the progress of a chosen nation. It is, in fact, a history of the dispensations of Providence; and it is this never-ceasing reference to a superintending Divinity, kept constantly in view, which gives it a dignity and an authority surpassing all other histories in the world. Indeed, considering the immensely powerful effect produced on the reader or hearer by this last circumstance, it appears surprising that the mode (if I may use that term) of the sacred narrative has been so rarely imitated. Among the ancients, Homer, as an epic poet, has made the greatest similar attempt. Our own Milton has followed the same path, to which he was led by the nature of his subject. Among modern historians, I find one instance of daring to look up to so high an example, in the admirable Moral Survey of English History, by Mr. Sharon Turner — a work secure of increasing estimation."

In the above remarks I omitted any particular mention of Virgil, from some doubts how far his example might safely be brought forward as wholly unquestionable in favour of my argument. But further reflection induces me to think, that the great prize which he proposed to himself in the rivalry of Homer was lost by omitting to follow him in the grand path to fame which has been stated above. Instead of impressing a religious awe on the reader at the outset, by presenting himself, like Homer, the impassioned but submissive instrument of heavenly inspiration (Μῆνιν ἀείδε Θεά), he stands forward presumptuously, as *himself the source* of epic power —

Arma virumque cano.[3]

[3] I do not quote the lines beginning with "Ille ego," &c. from the rational doubt of their authenticity; but I may perhaps fairly adduce them in proof of the impression made by the Æneid on the mind of the writer who thus imitated the style of Virgil by a passage of the purest egotism.

The same sentiment pervades his work, and is distinctly shewn in several places. When he introduces the devoted Lausus rushing on certain death to favour the rescue of his wounded father, he says—

> Hic mortis duræ casum tuaque optima facta,
> (Si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas,)
> Non equidem nec *te*, juvenis memorande, *silebo*.

At the end of the beautiful episode of Nisus and Euryalus, in the preceding book, he says—

> Fortunati ambo, si *quid mea carmina* possunt,
> Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.

Again, in the same book, he places himself on a level and in a sort of partnership with the Muse—

> Vos, O Calliope, precor aspirate canenti,
> Et *mecum* ingentes oras evolvite belli.

How unlike to Homer's fervent invocation of the Muses at the commencement of his account of the Greek navy, and his acknowledgment of his own inefficiency without their aid—

> Ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστέ. (lib. ii. v. 484.)

Although Mr. Spence has remarked, in his Polymetis, that Virgil has employed machinery, or supernatural causes, so much, that almost the whole course of his Æneid is carried on by the intervention of the gods, yet it is indisputable that he uses them chiefly as matters of ornament, and does not endeavour to excite in the reader that deep reverence for his divinities, which so forcibly accompanies the events of the Iliad. In relating the ground-work of his poem, at the opening, he appears, even while addressing the Muse, to question the propriety of the heavenly conduct. He observes of Juno:

> Tantæne animis celestibus iræ?

How unlike the solemnity of Homer, in his introduction of Apollo as the ministering agent of the punishment on the Greeks! From what different causes does the wrath of the one and the other deity, in the different

poems, arise! In the Greek poem Apollo takes an awful and appropriate vengeance, because the minister of heaven and his holy rites has been scorned and driven back from the Grecian camp. In the Roman poem the anger of Juno is womanish. The "*spretæ injuria formæ*" constitutes a part, if not the whole source, of her enmity to Eneas; "*manet altâ mente repôstum.*" And her opening speech, in the first book, discloses little else than the feelings of wounded pride.

The exquisite beauties of Virgil's style, and the general composition of his poems, entitle him to pretensions of equality, or at least of competition, with his great predecessor; but he followed him unequally in the grand point of religious impressions; and his fame, though great, is secondary to Homer's. It must at the same time be remembered, that it is secondary to Homer's *alone;* for, though defective, or rather imperfect, in the point here alluded to, the prevailing tone of moral dignity in the Æneid is sufficiently obvious to secure his rank for ages yet to come. The general expression of virtuous sentiment in that work will allow of no question; and there is one great point in particular, which is decisive of its claims—the PIETY, that quality of his hero on which the poet has laid so great a stress, (and which has been in later times inconsiderately treated with levity), is conspicuously established in the main enterprise of the poem. Æneas sets forward, like the patriarch Abraham,[4] to seek a country and a home on a spot unknown to himself, but where his gods shall be reverenced, and their worship maintained in security. He goes forth without human protection, "*fato profugus,*" but in confidence and full reliance on the superior guidance which has been promised to him, to place the remains of his nation in a land of plenty and honour. This great purpose is the object of all his toil, and the unceasing spur to all his actions; and the various circumstances of the poem are constantly concurring to its completion. This, indeed, is the dignified part of Virgil's works. The consultation of the religious mysteries by his hero has the same grand object in view. How feeble, and even insipid, in comparison with these, is the petty warfare which follows between the Trojans, Tyrrhenians, Rutulians, &c.—"*nullo discrimine!*"

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[4] For this striking comparison I am indebted to my friend, the Rev. Charles Townsend, now curate of Shoreham, in Sussex.

The examples of many other eminent authors of later date appear to corroborate my assertion, of the superior durability of fame attendant on moral writing. The fame that adorns the names of Dante, Tasso, Camoens, Fenelon, Richardson, Goldsmith, and Johnson, is of perennial bloom. They are all moralists, and, with them all, the inculcation of moral precepts is, from the causes before shewn, the security of their fame. The works of Tasso, like those of Milton, (and to these names may be added Petrarch), are of a profoundly religious character. Every reader of them must perceive that the minds of the writers were nurtured principally in the sacred writings of revelation. The Muse of Milton is invoked from the mysterious Oreb, or the holy hill of Sion; and the influence of the same divine spirit did Tasso seek. The exordium of his "Gerusalemme Liberata," although in the first lines imitating Virgil, is yet full of religious feeling. His invocation of the Muse, in the commencement of the second stanza, is Miltonic—

O Musa, tu, che di caduchi allori
Non circondi la fronte in Elicona,
Ma su ne 'l cielo infra i beati cori
Hai di stelle immortali aurea corona,
Tu spira al petto mio celesti ardori,
Tu rischiara il mio canto, e tu perdona
S' intesso fregi al ver, s' adorno in parte
D' altri diletti, che de' tuoi, le carte!

The tendency of Petrarch's mind, whose character had so great an influence on his important age, was certainly that of religion; and the biography of mankind exhibits the same great truth—that religion is the leading principle in every character of commanding genius.

The purity of Clarissa, which no degradation of fortune can stain or sully; the integrity and unassailable honour of Don Quixote, whom,

Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ;

the filial piety of Telemachus, which no difficulty deters; the perfectness of parental love in the Vicar of Wakefield, which no error or frailty of his children can abate, and no calamity or disgrace avert from them,—spring alike from the same source, and will remain as lessons to the world, and will

endure when the many less salutary productions, to which the passing ray of genius has given a momentary lustre, will be extinguished in darkness.[5]

The most enlightened writers of all ages have deeply regarded the solidity of these foundations on which their works were built; and while the feeble candidate for fame has followed a phantom over a land of visionary beauty and imaginary subsistence, and with it has vanished from sight and remembrance, they have stood the guardians of moral sentiment—have secured the love of the world; and their works have taken a place among those treasures which it endeavours, and will endeavour, to preserve from age to age.

Let us turn back for a moment to ancient authors, and observe an instance or two of their discriminate fate in different periods of literary celebrity. Ask in the libraries of every country for the writings of Plato

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[5] To the respectable list of names already mentioned, I am with difficulty restrained from adding one of a man whose principal work appears to furnish a singular corroboration of the opinion which I endeavour to establish. It was a remark of the late musical composer, Storace, whose early death was a loss to the fame of England (and whom I have the melancholy satisfaction of having called my friend), that no air, or other composition of a simple nature, was proved to be sterling, until it came on the grinding organ in our streets. In the instance which I am going to name, a proof of a similar kind may be offered in favour of the principle which I have asserted. What work is more popular, more a favourite among all ranks in society, than the exquisitely drawn history or fable (be it which it may) of Robinson Crusoe? If ever a book might be figuratively said to be *on the grinding organ*, this is one. The circumstances are so various, so ingeniously imagined, and so naturally sustained, that it seems as if it cannot but win its way to immortality. But examine on what ground the ingenious writer has rested his attempt at fame. The generality of readers are perhaps not aware (nor was I myself so, until the present subject led me to the conviction) of the deep sentiment of religious feeling which he has laid as the groundwork of his story. The strange random accidents, which in the commencement of the work are heaped upon the young adventurer, in a confused, and apparently indiscriminate, succession, how are they suddenly concentrated, how gathered instantaneously to one effective point, by the admirable passage in which he states his first incipient perception of the hand of Providence guiding the events of his life, and weighing the balance of his offences! The principle thus artfully disclosed, as if by surprise, becomes the leading star of his progress. The path once entered is powerfully trod; and the author appears to have been so persuaded of the infallible success of his road, that he even suffers the religious impulses of Crusoe's mind to touch the confines of superstition, and to lead him to the belief of dreams and forebodings of future events. In the flow of composition, these occasional excesses of his main principle are so far from offending, that they appear to add value to the character of his hero, because they impress still more strongly the idea of the deeply religious conviction under which he constantly acted.

—for those transcripts of all but Christian precepts, delivered by that philosopher, who first taught, and in his death asserted, the immortality of the soul. For those works where will you ask in vain? But ask again for the writings of sophists, who disputed with Socrates the prize of wisdom. Where are they? They were specious, but useless, and have perished. Ask next the scholar of the Augustan age, while he presents to you the works of Virgil and Horace, whose fame he regards as immortal, inquire of him if those illustrious authors were without competitors? Will he not tell you, that in renown, and in the just esteem of mankind, they surpassed all their countrymen; but that there were writers of no distant periods from their own, who, in the graces of language, rivalled their happiest powers? Look then on Lucretius: with facile beauties exceeding the highest polish of Virgil's style, although not immoral, he taught a system debasing to our nature, and at best useless to mankind; and, brilliant as he is, he shines unregarded and unfelt. In another instance, how few, except the retired and curious reader, know any thing of the highly wrought style of the disgraceful author of the Feast of Trimalchion? between the moral feeling of whose satire and that of Horace, the difference needs not here be pointed out; nor is it necessary to remark further on the difference of their respective degrees of fame.

But it may be said, that the authors whom I have mentioned of later date are yet in the infancy of fame, uncertain, in the balance of time, whether to endure, or perish on the threshold. Of our own times, or times recently passed, I am ready to admit that we can be at best but imperfect judges; yet, among those writers whom I have named, of even the most modern date, infants as they are, have not some already survived competitors whose celebrity, in their short day, disputed with them the palm of triumph? Will not the declining fame of Voltaire, the able advocate of irreligion—will not his fame, faded so soon, bring home to our bosoms the truth of the principle which I have endeavoured to assert? Where is the enthusiastic host of admirers of a less pernicious, but not less splendid author, Rousseau? in whose works, indeed, so much of natural feeling is mixed with laxity of principle, that he will probably long survive the writer to whom I before alluded.

Still are these points questionable, because not questioned by the lapse of centuries? One word more of the ancients. Look at the Greek dramatists.

Does the fame of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, feel decay? and to what do they owe its vitality? Is it not to the awful impression enforced on all succeeding ages by subjects which they made the instruments of virtue, by having rendered their dramas the organs of lofty but familiar instruction on the sublimest tenet of their philosophy.[6] They displayed the progress of the mind under the habitual influence of religious feeling and entire subjection to its dictates. They unrolled the destinies of heroes, kings, and empires, the decrees of inflexible justice, and the mysterious will of Heaven. In this view the ancients regarded their poets. Plato calls Homer θεῶν προφήτης,[7] the prophet of the gods; and Horace describes Orpheus, "Sacer interpresque deorum."[8]

It is almost inconceivable with what a powerful effect such engines of composition were employed. What, for instance, but the solemn terror that is spread around us in their dramas, could compel our admiration of scenes which record the incest of Œdipus, or the matricide of Orestes? Were we to regard them as actions of ordinary life, without reference to the inscrutable power which is represented as directing them, we should view the scene not only with horror, but with disgust. The religious feelings of the writers are their security—feelings which they had the consummate art to communicate to all around them, and of which the expression was capable of producing the highest excitement of the mind in others, and sustaining it during the whole representation: the appearance of a predominating consciousness shewn by the several characters of the drama of their being the organs of fate, the appointed instruments of an irrevocable sentence, overpowers all other senti-

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[6] What reader is not struck at finding, in the mouth of a young female, whose only sentiments can be those of education, a sentence containing one of the most profound truths which their sages then considered as impressive on the human intellect?

οὐδὲ .....
..... ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν, κ. τ. λ.

"Nor, frail and subject to mortality,
Dare to transgress the unwritten law divine,
Firm and immutable, and not like those
Of yesterday. It was ere time began,
Nor can we guess from what mysterious source
It first derived its being."—*Antigone*, v. 460.

[7] 2 Alcibiades.

[8] Epis. ad Pisonem.

ments, and consecrates the scenes to eternity. But passing from these examples of far-distant ages, the argument of this paper will find its strongest support in a name greater, perhaps, than all that have been mentioned, and of which the glory has been accorded to our own country. What is it that gives to our immortal Shakespear his surpassing eminence in dramatic fame? He has indeed portrayed the inmost recesses of the human heart with the pencil of a master. Nature unveils herself before him; and he appears, like the possessor of the cabalistic charm in the Persian story of Fadallah, to have the power of transfusing himself into whatever form he makes his choice. These are excellencies which it is unnecessary to detail. The heart of every reader beats in unison on this subject.

But the genius with which this inimitable writer was endowed by Nature, and the imitative powers which he had received from her, are far from constituting the whole of his utility and value in the world. To appreciate his worth justly, we must also regard him as the most dignified minister of the art which he possessed. We must view him as constantly subjecting his unrivalled powers to the purposes of the most moral and salutary instruction; and, if untaught by study—a supposition requiring a great degree of modification—yet tutored beyond the learning of the schools, by the sense of his high office to be the interpreter of nature's wisdom to mankind—

Sacer interpresque deorum.

Considering him in this point of view, I am induced to class him generally with the great and elevated genius of the Grecian stage. In the various sensibilities of nature he is not surpassed by Euripides; in the regions of visionary being, Æschylus—the lofty Æschylus—may consent to share with him the palm of imagination and fiction. In exalted precepts, in abhorrence of crime, in solemn warning against the deformity of vicious appetite, Sophocles stands the equal of Shakespear; in the frequent impression of political axioms he stands higher. The nature of his subjects gave him that advantage. There is a constant maintenance of the sense of public duty and of honour not to be stained, that displays itself in the high character of the Grecian's drama and in its chorus. No one can attentively read the Œdipus Tyrannus, or the Electra, without feeling that his mind is moved by the hand of a master, whose dignified tenour of thought demands his awe and admiration. In this general direction of moral utility the two illustrious names of the

Greek and English dramatists may be placed in union; but in most other respects, in the artifice of composition, and in the intention of *progress*, although both dramatic writers, they may almost be said to have nothing in common.

Sect. II. ON THE MORAL CHARACTERS OF SHAKESPEAR'S DRAMA.

There is another peculiar point in the merits of Shakespear, not, perhaps, hitherto noticed, in which consists the superiority, I had almost said the novelty, of his drama, and his indisputable claim to remembrance among mankind. It is that by which, while he represents men with such exact resemblance of their various passions and feelings, that each character in his plays appears the real personage of the story, he is also able, without destroying or even weakening the illusion so completely wrought on our minds, to render those characters, *by their own lips*, the most effective monitors against the error or vice of their actions. It is most interesting to trace his conduct in this singular impulse of genius—(for although worthy of forming a rule for others, we can scarcely conceive it to have been with him a mode of art). It is interesting, while so doing, to observe how imperatively he felt the force and dignity of moral precept, and how carefully he preserved the frequent return of its operations.

In his poetic dramas, every step of villany or inordinate passion is accompanied *by a self-confession* of its attendant torment. Shylock proclaims the rack of envy while he indulges hate. Macbeth sees daggers, spectres, and every terrific form that "conscience summons to appal the bravest." In Hamlet, the brother's murderer forbodes his own rejection at the throne of grace. In his historical plays, John discloses the coward pangs of guilt in his almost breathless proposal of Arthur's death to Hubert; and the inexorable Richard foretells at Bosworth field, in the dejection of his spirits, the downfal of his ambition. Throughout the whole of Shakespear's various delineations of fallen nature, guilt bears the stamp of conscience along its path; a warning voice every where accompanies the disclosure of crime, and the moral lesson is read in every page. In the point which I have thus stated lies, as I conceive, the great difference between Shakespear and dramatic

writers in general. Another of our dramatists approaches very near to him in the forcible expression of character. Merely as a painter of the passions, Shakespear is, in the judgment of many, equalled by Massinger. Massinger gives most powerful delineations of the turbulent emotions of our nature. It is a strength which he possesses in this respect, that has so often overpowered the judgment of theatrical managers, and induced them to bring back his dramas to the stage. Their attempts, except in one instance, have generally failed; and it is, at the same time, a gratifying reflection to readers, and a warning to authors, that the writer who was the most capable of instructing and improving, is also the most capable of remaining the perpetual delight of our bosoms; while the want of a *preceptive faculty* subjects another, little inferior in power, to the risk of brief fame and contracted influence. Massinger, in spite of his gigantic strength and energy of language, is *without relish* and *without moral:* the former, because he makes no appeal to the bosom of the reader or spectator; the latter, because he impresses no precept of virtue. Both poets are the great dramatic painters of the passions; one only is the moral painter of mankind. But the grand principle to which I have alluded in the conduct of Shakespear's dramas, will be more distinctly shewn by the examination of any one particular play. Let us take, for instance, one of those already mentioned.

Macbeth.

Of this play *criminal ambition* forms the ground-work. The hero of it, endued with sensibilities of a high and capacious (perhaps even virtuous) nature, is tempted by monstrous suggestions to sacrifice every other consideration to the acquirement of a sceptre. He is successful; he reigns in splendour; but is finally defeated by the party which fights on the side of the lawful heir to the throne. These are the historical records of the usurpation of Macbeth, and these might have contented a dramatist of ordinary pretensions. The shew and bustle of such rapid incidents might have contained wherewith to appease even the greedy appetite of the present day for food of such a nature. But is there any thing in this description that satisfies our conceptive idea of Shakespear's drama of Macbeth? So far from it, that all those circumstances become in his hands merely the subordinate movements of the action, while the skill of the master-poet raises, over these, ideal emotions of the heart, far exceeding in force and dignity the real ones which

must naturally have accompanied such events. Ambition, criminal ambition, is summoned by him to the bar of justice.

The guilt of Macbeth and his wife is on its trial through the whole of this splendid representation; and the ideal tribunal, erected by the poet for this purpose, is in fact the essential scene of the play.

The conduct of this tragedy is too familiarly known to require description. It will only be necessary to notice the passages which peculiarly illustrate what has been stated above.

Act I.—In the third scene of the first act, the temptation of the high prospect of fortune held out by the prophetic witches no sooner begins to take effect on the minds of Banquo and Macbeth, than the moral precept also begins its action.

" *Banquo.* But 'tis strange:
And oftentimes, to win us to our harm,
The instruments of darkness tell us truths;
Win us with honest trifles, to betray us
In deepest consequence.—
Macbeth. This supernatural soliciting
Cannot be ill; cannot be good: —if ill,
Why hath it given me earnest of success,
Commencing in a truth?—
If good, why do I yield to *that suggestion*
Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair,
And make my seated heart knock at my ribs,
Against the use of nature?—
My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,
Shakes so my single state of man, that function
Is smothered in surmise."[9]

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[9] By " single state of man," Shakespear seems to mean the soul or interior principle. Schiller, in his translation of Macbeth into German, has expressed " single" by " inward."

Milton has a passage in which he seems to have had this line of Shakespear's in his recollection, and with this meaning:

" They sat them down to weep, nor only tears
Rained from their eyes, but high winds worse within
Began to rise, high passions, anger, hate,
Mistrust, suspicion, discord; and *shook sore*
Their *inward state of mind*, calm region once."

Par. Lost, b. ix. v. 1122.

In the fifth scene, Lady Macbeth, who is represented as destitute of remorse, while she is exulting in the prospect of successful crime, gives this awful account of the operations of a mind pregnant with guilt:

> " The raven himself is hoarse,
> That croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan
> Under my battlements. Come, come, you spirits
> That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here;
> And fill me, from the crown to the toe, top-full
> Of direst cruelty! make thick my blood,
> Stop up the access and passage to remorse;
> That no compunctious visitings of nature
> Shake my fell purpose.——
> —— Come to my woman's breasts,
> And take my milk for gall, ye murd'ring ministers,
> Wherever in your sightless substances
> Ye wait on *nature's mischief!*"

What a picture is this of the horrid state of mind requisite for the perpetration of crime! Is there a human bosom that does not shudder at the view, and recoil from the thought of guilt?

In the opening of the seventh scene, what are the sentiments expressed in soliloquy by the chief actor in the course of perfidy and blood?

> " *Macbeth.* — If it were done, when 'tis done, then 'twere well
> It were done quickly: if the assassination
> Could trammel up the consequence, and catch,
> With his surcease, success; that but this blow
> Might be the *be-all* and the *end-all* here,
> But here, upon this bank and shoal of time,—
> We'd jump the life to come.—But, in these cases,
> We still have judgment here; that we but teach
> Bloody instructions, which, being taught, *return*
> *To plague the inventor:* this even-handed justice
> Commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice
> *To our own lips.*"

The remainder of the soliloquy is so strong on the same side, that I am tempted to transcribe further:

" He's here in double trust:
First, as I am his kinsman and his subject,
Strong both against the deed; then, as his host,
Who should against his murderer shut the door,
Not bear the knife myself. Besides, this Duncan
Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against
The deep damnation of his taking-off."

Act II. — The opening of the second act is altogether of a tone to warn the boldest and proudest spirit from the prosecution of meditated guilt. The appearance of the air-drawn dagger is in the recollection of every one; the produce of a mind wrought on to ecstasy, yet teeming with moral feeling, even in the entranced state in which the actor is represented.

" Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible
To feeling, as to sight? or art thou but
A dagger of the mind; a false creation,
Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?
—— I see thee still;
And on thy blade, and dudgeon, gouts of blood,
Which was not so before.—There's no such thing:
It is the bloody business, which informs
Thus to mine eyes.—
—— Thou sure and firm-set earth,
Hear not my steps, which way they walk, for fear
The very stones prate of my where-about,
And take the present horror from the time,
Which now suits with it."

The opening of the ensuing scene is of so terrific a cast as to absorb all faculties of sense in the spectator; the work of feeling—its produce, and its cause—a mixture of mysterious terror and natural pathos, such as no words but those which compose the scene itself can describe. The soliloquy of Lady Macbeth would stand alone in dramatic writing, if the appalling voice of Electra listening to Orestes, when he strikes his fatal dagger in a mother's bosom, did not rise to our remembrance in rival competition both in force and subject.

Παῖσον, εἰ σθένεις, δεύτερον·
Strike! if thou hast *nerve*, double the blow.

This is terrific; but Sophocles has not given the contrasted moral pathos of the following lines:—

" *Macbeth.* — Methought, I heard a voice cry, ' Sleep no more!
Macbeth doth murder sleep, the innocent sleep;
Sleep, that knits up the ravell'd sleeve of care,
The death of each day's life, sore labour's bath,
Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,
Chief nourisher in life's feast.'—
Lady M. What do you mean?
Macb. — Still it cried, ' Sleep no more!' to all the house:
' Glamis hath murder'd sleep; and therefore Cawdor
Shall sleep no more, *Macbeth shall sleep no more!*'"

The terrors which Macbeth describes as gradually seizing and astounding his mind are of the most impressive nature, till at last he appears fearfully to awake to a just sense of his degraded condition.

" Whence is that knocking?
How is't with me, when every noise appals me?"

The hero, the conqueror described in the opening of the play, the preserver of his country, sunk to a coward trembling at a knocking at his own door. This mortifying idea rouses him almost to frenzy.

" What hands are here? Ha! they pluck out mine eyes!
Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green—one red."

Such is the awful change wrought in the condition of a brave soldier's mind by the sense of guilt. He concludes with this remark of bitter anguish:

" To know my deed—'twere best not know myself."

Act III.—There is a circumstance in the conduct of this tragedy, which I have heard feelingly remarked by the great tragic actress of our days, that is worthy of the deepest attention. From the moment that Macbeth and his wife have attained the object of their guilty pursuit, they are never made to express, either in their solitary thoughts or in discourse, the smallest sense of

gratification from their success; but, on the contrary, appear, in every subsequent scene, the gradual victims of remorse. The splendour, which, at a distance, they saw around a throne, has vanished, and the prophetic fears of the murderer are fulfilled—"*Macbeth shall sleep no more.*" Pomp brings no solace to their unquiet thoughts; the thorns and stings of care, and apprehensive alarm, are the only fruits which they gather from royal elevation, "their bad eminence," until the fatal hour which terminates their anguish and their lives.

In the beginning of the third act, Macbeth appears racked by the dread of Banquo's succession to a crown which it has cost so many pangs to acquire, although it is remarkable that he is not described as having any child to whom it might descend by lineal inheritance.[10] But guilt is a calculator without rule.

> "They put a barren sceptre in my gripe,
> Thence to be wrench'd by an unlineal hand,
> No son of mine succeeding. If it be so,
> For Banquo's issue have I filed my mind;
> For them the gracious Duncan have I murdered;
> Put *rancours in the vessel of my peace*
> Only for them; and *mine eternal jewel*
> *Given to the common enemy of man,*
> To make them kings, the seed of Banquo kings!"

The state of extreme wretchedness to which he is thus reduced, he is unable to disguise even in his looks. It is thus described by his more obdurate partner:

> "How now, my lord? why do you keep alone,
> Of sorriest fancies your companions making?
> Using those thoughts, which should indeed have died
> With them they think on?"

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[10] In the first act, indeed, Lady Macbeth speaks of herself as a *mother*.

> "I have given suck, known
> How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me."

But in the fourth act, Macduff, in his agony at hearing of the destruction of his house and family, expressly says:

> "He has no children."

These reproaches arouse him to a kind of braggart violence, which sinks again into despondence, and a dismaying comparison of his own lot with that of the person whom he has murdered.

> " Let the frame of things disjoint, both the worlds suffer,
> Ere we *will eat our meal in fear, and sleep*
> *In the affliction of these terrible dreams,*
> *That shake us nightly :* better be with the dead,
> Whom we, to gain this place, have sent to peace,
> Than on the torture of the mind to lie
> In restless ecstasy. Duncan is in his grave;
> After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well;
> Treason has done his worst: nor steel, nor poison,
> Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
> Can touch him further!"

To which Lady Macbeth replies:—

> " Gentle, my lord, sleek o'er your rugged looks!"

What a contrast is this to the description in the first act of " Bellona's bridegroom lapp'd in proof," &c.! And what is his reply, after a few words:

> " O, full of scorpions is my mind, dear wife!"

This sentence follows immediately on a promise which he had made to his queen, to be " bright and jovial" amidst their guests that evening, at the magnificent feast which he proposes to give to the nobles of his kingdom; a promise which ends like his former vaunt. At the feast, in the midst of beauty, splendour, and gaiety, the never-ceasing scorpions of the mind present the murdered Banquo to his sight, and appal him to the disclosure of his crime. He recollects for a moment the courage with which nature has endowed him.

> " What man dare, I dare:
> Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
> Shall never tremble."

This recollection recalls his strength of mind, and the spectre disappears:

but in vain—a few moments brings back the poignancy of reflection; and he utters the following warning sentence:

> " It will have blood; they say, blood will have blood:
> Stones have been known to move; and trees to speak;
> Augurs, and understood relations, have
> By magot-pies, and choughs, and rooks, brought forth
> The secret'st man of blood."

Act IV.—In the fourth act the mental suffering of Macbeth is heightened by his recurrence to the supernatural agents for a determination of " the restless ecstasy" which possesses his thoughts. The terrific spectres of Banquo's royal lineage, shewn him by the witches, fix the deadly arrow in his bosom, and make him desperate in his villany.

> " Infected be the air on which they ride;
> And damn'd all those who trust them!
> Time, thou anticipat'st my dread exploits.
> —— From this moment,
> The very firstlings of my heart shall be
> The firstlings of my hand."

He resolves to surprise the castle of Macduff, and

> " Give to the edge o' the sword
> His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls
> That trace his line."

In the interview between Malcolm and Macduff is seen another proof of Shakespear's elevated view of human subserviency to the Divine decrees. The former, while urging Macduff to vengeance, encourages him by representing Macbeth as doomed by Heaven to destruction.

> " Macbeth
> Is ripe for shaking, and the Powers above
> Put on their instruments."

Act V.—In the concluding act, the torments of mind which produce the

walking sleep of Lady Macbeth, are of no less impressive warning than those which we have heard from her regal partner. The admirable resource which this contrivance afforded the author, is a fresh proof of his surprising power of drawing self-confession from his characters. Such is the obdurate disposition which this enterprising woman has shewn from the beginning of the play, that any waking acknowledgment of remorse made by her would appear a trespass on nature. Any incautious or vain disclosure of her crime, would be no less so. But her sleep is unguarded; and under that cover the humiliating reproaches of the mind are heard in their fullest force. What spectator or reader of that scene will not readily join in the sentiment expressed by her attendant, "I would not have such a heart in my bosom, for the dignity of the whole body!"

The mysterious suddenness of Lady Macbeth's death adds terror to the ensuing scene, in which the final result of Macbeth's villany is thus expressively and powerfully summed up by himself:—

> "I have lived long enough: my way of life
> Is fallen into the sear, the yellow leaf:
> And that which should accompany old age,
> As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
> I must not look to have; but, in their stead,
> Curses, not loud, but deep, mouth-honour, breath,
> Which the poor heart would fain deny, but dare not."

His address to the physician, whom he has ordered to attend the queen during her illness, is similarly striking:

> "Canst thou not minister to a *mind diseased;*
> Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
> Raze out the written troubles of the brain;
> And, with some sweet oblivious antidote,
> Cleanse the foul bosom of that perilous stuff
> Which weighs upon the heart?"

This is like the feverish speech of a thirsty wretch parched and dying from drought; but he has yet no apprehension of his impending misfortune. In the next scene, he is startled at a sudden shriek; he is told it is the cry of woman. Remorse and anguish again rush in his mind, and paint to him his dreadful state in colours resembling madness.

" I have almost forgot the taste of fears;
The time hath been, my senses would have cooled
To hear a night-shriek; and my fell of hair
Would at a dismal treatise rouse, and stir
As life were in't: I have supped full with horrors;
Direness, familiar to my slaught'rous thoughts,
Cannot once start me.—Wherefore was that cry?"
——— " The queen, my lord, is dead."

On hearing this news, the overthrow of his ambitious desires is total. She who prompted, she who inspired, the aim of guilty eminence, is gone. He feels in her untimely end the mortification and vanity of all the projects that he has been pursuing, at so great a cost of happiness and peace of mind. Still hardened in *" his slaught'rous thoughts,"* his first impulse is impatience. He finds himself interrupted in the ardour of his progress by an event for which he was wholly unprepared.

" She should have died hereafter;
There would have been a time for such a word."

A few moments recall him to a full view of his desolated prospects and ruined hopes; and he thus sums up the conclusion of his disastrous enterprise:—

" To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time;
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusky death. Out, out, brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow; a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more: it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing!"

Such is the moral lesson read by Shakespear, on ambition, treachery, and murder: such is the claim on which he rests his everlasting fame.

I shall now venture to add a few further remarks on Shakespear's writings —remarks which I am sensible will be open to much criticism. But nothing tending to illustrate his character can be unimportant.

After the sentiments that I have expressed, I shall not, I trust, be accused of want of due admiration of his transcendent excellence, when I venture to call in question how far, in the mode of representation which he has assumed, and on which I have here remarked, the characters of his dramas are really *natural.* It will perhaps be found, on reflection, that, like all other productions of exalted minds, in whatever art, the world of Shakespear is a world of *poetic* substance, the inhabitants of which he renders the instruments of his own high and especial purpose. I cannot myself pretend to be sufficiently acquainted with villains or villany, to judge whether the surmise be strictly correct; but we may be allowed to doubt whether bad men do actually wage that perpetual war with their own bosoms, which Shakespear has introduced into the characters of his several victims of inordinate passion.

The anguish under which Macbeth describes himself to have committed the murder of Duncan, is such as, in actual life, must have prevented its perpetration. In this sense Massinger is perhaps more *natural* than Shakespear. But herein, again, lies the distinction of elevated art in writing. To shew nature without abstraction, or wholly divested of ideal form and colour, is not the just aim, nor the high meed, of the imitative arts. Instruction, making its way by means of delight, is their essential constituent quality, no less at this hour than in the times of Horace or Aristotle. Without the union of these two requisites, they sink to a class of very inferior value. If nature without abstraction or selection were sufficient for the purpose of this quality, the world of every day would be a poem, and poets would be superfluous molesters of our ears and eyes. But their end is of a different kind, and their means also. To regulate the medley of contending impressions, which the world of every day presents to our view, the exercise of taste is called in; which, by selecting the prominent features of character, and placing them distinctly above the rest, renders individual examples instructive and salutary. The mental operation of another class of poets is of a superior description—it is *creative.* They claim the privilege of subduing our minds to their representation of nature; not to the delusions or abstractions of taste, but to an ideal formation of their own, dissimilar from the *detail,* while it is consistent with the *essence* of our being. As they thus substitute their imaginary world for the real one, they point out to our attention, and enforce on our belief, such views of our human condition as have a tendency to

elevate our perception of its rank and importance, and under which the passing events of life become lessons of permanent utility to mankind.

In the accomplishment of these great results, Shakespear is triumphant by the means distinctly his own, which I have endeavoured to point out. No one who reads his tragedy of Macbeth, is disposed to question even for a passing moment the propriety—the *characteristic* propriety—of the moral sentiments which that aspiring chieftain utters on his own progressive guilt. Yet his actions are uniformly those of a bad man, while his remarks are those of a wise and good one. It does not occur to the reader, or spectator, to consider whether a man committing such crimes would so school and chastise himself during their perpetration. Our attention is wholly absorbed in his sufferings, and our judgment is lost in the admiration of those agonies of conscience which we find so feelingly described by the victim of them. This daring exertion of the most powerful skill of moral art, which reflection only develops to us, passes unperceived at the moment; and the wholesome antidote is infused into the heart, before the most guarded and subtle foe to virtue could have applied a preventive. I own I consider the power of Shakespear in this respect to be wonderfully great; and his plays, by virtue of this power, to inculcate religious and virtuous instruction, with a force which no other mode or combination of art could equally effect. This is his pre-eminence; this is his supremacy; this is his promise and earnest of immortality: and it is in this point—not in quaint affectations of his language or rhyme—that imitation, if it may ever be recommended, would have a title to our approbation and applause.

On the general subject of these remarks, it may be suggested, from the brief but obvious view which has been presented of the distinctive Fame of Moral Writers, that if the instances which have been adduced, be allowed to prove that the stability of their fame has been the reward of an enlightened perception of our nature, and of their efforts to preserve its moral energies unimpaired and its dignity unforgotten, shall we not have gathered a fresh proof of the importance of those studies and those objects for which we are in this Society united? That Literature is the great organ of mental influence and vehicle of instruction for the mass of mankind, amid distant nations, and through still more distant ages, it is no novelty to assert. But if, by immediate consequence of those divine impulses which move our

reason and our feelings, those works of Literature which are of a nature beneficial to mankind, by inculcating virtue and a reliance on the Supreme Awarder of events, be alone formed to endure through ages; if Literature be thus specially ordained to convey to successive generations those lessons which are most useful to man, most illustrative of his real worth, and most conducive to his happiness,—shall we not discover, in the powerful influence of Literature, another link of that universal chain of causes which preserve undiminished the essential excellence of all ranks of beings? shall we not see Literature co-operating with other high agencies to maintain the moral government of the world, and to demonstrate in the moral nature of man "its intellectual tenant?" All the great Poets, Historians, Philosophers, Novelists, and Dramatists, stand forth in the solidity and permanence of their respective fame to confirm this grand conviction, that their honours have endured, because, in fulfilment of their high office, their labours were directed conformably with the Divine administration of things—with His will, who is the great and eternal object of their study; and who, in these tendencies of virtue to secure an earthly immortality, appears to intimate to us the greater rewards which he has assigned to be the portion of virtue hereafter.

Laus Deo.

XVI. *Remarks on the Antiquity of the earliest Scottish Coins now extant.*

By the Rev. J. Jamieson, D.D., R.A. R.S.L.

Read February 15th and March 7th, 1832.

PERTH MUSEUM.

559

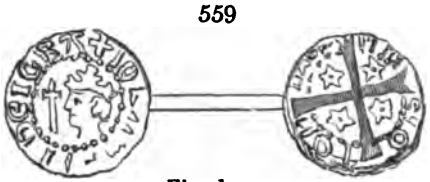


Fig. 1.

560

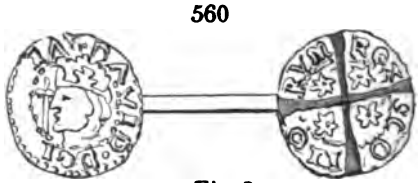


Fig. 2.

The Hunterian Museum has none older than this belonging to Scotland.

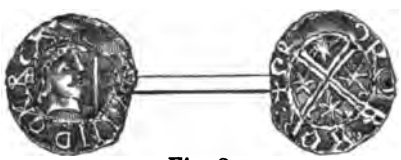
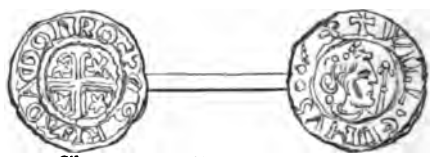


Fig. 3.

ALEXANDER I. of Scotland, penes Soc. of Sco. Ant.



Silver.

Fig. 4.

Wise, in his Catalogue of the Bodleian Collection of Coins, referring to those which, by Anderson, in his *Diplomata Scotiæ*, have been assigned to Alexander and David, each the first of his name, observes: "Concerning these sterlings, we may be permitted to doubt whether any of them go farther back than to the age of William, king of Scotland; for those commonly given to Alexander I. and David I., may perchance have been struck by Alexander II. and David II."[1]

Snelling has adopted the same idea. "We commence," he says, "the series of the silver coin of Scotland with Alexander I., as Mr. Anderson has done, upon the credit of a piece or two which he has caused to be engraved,

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[1] Numm. Antiq. Scrin. Bodleian. Catal. p. 243.

and supposes to belong to this king; but we are of opinion they do not appertain to him, but rather to Alexander II. The piece which he has also given to David I., taken from the Pembroke Museum, is still more suspicious, being a very imperfect coin, and, we fear, is badly drawn; therefore suspect it to be rather a blundered one of William, of that sort inscribed LA REI WILAM, we having often met with such, the letters of which were misplaced and out of their true order. We have, however, put the above-mentioned coins at the head of the series, yet do not think they were struck by those princes; and until some better proofs are produced, that William the Lion must stand at the head of the Scotch collection, as William the Conqueror does in that of England after the Saxon."[2]

Truth ought in no instance to be sacrificed at the shrine of nationality. But fastidiousness in regard to evidence, or affectation of superior candour, may occasionally be carried so far as really to injure the interests of truth. Adam de Cardonnel, to whom the public are indebted for the best work extant on the Scottish Coinage, cannot be entirely exculpated from a charge of this description. On this point he expresses himself in stronger terms than either Wise or Snelling had done. "At whatever time," he says, "the coinage of silver was first introduced into Scotland, it is *very certain* that no silver coins have been found, which can, *with the least degree of certainty*, be ascribed to any prince prior to William the Lion, who began his reign in the 1165."[3]

Unsparing as Pinkerton has been in exposing the credulity of Scottish *antiquists*, he has kept within more moderate bounds. "There is room to believe," he says, "that silver pennies exist of Alexander I., 1107, as some *are found* with that name, apparently of ruder and more ancient fabric than those certainly of Alexander II., 1214. Of David, 1124, there are coins."[4]

Mistakes have, in different instances, been committed in assigning to Alexander I. coins which belong to the second of this name. In the published catalogue of the coins in the museum of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth, No. 559 is, by a strange blunder, given to the first Alexander. Having applied for a *fac-simile* of the coin, I find that it undoubtedly belongs to John Baliol.[5] No. 560 is, in the progress of error,

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[2] View of the Silver Coin of Scotland, p. 1.

[3] Numismata Scotiæ, pref. p. 3.

[4] Essay on Medals, vol. ii. p. 97.

[5] Figure 1.

assigned to David I., as if the misnomer had been borrowed from that in the plate of the *Diplomata;* for it is a penny of David Bruce.[6] A drawing of each accompanies these remarks. I had been assured that there was a penny of Alexander I. in the Hunterian Museum; but, in consequence of proper inspection, find that it belongs to Alexander II.

There is one, however, in the cabinet of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, concerning which there seems to be no good reason to doubt that it was struck by the first of this name. It exhibits the same general type as that of those engraved by Anderson, being quite different from the character of the coins of Alexander II. A drawing of it, for which I am indebted to the kindness of a literary amateur, has been made for the Society, to be transmitted with this essay.[7]

Wishing to collect all that might be worthy of their attention on this head, I was anxious to examine the cabinet of coins belonging to the Faculty of Advocates here, and referred to by Ruddiman in his Introduction to the Diplomata; in the hope that, from its being an early collection, it might contain some of our coins not to be found elsewhere. But although this favour was readily granted, I saw one only that seems to belong to Alexander I. It exhibits the same appearance with those so long ago published by Anderson; the head, to the left, and name being very distinct, although the coin is partially fractured.

It has been asserted by Snelling, that the coin which Anderson "has given to David I.," is "copied" from the Pembroke Museum. "The piece here given," he says, "is no where else to be found but in the Pembroke collection, among which it is engraved in Part IV. Tab. XXIV. of that cabinet, and copied from thence by Anderson, Tab. CLVII."[8] Had this industrious medallist been called to produce the proof of his assertion, he must have found it rather hard for him to shew how this coin could be copied from the Pembroke collection, as Anderson's *Diplomata* was published anno 1739, whereas the *Numismata* of Pembroke did not see the light till the year 1746. So early, indeed, as 1707, an additional grant was made to Anderson by the Scottish parliament, when, it appears, he had made considerable progress in his work, to enable him to bring it to a conclusion. He died, however, before it was quite finished. But it is undeniable, from the introduction,

[6] Figure 2. [7] Figure 3. [8] Snelling, ut sup. vol. ii.

written by the accurate and learned Ruddiman, that the coins had been engraved under Anderson's own eye;[9] and, in the title of the book, it is asserted, that they were *omnia summo artificio ad prototyporum similitudinem tabulis æneis expressa.*

Can any other reason, then, be imagined for an assumption, so contrary to fact, that "this piece was taken from the Pembroke Collection," but his eagerness to introduce the remark, that "this is still *more suspicious*" than the coin previously mentioned as struck by Alexander I.,[10] "as being a very imperfect coin?" I cannot for a moment suppose that Snelling wilfully asserted what he knew to be false. But, like many writers, in supporting a favourite theory, he hazarded a bold assertion, without bringing it to the test of historical evidence.

He subjoins: "We fear it is badly drawn." This apprehension he afterwards expresses more fully. "We should suspect the letters round the head are not so plain in the coin as to read the word DAVID seen in the print, and that it is very likely to be a blundered coin of William's, of his rudest sort."[11]

Snelling takes no notice of another coin, which our Anderson, falling into the same error with Bishop Nicolson, has given to David I.; for, as has been already mentioned, it is evidently a penny of David Bruce. This coin, however, not being engraved in the Pembroke Collection, it could never be supposed to have been copied from it.

Speaking of the coin ascribed to Alexander I., "It is probable," he says, "that one of these pieces is that mentioned by Nicolson to have been in Mr. Sutherland's collection." Would it not, then, have been quite as natural to have supposed, that the penny assigned to David I. had also been communicated to Anderson by the same antiquarian friend? As Mr. Sutherland, however, "was not sure whether" this coin, which he thought "appertained to Alexander I., might not be attributed to one of the other princes of that name," Snelling seems resolved to throw the same, or a still deeper, shade of uncertainty on that ascribed to David.

But all this was preparatory to his sentence of excision, in regard to the three reigns preceding that of William the Lion. It is expressed in these terms: "The silver coinage of Scotland cannot with any sort of certainty be carried higher than this king's reign."

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[9] Præf. p. xlviii. [10] Snelling, p. i. [11] Ibid. p. ii.

Afterwards, when explaining the coins of William, he returns to the proof that the one given to David did not belong to him. Speaking of the legend on the reverse of one of William's pennies, HVE WALTER, he justly observes, "that it is that found on No. 3 [of his own plate], which is given to David I., which *strengthens the presumption*, that it is rather an imperfect blundered coin of this king."[12] Here he has accurately given the legend on the coin of William which is referred to. But it is singular that, although, in describing that assigned to David, he has properly read HVE, in the plate he has given it as DVE, mistaking, as would appear, the Anglo-Saxon Ð for D. Here, however, he has strictly followed the erroneous engraving in Anderson's plate, as also in that of Wise. In the description, he has likewise substituted for a character nearly resembling the old Ƙ, one bearing the form of a Greek Π inverted, giving the latter part of the mint-master's name as WATIU..R, although it is correctly enough engraved in his plate. Besides, in his description of the same coin, he gives the legend of the royal name in the form of DAUID., apparently employing the third letter as representing a kind of U; whereas in Anderson's plate it appears as if a Roman L, and has been accurately given in this very form in Snelling's own plate. It may be added, that had he attentively compared the inscription on the Pembroke plate with that on Anderson's, he must have seen that the one could scarcely have been copied from the other, especially as the character meant for U or V, in the former, is quite different from that which occurs in the *Diplomata*.

One might have expected that, when Snelling was so liberal in charging his predecessors in this line with blunders, he would himself have guarded against the possibility of recrimination. In the account which he gives of the coins assigned to Alexander I., he acknowledges that he has taken the liberty of changing the position of the bars of the crosses, solely in accordance with a fancy of his own. "These two pieces," he says, "are *copied* from Anderson; only, in the position of the reverses, the bars of the crosses stand upright, which, *we think*, is their true position, whereas there," *i. e.* in the plate of the *Diplomata*, "they are put so as to form a St. Andrew's cross, or in saltier."[13] This was undoubtedly to use very great liberty with the only authentic memorial of these ancient coins. It is probable, however, that he adopted his idea, in regard to "the true position" of the bars, from

[12] Snelling, p. 3.

[13] Ibid. p. 2.

the Pembroke plate; in which the only coin given as that of Alexander I. appears with upright bars, although, as has been already observed, this work was not published till long after Anderson's. Nor was it quite correct to act on the ground of this fancy, while, in the plate of the *Diplomata*, from which he says he *copied*, he must have seen, that of three engraved as those of Alexander, two have the bars in the form of a St. Andrew's cross. This circumstance had been particularly remarked by Maitland in his History of Scotland, long before Snelling wrote.[14]

It cannot reasonably be doubted, that a good deal of money must have been in circulation in Scotland during the age of David I., who reigned twenty-nine years. He certainly erected more religious houses than any of his successors; which gave reason for the complaint of James, the first of that name, king of Scotland, that he had been "a sore saint to the crown."[15] It is inconceivable that so many expensive structures should be carried on, and a number of them at the same time, without a constant flux of money; for how otherwise could the workmen have been paid? Let it be admitted that a considerable quantity of English money might have become current in Scotland; yet it cannot well be thought that this of itself would be sufficient to supply the perpetual demand. Could it be deemed a plausible conjecture, that a prince who devoted so much of his attention to architecture, and who provided foreign workmen at such expense, would never once think, during so long a reign, of establishing a mint, that he might defray the charge with his own money? Would such an idea never be suggested to him by others, or occur to his own mind from his intercourse with England, where, indeed, he passed his youth at the court of his sister Matilda?

Here the query may occur, "If this was really the case, how is the money of his reign so rare?" It might be a sufficient answer to this question, to refer to what has been said by a candid and judicious English writer: "To one that considers how few English coins we have of about half a score of our kings next after the conquest, it will not look strange that the silver money of our neighbouring kingdom, of the like age, is not now very plentiful."[16] But, besides this, there is a fact regarding the reign of William, the grandson of

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[14] Maitl. Hist. vol. i. pp. 225, 226.

[15] Vide Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 98. Major. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 11.

[16] Nicolson's Scot. Historical Library, p. 306.

David, which deserves particular attention. It is said, in the Chronicle of Mailros, that in the year 1195, William "renewed" or "restored his money."[17] By this time he had reigned thirty years. But shall we suppose that all the money which had issued from his various mints during this period was so completely defaced, that it could not be reckoned legal currency? It is surely far more reasonable to view the expression as regarding the money of Scotland in general, whether of William's reign, or of those that preceded it. Had we any proof that his money had been abused in the same manner with that of his contemporary Henry II. of England, in being, a great part of it at least, rendered illegible and almost square, by clipping, we might discover a good reason for its being called in. But I have met with no evidence of this as to the early currency of Scotland.

Although the same supposition should not be made as to William's own coinage, it may be supposed that, by this time, that of Alexander I. and of David had been greatly defaced. At any rate, as William undoubtedly employed better mint-masters than did these earlier sovereigns, he might wish, perhaps, to improve the appearance of the coin. For although there is still no remarkable display of skill in the exhibition of the royal portrait, the letters are generally cut in a mode quite superior to that which characterises the coins ascribed to his ancestors. If, as we may reasonably conclude, all the previous coinage was called in, this may account, not only for the scarcity of the money of Alexander I. and of David, but also for the disappearance of any that may have been struck during the comparatively short reign of Malcolm IV.

In the *Assisa*, ascribed to David I., it is said that the ounce of silver "ought to weigh thirty pennies of choice sterlings—*de sterlingis electis*. It is, however, required, that the ounce weigh only twenty-one pennies, on account of the diminution of the money."[18] This assise is dated, indeed, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; but from this circumstance it cannot be concluded that David meant to regulate the coinage of the kingdom of England. All that we can learn from it, supposing the authenticity of this record, is that the deed was enacted while Henry, the son of David, and prince of Scotland, held the earldom of Northumberland, in consequence of the treaty entered

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[17] "Willelmus Rex Scottorum innovavit monetam suam." *Chron.* p. 180.

[18] Assis. Reg. David. Reg. Maj. fol. 161.

into with Stephen, king of England,[19] or, perhaps, rather a few years before, when, after the death of Henry I., David had taken possession of great part of the north of England.[20] We learn from our historians, that about this time David commonly resided at Newcastle.[21] It is evident from the last chapter of this statute, that it was meant for the whole of his dominions.[22] This *Assisa* receives no small degree of confirmation from the reference made to it, in different instances, in the acts of James I., an. 1426. The enactments of this deed are quoted as having been in force from the time of David, and as still of undoubted authority throughout the kingdom.[23] Is it at all probable, that in the lapse of two centuries and a half, a deed could have been palmed on the whole nation, so nearly affecting the interest of every individual, and regulating the civil transactions of every day, which so far from having the highest national authority, had none at all, but was a mere fabrication?

It is well known that our excellent historian, Lord Hailes, was abundantly fastidious as to evidence. But, at the very time that he expresses his hesitation in regard to "the high antiquity of *Regiam Majestatem*," he subjoins, "There is less doubt that most of the statutes in the collection called *LL. Burgorum* were enacted, or at least enforced, during the reign of David I."[24] Now the assise above referred to is dated at the same place with these borough-laws.

Notwithstanding all the doubt that has been entertained as to the genuineness of any coin ascribed to David I., especially on the ground of its being supposed that no one has appeared save that engraved in the Pembroke collection, which bore any semblance of his name, I am perfectly satisfied that the premises afforded no sufficient ground for the conclusion. It may well be supposed, that pennies of this description are very rare, not merely, nor chiefly, because of the remoteness of the era of their fabrication, but especially from the general recoinage which took place in the time of William the Lion, only forty-two years after the death of David. Any, therefore, which have survived that period, must have been such as were not brought

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[19] Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 82. [20] Ibid. p. 67. [21] Buchanan. Hist. lib. vii. c. 33.

[22] "Statutum est a rege David, ut commune et æquale pondus, in emendo et vendendo, omnes homines *in totia Scotia* custodiant." *Assis.* cap. 5.

[23] Acts Ja. I., Edin. edit. 1714, &c. vol. ii. p. 12. [24] Annals, vol. i. p. 89.

in to the exchequer, in obedience to the royal mandate. It is probable, however, that there may still be a few coins of this reign in the possession of individuals, who, from the general indistinctness of the legends, or imperfection of the letters, may have thrown them aside as quite unintelligible, and therefore as exciting no interest. Not a few of this description may have been, by others, rashly consigned to the crucible.

It must have been in consequence of having met with no practical proof to the contrary, that so intelligent an antiquary as De Cardonnel has so completely joined issue with Wise and Snelling, as to throw out this sweeping declaration: "It is *very certain* that no silver coins have been found, which can, with *the least degree of certainty*, be ascribed to any prince prior to William the Lion, who began his reign in the 1165."[25] I have, in my very small and imperfect collection of Scottish silver coins, no less than four, if not five, that seem to have been struck by David I. I am perfectly satisfied that they are not Saxon, Danish, English, or Irish, and that they do not belong to any Scottish prince later than this David. They all exhibit the same general characters; yet they all differ from each other in the portrait of the king. They bear a considerable resemblance to the coin which is assigned to David by Anderson, in all having his profile turned to the left of the coin, and the sceptre placed on that side; while one of them most distinctly bears DA as the first part of the king's name. The cross also, on the reverse, is what by heraldic writers is called a cross *patonce*.[26] They differ, however, in a variety of respects. In the plate given in the *Diplomata*, the king's head is bare; in all those in my possession it is crowned, the hair falling down on the cheek; although, in some of them, this assumes the appearance of the lower part of a helmet, from the bottom of which a row of large pearls descends, and surrounds the neck. In mine, the sceptre is still confined within the interior circle; while in Anderson's, as also in that given in the Pembroke collection, it extends nearly to the rim of the coin. As far as I can judge, from two of the most distinct in my possession, on the obverse the legend had not surrounded the head, the blank being supplied by horizontal or curved perpendicular lines, with annulets and pellets intervening. Although the same cross appears on the reverse, in mine the horns are fuller; and in the angles there are only large pellets, instead of what are denominated

[25] Numismata Scotiæ, Pref. p. 3.

[26] Vide Sir G. Mackenzie's Heraldry, p. 45.

mullets with five points in Anderson's. It may be added, however, that on one which may perhaps be accounted a *fifth* belonging to this reign, from the great resemblance of the obverse, instead of one large pellet, there are three smaller ones in each of the angles.

The legend on the reverse of the most distinct of all these coins, is ON ROCAS. The letter preceding ON may be read R, as if intended for the initial one in the name RVG. *On Rocas* undoubtedly signifies *of*, or *at, Roxburgh.* This very legend may be viewed perhaps, as Snelling argues from RVG WATTR on the coin ascribed to David by Anderson, as a proof that the one I have principally described is "rather an imperfect blundered coin" of William: but both the obverse and reverse demonstrate the contrary. All that can be inferred from the fact, that the name *Hue Walter* appears not only on David's, but on William's coinage, is, that in this instance the same person served both David and his grandson in the same office. This creates no difficulty, as there were only twelve years between them. As little reason is there to wonder, that a place at that time of so much importance as Roxburgh should be selected as the station of a royal mint, during successive reigns; especially as the sovereigns frequently resided there, and had then such constant intercourse with the northern counties of England connected with the Scottish crown. I have elsewhere shewn, that Roxburgh was a favourite residence both of Alexander I. and of his brother and successor David.[27]

I may subjoin, that, as far as I can judge from the various specimens of the same reign before me, Snelling affords an example of the danger of venturing to make alterations on the ground of mere conjecture; for, as he informs us, that in copying from Anderson, Tab. CLVII. Nos. 2 and 3, he has made "the bars of the crosses to stand upright," so far is this from being their "true position,"[28] that all the bars on my coins exhibit the same appearance with those in Anderson's engraving. Thus our ancestors, in the very formation of their coins, might choose to mark their partiality for the badge of their patron saint; as they were accustomed to carry this cross argent, as their national distinction, in the Crusades.[29]

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[27] See Royal Palaces of Scotland, published at Edinburgh, 1828–30, pp. 184—188. Art. *Roxburgh.*

[28] Snelling's Scot. Coins, p. 2.

[29] Mackenzie's Heraldry, p. 42.

While, according to Pinkerton's admission, "there is room to believe that silver pennies exist of Alexander I.," and also "of David," there are, he says, "*perhaps* none of Malcolm IV. his successor, whose reign was very short."[30] Malcolm, however, occupied the throne about twelve years, from 1153 to 1165. Thus his reign fell short only five years of that of his predecessor Alexander I. Now, it cannot reasonably be supposed, that during this period, especially as peace more generally prevailed in the kingdom, not a single penny should have been struck. The supposition is opposed to all historical analogy. It is probable, therefore, that the money coined by him had been brought in, and restored, in consequence of the edict of his brother William, for the renovation of the current coin of the country. I have one penny, however, which may perhaps be considered as a memorial of this prince of *maiden* celebrity. The legend on the obverse is not very distinct; but, without any great stretch of fancy, may be viewed as retaining the following letters— M... COM .. A very rude head appears crowned, looking to the left (as in the coins ascribed to Alexander I. and David), a carcanet of small pearls, as in those of the latter, around the neck, with a sceptre before it. On the reverse, WILLEM O (or D) .... evidently meant for the name of the moneyer, and most probably for the place of his residence. The subsequent letters may be read, ON:B:+, as if meant for *Berwick*, where it appears that David had a mint, as there was undoubtedly one under William. It has the cross *potence*, but different at the ends from that on the coins of his grandfather David. In each angle there is a small but elegant Maltese cross, resting on, or terminating in, a crescent. The workmanship of the whole reverse is indeed beautiful. The type nearly resembles that on some of the coins of his contemporary Henry II. of England, particularly that given by Ruding, Pl. II. No. 4. But the obverse is totally different, being unlike any of the English mintage.

It would appear that there was a considerable quantity of money in Scotland during the reign of William the Lion. Not to argue from the incredible account given of the price, which, we are told, he was pledged to pay for his ransom after becoming a prisoner to Henry II.; it would seem that he had engaged to give Richard I. ten thousand merks, supposed to be equivalent to one hundred thousand pounds sterling at this day, for cancelling all the

[30] Essay on Medals, vol. ii. p. 97.

claims which the English kings had made of sovereignty over the crown of Scotland.[31] He contributed two thousand merks for the redemption of the brave but unfortunate Richard, an. 1192. But whether this should be viewed as part of the sum formerly owing, is not certain. In the year 1209, he agreed for settling differences with John, king of England, to pay him fifteen thousand merks. For aiding William, in order to the fulfilment of this convention, the barons raised ten thousand merks, and the boroughs six.[32]

Snelling has given two coins of our William, Nos. 15 and 16, in which the profile regards the *left*. All those in my collection, although including more than thirty varieties, and all that I have seen of this reign, give the king's head in an opposite direction. This character applies also to those that Anderson and De Cardonnel had met with. The last-mentioned writer has given eighteen varieties. The same remark is applicable to the specimens engraved by Wise, and in the Pembroke collection. How, then, are we to account for this difference in the position of the profile? If I might hazard a conjecture, on such slender evidence, it would be, that the pennies, with the profile to the left, were of the earliest coinage of William, retaining a resemblance, in this respect at least, of the coins of his grandfather David, and of those that have been ascribed to Alexander I.; being apparently smaller in size than the generality of those struck by him, and also somewhat ruder.[33] De Cardonnel, even while he admits, that "the head is more rudely expressed," says, without assigning any reason for his opinion, "we place this as his *second* coinage."[34]

There are obviously various defects and errors, both in the descriptions and in the etchings, which have been given us of the coins of William. Snelling speaks of three towns only as "appearing on the coins of this king, viz. Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Perth."[35] According to De Cardonnel, five different places of mintage appear of this king's coin, viz. Edinburgh, Berwick, Perth, Roxburgh, and Stirling.[36] To the last-mentioned town

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[31] Hailes' Annals, vol. i. pp. 132, 133. [32] Ibid. pp. 137, 139.

[33] It greatly strengthens this conjecture, that, since writing these remarks, I have examined all the coins of William in the museum of the Scottish Antiquarian Society, which exceed a hundred in number; but not one of which gives the head to the left. This, it appears, can in no other way be reasonably accounted for, than by supposing that those in which the head is reversed had disappeared in the recoinage.

[34] Numismata, p. 42. [35] View of the Silver Coin, p. 3. [36] Numismata, p. 41.

he assigns Nos. 9 and 10 of his first plate.[37] Here he appears to have erred. The legend which he has himself given, on the reverse of both is, RAVL DERLIC. No other reason, save this designation, seems to have influenced him to form the supposition of William having a mint at Stirling. But how he could make *Stirling* out of what is distinctly engraved *Derlig*, cannot easily be conceived. Snelling has properly said, in regard to another coin of this reign, "We should surmise that these two words stand for both names of the moneyer, or *Hue Walter;* and perhaps the same circumstance may attend the moneyer's name on Nos. 9, 14, and 15."[38] There can be no doubt that the mint-master's name was *Raul* (or *Ralph*) *Derlig;* which is not much removed from *Darling*, a name still extant in the vicinity of Roxburgh. In one coin, in my possession, the legend is RAVL DERLIC RO+ *i. e.* "Ralph Derlig of Roxburgh." It may also be remarked, that *Derlinc* appears as the name of one of the moneyers of Henry I., who died an. 1135, only thirty years before the accession of William of Scotland.

Whether the pennies, given by Snelling, with *Adamderis on..*, *Derisadam on Ro*, and *Derisadam on Roci*, are not connected with the same *Derlig*, I dare not presume to determine. If these be in perfect preservation, the truth might be known by accurate examination; and Snelling has said, that all the thirteen coins of William, which he has given, except Nos. 10 and 11, are in the collection of Dr. Hunter.[39] As this name appears in two forms, the one being merely an inversion of the other, perhaps it may be conjectured that *Adamderis* is the proper form, quasi *Adam Deris*. Thus we shall have both the Christian name and the surname. According to this view,

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[37] Numismata, Pref. p. 3.

[38] Snelling, ut sup.

[39] Being anxious to obtain the most accurate information possible, concerning the coins of William which have the *head to the left*, I made application to the curators of the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, for the liberty of taking a *fac-simile*. Having employed an artist, in whose accuracy I could confide, he informs me, that there being two of this type, the one more entire than the other, he has given a drawing of the most perfect one: this will accompany these remarks (Fig. 4). There can be no doubt that this is the very coin from which Snelling etched his No. 15. Only, from this drawing, it would seem that the word REX is not quite legible on the coin; and also that the first part of DERIS is not so distinct as in Snelling's plate. I am assured, after accurate inspection, that there are no Scottish coins, in this very extensive and celebrated museum, prior to the reign of William the Lion.

it was probably a name common in this quarter during that period; for, in that invaluable publication, for which we are indebted to the labours of the honourable commissioners appointed by government for editing the Public Records, the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, the name of *Darreus*, apparently differing from *Deris* merely in orthography, frequently occurs as that of an officer employed by Edward III., residing in the vicinity of Roxburgh.[40]

Although De Cardonnel has assigned two coins to Stirling erroneously, I would not, from this circumstance, absolutely conclude that none had been struck here by William. This very writer has given one, No. 12 of his first plate, as on the reverse exhibiting the imperfect inscription WAL...ꝺꝺTꝺR.[41] But there must, I suspect, be an error here; for, from one in the possession of an antiquarian friend in this city, which, from the identity of imperfection in the legend, might be the very coin from which De Cardonnel engraved, it appears, in consequence of the strictest examination, that the last four letters are not ꝺTꝺR but STꝺR, the initial syllable of *Sterling*, one of the old forms of the name of the town. The character preceding S bears the resemblance of ꝛ, or perhaps Sſ. Should it be ꝺ, it might be the termination of Dꝺ, as following the moneyer's name, and marking, as in other instances, the place of residence, making it *Walter de Ster.*

De Cardonnel has generally given the engravings accurately, having had an opportunity of making, it would seem, almost the whole of them from the coins themselves. But this is more than can be said of Snelling's representations. Not only are the portraits ill executed, but the crosses are all voided, or double; whereas I have seen only two or three coins of this description, but a great many which are single and closed. He has formed each cross, in the coins of William, with an annulet, or small ring, in the centre, which appears on none of the coins themselves. He has overlooked the pellets in the angles, and given in each angle a star of six points; whereas the common figure is a crescent, with a pellet, sometimes without a stalk, frequently with one; and on those of *Perth* with a double stalk. In a few instances, the figure in the angle appears somewhat like a blazing star, although by De Cardonnel viewed as "rudely representing a fleur de lis."[42] So ill is Snelling's plate executed, that no one, without inspecting the legends,

[40] Rotuli Scot. vol. i. pp. 322, 323, &c. [41] Numismata, p. 42. [42] Ibid.

could suppose that it had been meant to represent the coins of William the Lion.

It would appear that the coins of William, and of Henry II. of England, were equally current in both kingdoms; in the northern counties of the latter at least. I am led to this opinion from the discovery that has been made, in our own time, of pretty large deposits of these coins, in a common mass, unmixed with those of any other reign.

" In the year 1780, in digging a foundation in order to enlarge the church of Dyke, near Inverness, in the north of Scotland, one of the workmen, when removing the earth near the steps which led to the burial-place of Brodie, discovered some of these pieces of William. At night he returned, and, with the assistance of his wife, privately conveyed away the whole mass, which must have been very valuable. He was a poor man, but he soon became a considerable farmer. Great part of the coins that came into silversmiths' hands were quickly melted, as they were fine silver; however, Mr. Brodie's assiduity, after hearing that such a discovery was made, saved such a number as was sufficient to ascertain what varieties there were in this coinage. The Society of Scottish Antiquaries are, through his generosity, possessed of about a hundred of them, many of which are very perfect. The different collectors have shared in this discovery, from the pieces having been at first dispersed by the means of itinerant pedlars. A very considerable number of the coinage of Henry II. of England, who was contemporary with William of Scotland, were found mixed with the former collection."[43]

The largest collection that I have seen of William's coins was found, a year or two ago, in Northumberland, near the border; struck at Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh, and Perth. They were, in like manner, blended with the coins of Henry II., without any other mixture. Those of William, however, greatly predominated. Although all confined to the four places mentioned, it excites surprise that so much pains had been taken to vary the types of the same mint, particularly in the specification of the names of the towns; as, for example, we find Roxburgh marked as R·RO. ROC. ROCR. ROCG. ROCI. ROCGB. ROCGBV· ROCGBVR· ROCBVR; besides the variations made by the insertion of pellets between the distinct letters of the different words occurring in the legend.

[43] De Cardonnel's Numismata, pref. pp. 3, 4.

Snelling is disposed to assign many of the coins, which have been viewed as those of Alexander II., to his son, the third of this name. His mode of reasoning is very singular. Having remarked, that "we find a great improvement in regard to the workmanship in the money here attributed to this king," he first "ventures a conjecture, that these improvements came from England, and followed that great one made there in the monies of Edward I. an. 1270."

His hypothesis proceeds on an error in chronology. Edward I. did not begin to reign till the year 1272. He was nearly two years absent from England, after the death of his father. As at his accession the coin was in a very bad condition, this evil was greatly increased by his absence.[44] It was not till the seventh year of his reign, that is an. 1279, that there was a new coinage.[45] Leake has said, that "the greatest improvement of the money seems to have been in the eighteenth year of this reign," that is, in the year 1290.[46] Ruding, however, antedates this event not less than eleven years, (fixing it to an. 1279),[47] or six years before the death of Alexander III., who died in the year 1285. According to Leake's calculation, this improvement in the English coinage could not possibly be adopted by Alexander, as he died five years before it took place.

Assuming what he has merely conjectured, as if it had been clearly demonstrated, Snelling inquires, "What coins have we of him [Alexander III.] before this period?" He can answer his own query only by another conjecture—"that many of those given by us to the father, were struck by this king before this era."[48]

I need scarcely observe, that the whole of this reasoning is obviously very flimsy. There is not a shadow of evidence that the mint-masters of Alexander III. imitated those of England. Had they done so, they would most probably have adhered to the plan of giving at least the names of the mints, as on the coins of Edward I.; especially as these, together with the names of the moneyers, appear on the reverses of all the coins here supposed to belong to the early part of the reign of Alexander III., as IOHAN ON BER, (Berwick), TOMAS ON AN, *i. e.* Annan,

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[44] Leake's Historical Account of English Money, p. 72.

[45] Ibid.; also Ruding's Annals, vol. i. p. 368.

[46] Leake, p. 75.

[47] Ruding, vol. i. p. 370.

[48] Snelling's Scot. Silv. Coin, p. 5.

&c. Besides, as there is a change in the form of the stars, on the reverses of the coins universally acknowledged to have been struck by Alexander III.; these being larger than in the coins which Snelling is disposed to view as the earlier products of his mint, and having a circle in the centre: had they been an imitation of the English coin, is it not more probable that the pellets, invariably found on Edward's, would have been adopted?

If this supposition be well founded, what reason can be given for the continued preference of the profile on the money of Alexander, to the full face found on all that which belongs to Edward I.? I scarcely think that this would have been deemed an improvement. It never appeared, indeed, on any of our money, till the time of the feeble reign of Robert III., nearly a century afterwards. Well pleased as the ambitious and usurping Edward might have been, had our Scottish kings, out of compliment to the taste of a neighbouring potentate,[49] banished the mimic sceptre from his coinage, it would seem that our ancestors were as little disposed to gratify him with this token of servile imitation, as they afterwards were to resign the real sceptre into his rapacious hand.

I need scarcely add, that, in these two classes of coins, there is an important difference in regard to the size and position of the sceptre. On all the coins viewed as those of Alexander II. the sceptre extends to the rim; in all of those unquestionably belonging to his son, it is smaller, and confined within the interior circle.

Jhon Hardyng, indeed, has discovered a reason for the appearance of the side-face on the coins of Scotland, which would not have occurred to any mind but that of a man who had evidently one object in view, both in his peregrinations through Scotland, and in his tedious narrative of them—the vain hope of proving the dependency of the Scottish crown on that of England.

> " Afore the fyfte Kyng Henrye's daye,
> Their siluer coigne was, as it ought to bee,
> The Kynes face *loked on side* all waye
> To his soueraigne [lorde] of England as I see:
> Whiche [to been hetherwarde] of egalité,
> Vnto their lorde thei haue of new *presumed*
> To *looke euen furth*, which would nowe be consumed."
>
> *Chronicle*, pp. 87, 88.

[49] See Leake, ut sup. p. 8.

If this right of superiority was so thoroughly ascertained, and had hitherto been so singularly acknowledged, it is rather odd that one of the most spiritless of our kings should *presume* so far during the reign of one of the bravest and most ambitious princes who ever filled the throne of England.

Since writing the preceding remarks, I have met with direct and unquestionable proof of the total groundlessness of Snelling's conjecture. It is in the words of the learned and accurate Lord Hailes. "1250. In this year the form of the Scottish coin was changed, and the cross, which formerly went no farther than the inner circle, was extended to the circumference." He refers to the testimony of one of our most valuable chronicles.[50] This change, therefore, in our money, took place twenty-two years before Edward I. came to the throne.

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[50] Annals, vol. i. p. 162. "1250.—Hoc anno, moneta etiam Scoticana renovatur; ita ut crux, quæ prius non transivit circulum in denarium, modò ad extremos fines denarii attingat."—*Fordun. Scotichron.* lib. x. c. 3.

XVII. *Remarks on a Passage in the Description of the Descent of Apollo, in the First Book of the Iliad.* By W. R. Hamilton, Esq., M.R.S.L.

Read June 20th, 1832.

ὁδ' ἤϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς. Il. A. 47.

The various commentators and translators of the first book of the Iliad seem not to have thoroughly understood the meaning of this direct and unqualified comparison of Apollo, in his descent from Olympus upon earth, with *Night*.

The following is the commentary of Eustathius upon this expression:—"The allegory is as of Apollo, that is, of the sun darting impure rays during the time of the plague or pestilence: not, therefore, properly called φοῖβος, as Æschylus says, ἡλίου φοίβῃ φλογὶ, but as being dull, heavy, and dark, from the density of the atmosphere. All the ancients are agreed, that the arrows of Apollo were nothing but a pestilential disorder, and that this was the cause of the misfortunes of the army. Thus much for the allegory. But the rhetorical expression (ἐπιβολὴ, *notio, applicatio*) of the words νυκτὶ ἐοικέναι, implies a terrible and fierce form; and as one of a gentle description is called ἥμερος, from ἡμέρα, (the day being mild, and fair to behold), so do we compare the contrary to night, which is loathsome and terrific; whence also the expression δειδία, a dark night, from δεδιέναι, to fear. In the same sense, in the 463d line of the twelfth book of the Iliad, Hector is said to be like night under the eyes (ὑπώπια), to give a notion of terror and fearful aspect.

"It must be allowed, that the words νυκτὶ ἐοικὼς are somewhat parabolical,[1] as will be shewn hereafter, when we come to speak of the words ἠΰτ' ὀμίχλη. This is clear from the word ἐοικὼς being used, a congener word with εἰκὼν, an image, which is a παραβολὴ, or parable, simile, comparison."

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[1] Quintilian defines a παραβολὴ to be a comparison between things *longius repetitas*, as we say *far-fetched*.

The several translators have endeavoured to render the supposed meaning of Homer, either by limiting it to some peculiar characteristics of night, or by a simple and literal translation of the words. Chapman says, "like the night;" Dryden, "black as a stormy night;" Tickel, "in clouds he flew concealed from mortal sight;" Pope, "breathing revenge, a sudden night he spread, and gloomy darkness rolled around his head;" Cowper, "like night he came;" Sotheby, "dark as night;" Hobbes, "descended from Olympus silently, in likeness of the sable night unseen;" Cameronius, in his Latin version of the first book of the Iliad, has "Ipse velut tenebræ, ac obscuræ nubila noctis."

Heyne's note on this passage, as given in the London edition of the Iliad, 8vo, 1819, is as follows:—(1), "He came on as night, or as a black cloud passes along, or descends from the heavens: or (2), clothed in a black cloud, so as to strike terror on the spectators, which appears to me a more august and sublime figure: (3), like black night in dreadful aspect; as in the Odyssey, Λ. 605., Hercules, in the shades below, and threatening with his arrow on the bow-string, is said to advance ἐρεμνῇ νυκτὶ ἐοικὼς δεινὸν παπταίνων, like black night rolling around his dreadful eyes; and the νυκτὶ θοῇ ἀτάλαντος ὑπόπια, quoted by Eustathius. Thus the lowering look, and rolling round of the eyes, are compared to night and darkness, as cheerfulness is likened to the clear sky; and the god is said to be νυκτὶ ἐοικὼς, from his countenance bearing the aspect of night."

Amid these various and indefinite attempts to give a meaning to the words at the head of this article, ὁδ' ἤϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικὼς, it is plain that the commentators and translators have been all equally at a loss to state their own conception of what the poet intended to imply; and I am inclined to refer their discrepancies and indistinctness to their having overlooked the peculiar characteristics attributed to Night, as one of the goddesses of Greece, by the ancient mythologists. On consulting these authorities, and the poets, who were their best interpreters, we find that Night, the daughter of Chaos, was held to be the mother of the Furies, the Erinnyes, the personified instruments of Heaven in avenging the crimes of murder and impiety. Euripides, in the *Hercules Furens*, l. 824, after the hero has, in a moment of passion, put to death the tyrant Lycus, introduces Iris, accompanied by Λύσσα, the daughter of Night, who comes by command of Juno to punish Hercules for this act of violence, by depriving him of his reason; and a few lines further on, Iris addresses her

companion as Νυκτὸς κελαινῆς ἀνυμέναιε παρθένε· and Λύσσα says of herself, ἐξ εὐγενοῦς μὲν πατρὸς, ἐκ δὲ μητρὸς πέφυκα Νυκτὸς, Οὐρανοῦ τ' ἐφ' αἵματος. The Furies in Æschylus call themselves κόραι Νυκτὸς δυστυχεῖς, the unhappy daughters of Night. When upbraided by Minerva, they exclaim, Θυμὸν ἀϊε μᾶτερ Νὺξ· and they call the Μοῖραι, or Fates, by the name of Ματροκασίγνηται, or sisters by the mother's side.

The mythological personages, known generally under the name of Furies, were by the Greeks called Ἐριννύες, when supposed to be employed in punishing crimes by remorse and flight; Λύσσαι, when driving any of their victims to madness; and Σεμναὶ θεαὶ, or Εὐμενίδες, by euphemismus, when taken in their more venerable characters, and worshipped as the severe goddesses. They are by some authors called the daughters of Night and Acheron; and Euripides in Orestes, line 48, compares them to night, ἔδοξε δ' ἰδεῖν τρεῖς νυκτὶ προσφερεῖς κόρας. By Apollodorus, Bibl. lib. i. cap. i. sec. 3. and according to the more ancient μύθοι, as stated by Barnes in his note on the 839th line of the *Hercules Furens*, they are said to have sprung from the *genitalia* of Cœlus, Οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀφ' αἵματος. We may gather from these, and other authorities, that the Furies, or avengers of great crimes, were supposed to be sent from heaven, and mainly with the intervention of night; *i. e.* that the direful effects of conscience, remorse, and despair, were chiefly felt during the night, sleeping or waking, and were the apt companions of the danger, the darkness, and the silence, of that portion of time.

The Greeks were a nation on whom the ordinary phenomena of nature appear to have made the most lively impressions: their beautiful climate and clear skies, changed at times by the most awful outbreaks of the elements, struck their imaginations in a forcible manner, and gave life and spirit to their writings and to their fables. In their southern latitudes, too, the very sudden coming on of the darkness of the night, after the most brilliant sunshine, would be more impressive than in more northern countries; and we thus more readily understand their personification and deification of the awful Night, the φοβερὴ Νὺξ, and that she should be held by them as one of the αἰδοῖαι θεαὶ, with Ceres, Proserpine, Vesta, &c. Her immediate progeny were Ὕπνος, Sleep; Ὄνειροι, Dreams; Θάνατος, Death; Κῆρες, the Fates, as connected with the sense of calamities, crimes, sudden annihilation, &c.; Ἐριννύες, the Furies; Νέμεσις, the goddess of Punishment and Vengeance; Ἔρις, Contention; Ἄτη, Guilt; Λιταὶ, Prayer of Forgiveness. Now Apollo, in this

passage of the Iliad, is bent on an errand of vengeance, for the impiety of the Atreidæ in dishonouring the priests of his altar; and he is about to bring on the Grecian host a tissue of calamities, such as are above enumerated as ἔγγονα Νυκτὸς, which the decrees of Heaven alone could create, or finally arrest. To what, therefore, could the god be more aptly and forcibly compared than to the mother of the Furies? and the words ὁδ' ἤϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικὼς may be properly rendered, "With vengeance fraught, terrible as night." "He moved in all the terrors of the night." Pope's translation comes the nearest to this interpretation. Milton's well-known passage in the Paradise Lost will occur to every one: "Black he stood as night, fierce as ten Furies, terrible as hell."

But it may here be objected, that such a mythological allusion is not in harmony with the general simplicity of Homer's poem. The father of poetry deals but little in moral allegory; his similes are, with very few exceptions, taken from the common phenomena of nature, clear and evident to the plainest understanding, and very seldom admitting or requiring a double interpretation. This is doubtless true; and it may also be added, that this simile, if so it may be called, whatever be its real purport, is the only simile to be met with in the first book of the Iliad. But is it really Homer's? or is the line in question an interpolation of later times? On referring to the learned edition of the poems of Homer by the late Mr. Knight, published in 1820, we observe that the line is altogether omitted; and the note upon it is: "Heynio et Zenodoto damnatum. Prima pars merum pleonasma. Secunda causâ metri incerta." And it is clear that it is not wanted to complete the sense. Without deciding with Zenodotus, who, by the by, according to the scholiast in Villoison's edition[2] of the Iliad, rejected both this and the preceding line, Ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἀρ' οἰστοὶ ἐπ' ὠμῶν χωομένοιο, we may at least admit that the words αὐτοῦ κινήθεντος, "of him in his career," are tame and rather precise; and that the rest of the verse, ὁδ' ἤϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικὼς, does not tend to render the description of Apollo more intelligible to the general reader. But though this may be the case, and the line may have been justly condemned by Zenodotus, it is equally clear that it must have existed in its place in his time; and, as he was a contemporary of the early Ptolemies, it must have been composed in a good age of Greek poetry. But

[2] V. 47. τὰ φοβερὰ νυκτὶ εἰκάζει.

the bright era of Pisistratus and Pericles was no more; taste and simplicity were already on the decline. It was an age of mythological allusions, an age of artificial combinations of natural and moral philosophy, when Poetry spoke in energetical and oracular language; and when the poets, of whom at a somewhat later period, Lycophron, who speaks of the *νυκτίφοιτα δείματα*, the night-stalking terrors, affords us an exaggerated example, were more anxious to shew their extensive knowledge of mythology, history, astronomy, and geography, than to please by the simple representations of nature, or an exact delineation of the workings of the heart in the various characters of man. In this point of view, the version which I have attempted to establish of this *vexata lectio*, namely, that Apollo was descending in company with the avenging Furies, or that his descent was that of the Furies, ministers of the divine vengeance, although the passage may cease to be looked on as Homer's, and we may no longer admire it as an expression of Homer's,—the version, I would say, appears to be an easy one, not ill adapted to the fashion of the times, and a favourable specimen of what was dictated by the spirit of the age; and thus we may conclude, that the expression, though not exactly that which was in the mind of the great poet himself, was not inappropriately subjoined by a later poet, in illustration of the designs of Apollo.

XVIII. *On the Grecian Rose, as illustrating the Imagery of the Odes ascribed to Anacreon, with a view to determine the Authenticity of those Lyrical Compositions.* By the Rev. Frederick Nolan, LL.D., M.R.S.L.

Read April 7, 1830.

The evidence, internal and external, which appears against the authenticity of the odes ascribed to Anacreon, has induced scholars of no ordinary repute to adjudge those compositions to some writer of a comparatively modern period. The language and imagery bear a character of lightness and prettiness, to which nothing similar appears, either in the genuine remains of the poet that have been preserved by the ancients, or in the compositions of any writer who flourished in the age when he lived. And although the very peculiar and attractive nature of the poetry recommended it to notice before the times of Aulus Gellius, who preserves a solitary ode, not a fragment of those productions has been quoted in any work of antiquity, in which numberless passages of the Teïan poet's lyrics are praised and cited.

In the peculiar imagery by which the Anacreontics ascribed to that bard are distinguished, nothing is so striking as the notice which is conferred, and the praise which is lavished, upon the Rose; to which, indeed, two odes are expressly inscribed.[1] On suggesting a doubt as to the identity of the Greek term considered synonymous with the word, it seems necessary to premise, that it does not affect the particular compositions, the authenticity of which is implicated in this investigation; as it is not to be disputed, that the rose, on which the author has lavished the highest powers of description, corresponds with the modern flower, which is equally admired for its fragrancy and beauty. He represents it as being remarkable for the beauty of its petals[2]—as growing among thorns[3]—as having a divine scent[4]—as possessing a colour which resembled the human complexion[5]—and as being the finest of the flowery species;[6] in fine, asserting its superiority to the leafy

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[1] Ode v. et liii. ed. impress. Od. ii. et liii. cod. Nat. pp. 687, 689.

[2] Ode v. 3. ed. [3] Ode liii. 12. [4] Ibid. 4. 14.

[5] Ode xxix. 18. liii. 23. [6] Ode v. 6.

tribe, he terms it "the flower of love,"[7] and "the queen of flowers."[8] If it shall appear, on inquiry, that for two centuries after the age of Anacreon, the Greeks could not have seen a flower which answers this description, or can justify this partiality; and that long subsequently to his times, they applied the term ῥόδον to a class of flowers totally different from the modern *rose;* we shall be furnished with adequate grounds for rejecting the imagery as modern, in which the flower is so constantly mentioned and extravagantly praised.

1. It is known to botanists, that, like all double flowers, a fine rose is produced by cultivation: according to the distinction which naturalists place between such products of art and the offsprings of nature, it is consequently accounted a monster. In its wild state it is an inconsiderable shrub, destitute of that colour, fragrancy, and beauty, which it has acquired under the care of the gardener. Its blossom consists but of five petals, generally of a white colour, the border of which is slightly tinged with that blush, which, when the shrub is improved by art, spreads over the cultivated flower.

The process by which the rose undergoes this change was not unknown to the Greek naturalists who wrote after the times of Anacreon. Theophrastus, who succeeded Aristotle in the Lyceum, and pursued the inquiries in physiological science which were prosecuted by his master and predecessor, expresses himself in such a manner as to prove that to him this operation of nature was no secret. But while the subject on which he treated laid him under an obligation to seek such a flower, and examine its texture, he speaks of it as not known to him by sight, but merely by the report of others. "Of roses," he declares,[9] "there are many varieties, in the number and scantiness of the flower-leaves, in the roughness and smoothness, in the scent and colour. The greater number are five-leaved; some are twelve-leaved, and

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[7] Ode liii. 15. [8] Ode lxii. 15.

[9] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. lib. vi. cap. 6. Τῶν δὲ ῥόδων πολλαὶ διαφοραί, πλήθει τε φύλλων καὶ ὀλιγότητι, καὶ τραχύτητι καὶ λειότητι, καὶ χροιᾷ καὶ εὐοσμίᾳ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστα πεντάφυλλα, τὰ δὲ δωδεκάφυλλα καὶ εἰκοσαφυλλα· τὰ δ' ἔτι πολλῷ πλεῖον ὑπεραίροντα τούτων. ἔνια γὰρ εἶναί φασιν ἃ καὶ καλοῦσιν ἑκατονταφυλλα, πλεῖστα δὲ τοιαῦτά ἐστι περὶ Φιλίππους· ἔνθεν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες ἐκ τῆς Παγγαίου φυτεύουσιν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ γίνεται πολλὰ, σμικρὰ δὲ σφόδρα τὰ ἐντός, (ἡ γὰρ ἔκφυσις αὐτῶν ἔνθεν ἐστι εἶναι τὰ μὲν ἔκτος τὰ δ' ἔντος,) ἐκ εὐόσμα δὲ ἐδὲ μεγάλα τοῖς μεγέθεσιν. Athenæus, Deipnosoph. xv. p. 682. b. collecting the authorities of the ancients, on the subject of the rose, adduces this passage at large; in which more information is imparted respecting it, than is conveyed in all the other passages which his reading has supplied.

some twenty-leaved; but some even excelling these by much: for *they say* there are some which they even call hundred-leaved; but the greater number of such are about Philippi; for they take them from Mount Pangæus, and plant them, for there many are produced, (but the inner petals are exceedingly small, for the blossoming is such, that some are inward and some outward); but they are not fragrant, nor large in size." A little lower he adds:[10] "It is necessary to transplant the rose often; for thus, they say, it becomes more beautiful; but the wild rose-trees are rougher in the stems and the leaves; and, besides, they have the flower colourless, and scentless, and smaller."

Two inferences seem to follow, by necessary consequence, from this description. It is equally evident, that the author could not have seen a fine double rose, and that he believed his readers unacquainted even with the structure of the double flowers. The greater number of roses he represents as consisting but of five petals, and as not differing, of course, from the blossom of the wild briar. A rose of twelve or twenty petals, which could not merit the name of fine, he represents as a rarity; but of such a rose as would justify the extraordinary admiration expressed in the Anacreontic odes, he represents himself as acquainted only by report, disclosing the manner in which it was produced by repeated transplantation. In representing the appearance which the flower assumed as it became double, "the blossoming being such" that different rows of flower-leaves lay within each other, he describes a peculiarity which he must have considered unobserved by his readers.

This statement of the degree of cultivation which the rose had attained in the times of Theophrastus, derives the fullest confirmation from the accounts transmitted to us of the art of horticulture among the Greeks, and of the plants used by them for the purposes to which the rose is represented as applied, in the odes that pass under the name of Anacreon.

Of gardens, in the proper sense of the term, whatever use was made by the Greeks must be referred to a late period of the history of that people. The grounds enclosed and tilled by them, under that name, as exclusively

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[10] Theophrast. ibid. Δεῖ δὲ καταφυτεύειν πολλάκις· καὶ γὰρ οὕτω φασὶ κάλλιον γίνεσθαι τὸ ῥόδον· αἱ δὲ ἄγριαι τραχύτεραι καὶ ταῖς ῥάβδοις καὶ τοῖς φύλλοις· ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄνθος ἀχρώστερον καὶ ἀοσμότερον ἔχουσι καὶ ἔλαττον.

appropriated to herbs and trees, were devoted to a different purpose from the cultivation of flowers.[11] Notwithstanding the copiousness of their language, the compilers of its vocabularies assure us that it possessed not even a word with the sense of "a flower-garden;" and that when they would express the place where flowers were produced, they used the term answering to "a meadow."[12] But while the growth of the rose was confined to such a soil, it is needless to repeat, it could not have acquired the beauty and fragrancy on which the author of the odes has bestowed the highest encomiums.

In the environs of cities, gardens were wholly unknown until the time of Epicurus; and even at the late period when he lived, the labour of the cultivator was engaged in rearing plants and trees, no care having been employed in the cultivation of flowers.[13] What a Greek garden was in the days of this philosopher, whom Pliny terms "*hortorum magister*," it still continues at the present day, exhibiting to the traveller rather the appearance of an orchard than a garden.[14] Of the former description were the gardens of Alcinous, as painted by Homer: an explicit account is given by the poet of the trees of

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[11] Suidas sub voc. κῆπος· ὁ τῶν λαχάνων καὶ τῶν δένδρων. Vid. infr. n. 12. The Greeks, after the Persian invasion, adopted the word παράδισος from the Orientalists. Of it, accordingly, Pollux observes, Onomast. IX. iii. 13. οἱ δὲ παράδισοι, βαρβαρικὸν εἶναι δοκῶν τοὔνομα ἥκει καὶ κατὰ συνήθειαν εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν χρῆσιν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν Περσικῶν. He interprets, ibid. κῆπος, ἡ κυρά· and Hesychius sub voc. κῆπος· παράδισος, ἡ εἶδος κυρᾶς παρὰ Πέρσαις. The name thus appears to have been applied from the mode of *clipping* the trees and hedge-rows.

[12] Pollux. ibid. I. xii. 229. ὁ [τόπος] μὲν πάντων ἀνθῶν, λειμών· ἴδια δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐκ οἶδα εἴ τι κέκληται. Hence the propriety of Homer's language, who uses the phrases, Odys. M. 159. λειμῶν' ἀνθεμόεντα, and Odys. I. 449. τέρεν' ἄνθεα ποίης· who thus also describes the meads that surrounded the grotto of Calypso:

> Ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμῶνες μαλακοὶ ἴα ἠδὲ σελίνου
> Θήλεον. *Odyss.* E. 72.

[13] Plin. Hist. Nat. xix. 4. "Jam quidem hortorum nomine in ipsa urbe delicias agros villasque possident. Primus hoc instituit Epicurus hortorum magister. Usque ad eum non moris erat in oppidis habere rura." From Lucian, Amores, vol. i. p. 881. ed. Salmur., we learn the little estimation in which flowers were held by the ancients.

[14] Lady Craven observes, in reference to this subject, Journ. to Constant. lett. xxix. "All the country here is downs, where rice is cultivated, and what the Tartars call gardens, which I call orchards."

which it was composed; but though express mention is made of the herbs that it contained, not the smallest notice is taken of flowers.[15]

But the accounts which we receive from the ancients of the crowns employed in their festivals and ceremonies, afford the preceding observations on the late cultivation of flowers still further confirmation. These are universally represented as having been composed, in the earliest period of their literature, of the plants and herbs which were the common objects of cultivation.[16] Even on those festive occasions, when ornament was more likely to be studied than utility, the garlands which were used in decking the brow, or decorating the person, were composed of the usual produce of their gardens. In the nuptial ceremony, the wreaths with which the affianced were adorned, were either formed of wild thyme, or some cultivated plant.[17] The custom of interweaving them with flowers is expressly represented as introduced into Greece at a late period. The invention is ascribed by Pliny to Glycera of Sicyon; and is represented by that naturalist as unknown to the Greeks before the hundredth Olympiad.[18]

The most striking confirmation, however, of which these observations are susceptible, remains to be deduced from a short account transmitted to us of the crowns which were celebrated by the chief of the lyrical poets; all of which were composed of the plants or herbs commonly cultivated

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15 Homer. Odyss. H. 127.

> Ἐνθὰ δὲ κοσμηταὶ πρασιαὶ παρὰ νείατον ὄρχον
> Παντοῖαι πεφύασιν, ἐπηετανὸν γανόωσαι.
>
> "Beds of all various herbs for ever green,
> In beauteous order, terminate the scene." POPE.

16 Lucian describes the crowns used in the games, Dial. de Gymnas. vol. ii. p. 189. Ὀλυμπιάσι μὲν στέφανος ἐκ κοτίνου, Ἰσθμιοῖ δὲ ἐκ πίτυος, ἐν Νεμέᾳ δὲ σελίνων πεπλεγμένος, Πυθοῖ δὲ μῆλα τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. Confr. infr. n. 18. The chaplets used in festivals, of which Athenæus gives a detailed description, appear from his compilations from the ancient writers to have been composed of herbs and plants, until a late period. Deipnos. lib. xv. Confr. Plin. ut infr. n. 18.

17 Andr. Schott. Prov. e Suid. Cent. X. 56. p. 491. ed. Antw. Οἱ γὰρ γαμοῦντες ἐστέφοντο σισύμβροις καὶ φυτοῖς τισι πρὸς τὰς τῶν γάμων ἡμέρας.

18 Plin. Nat. Hist. xxi. 2. "Cum vero *e floribus* fiunt serta a serendo serviæ appellantur: quod *apud Græcos quoque non adeo antiquitus placuit.* Arborum enim ramis coronari in sacris certaminibus mos erat primum. Postea variari cœptum mixtura versicolori. Florumque invicem odores coloresque accendere Sicyonii ex ingenio Pausiæ pictoris atque Glyceræ coronariæ. .... Idque factum *post Olympiadem centesimam.*"

in gardens. This testimony is not less remarkable for specifying the garlands, of which mention is made in the genuine fragments of Anacreon, than for overlooking those which are the exclusive subjects of praise in the odes ascribed to that poet. "Anacreon," observes Julius Pollux,[19] "says they were crowned with myrtle, coriander, feverfew, and the Naucratian crown, which was sweet marjoram; likewise with anise, as also Sappho and Alcæus, who also make mention of parsley." Of this brief description a comment may be found in Athenæus,[20] where the passages of Anacreon's works[21] are preserved, in which the observation is exemplified. But in it we search in vain for any extract from the odes ascribed to the poet, or any example of the crown composed of the flower which is the perpetual subject of the author's panegyric. For a silence so extraordinary it seems impossible to account, if the supposition is rejected, that the commentator was as unacquainted with the suspected odes as the reputed author was with the flower which they celebrate.

From the more remarkable events in the lives of Epicurus and Theophrastus, both of whom were founders of gardens at Athens, where they received their disciples while living—to whom they also bequeathed them at their death,[22]—the epoch of the first improvement in horticulture and cultivation of the rose may be accurately ascertained. Epicurus's arrival at Athens, previously to the establishment of his school in the garden,[23] is fixed by his biographer in the archonship of Anaxicrates, which occurred Ol. CXVIII. 2;[24] five years previously to which date he assures us he had a garden at Mitylene,[25] which was the first of its kind, if Pliny's authority may be received.[26] Theophrastus succeeded to the presidency of the Lyceum, on Aristotle's

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[19] Jul. Pollux, ut supr. VI. xix. 107. *Ἀνακρέων δὲ καὶ μύρτοις στεφανοῦσθαί φησι, καὶ κοριάννοις, καὶ λύγῳ, καὶ Ναυκρατίτῃ στεφάνῳ, σάμψυχος ὅτος ἦν, καὶ ἀνήτῳ, ὡς καὶ Σαπφὼ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος, ὅτοι δὲ ἄχα καὶ σελίνοις, καὶ ἴ.*

[20] Athenæ. Deipnos. lib. xv. p. 671. d. seq.

[21] Id. ibid. p. 671. e. seq. In some of the views of this writer, who wrote in the reign of Antoninus Pius, I cannot, however, acquiesce; as they are palpably founded upon the state of opinion in the late period at which he flourished.

[22] Diog. Laërt. Vit. Philos. lib. v. p. 126. e.; lib. x. p. 271. a.

[23] Id. ibid. p. 267. c. 270. d. Confr. Suid. voc. "Epicurus."

[24] Dodw. de Cyclis, Append.

[25] Diog. Laërt. ut supr. lib. x. p. 269. cum p. 270. d.

[26] Vid. supr. p. 330. n. 13.

death, Ol. CXIV. 3; and at his demise, Ol. CXXIII. 3,[27] bequeathed his gardens to his philosophical friends. In the intermediate period he wrote his History of Plants, in which he treats of the cultivation of the rose; that work having been published in the archonship of Nicodorus, to whom it was dedicated,[28] which occurred Ol. CXVI. 3, B.C. 314.[29] At a period thus late, as appears from the extracts which have been made from that work, a fine rose was so rare as to be known only by report to the author, though a professed botanist, and the owner and cultivator of a garden. But Anacreon, whom the author of the suspected odes describes as familiarly acquainted with that flower, as using it commonly in crowns, and perpetually celebrating it in his poems, flourished under Cyrus and Polycrates of Samos, Ol. LIX., and cannot be brought lower than Ol. LXV., B.C. 520.[30] As a period of above two centuries intervenes between this date and that of Theophrastus's work;

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[27] Diog. Laërt. ut supr. n. 25. cum Menag. Obs. in locum, p. 119.

[28] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 5. [29] Dodw. ut supr. p. 731.

[30] Suidas, p. clxvii. declares of Anacreon, that "he flourished under Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, in Ol. LII.; but others place him under Cyrus and Cambyses, in Ol. LV." From the similarity of κ and ν, κδ' has been substituted for νδ', in κατὰ τὴν κδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, of Suidas, as Maittaire, Vit. Poet. p. 51, properly reads. Cyrus, by the common consent of chronologists, came to the throne Ol. LV. 2; and having reigned thirty years, was succeeded by Cambyses, Ol. LXII. 4, who reigned until Ol. LXIV. 3. Vid. Usser. Annal. p. 138. 148. This statement is confirmed by the scholiast on Pindar, who observes of Alcæus, Ibycus, and Anacreon, Isthm. Od. ii. 1. ὅτοι γὰρ παλαιότεροι Πινδάρου. If, taking the greatest latitude of interpretation, we suppose that Anacreon lived until the year of Pindar's birth; as it is generally admitted the Theban poet was born Ol. LXV., such will be the latest epoch that can be assigned to Anacreon. Vid. Petav. Rat. Temp. I. iii. 8. A further confirmation may be drawn from the length ascribed to Anacreon's life, who, according to Lucian, lived eighty-five years: Lucian in Μακροβ. vol. ii. p. 475. Græv. On calculating eighty-five years backwards from Ol. LXV. we ascertain Ol. XLIV. 1, as the probable year of his birth; according to which computation he appears to have been forty-five years of age at the time of Cyrus's accession, Ol. LV. 2, whence the period of his celebrity is dated. From the character of Ovid, who describes his poetry as "lyrici Teïa musa *senis*," Trist. ii. 363; a character which is as singularly confirmed by the genuine remains of the poet as the suspected odes (vid. Od. xi. lvi.), it appears that he attained his reputation as a poet when he was advanced in life. With this representation, in fine, the statement of Zenobius accords, who declares, Prov. v. 80. ἤκμασε μάλιστα κατὰ Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην: the period of his celebrity, as bounded by the reign of Cyrus, was thus limited between his forty-fifth and seventy-fifth year. Before the former time he could not have obtained any reputation; and after it his fame could have received no accession; such, consequently, was the period during which he may be properly said with Zenobius to "have flourished."

such is the gross anachronism which must be committed by those who refer the odes ascribed to Anacreon to the times merely of that ancient lyrist.

2. It cannot be disputed, however, that in Anacreon's times, and previously to him, in the age of Homer, the name ῥόδον, which was subsequently appropriated by the *rose*, was not only known, but that it found a place in the imagery of the poet. It seems, therefore, expedient to ascertain the flower to which the term was applied, as necessary to discover the species that was really known to Anacreon. The irreconcilable discrepancy which may be thus proved to exist between any flower that he could have known under that term, and that so extravagantly praised in the odes inscribed with his name, involves an argument no less fatal to the authenticity of that work which is generally received as his composition.

The learned Spanheim professes himself to have been informed by Isaac Vossius, that the flower inscribed on the coins of the island of Rhodes, which until then had been generally considered a rose, was intended to represent the balaustium, or blossom of the wild pomegranate.[31] For this flower the natives acquired a partiality, because, from being used as a *dye*, it was the source of a principal branch of their commerce; they accordingly caused it to be stamped upon the specie, through which they maintained a profitable traffic.[32] Those profound scholars might have, however, carried their scepticism to a greater extent; and have maintained, that the term ῥόδον itself, like the flower impressed upon the coin, had originally but the same signification: that in its primary acceptation it was taken to express, not specifically the rose, but generally any flower that was employed in dying. As in such a sense we shall see it was generally used long subsequently to the times when it was appropriated by the rose, in such only could it have been known to Anacreon or Homer; to whom, consequently, it conveyed the image of a flower essentially different from that which is described in the modern Anacreontics.

The original sense of the term ῥόδον must be sought in the primitive from which it is derived; and it is obviously a word of Oriental extraction. The

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[31] Spanh. de Præst. et Usu Num. Diss. iv. p. 273.

[32] Plin. Hist. Nat. xiii. 19. "Sed circa Carthaginem *Punicum malum* cognomen sibi vindicat.... flos *balaustium* vocatur, et medicinis idoneus, et *tingendis vestibus*, quarum color inde nomen accepit." Conf. Spanh. ibid.

Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopic, express it by nearly the same term, *wrad,* of which the Greek is obviously the derivative.[33] Through the intervention of that ancient dialect of the Greek, the Eolic, in which the flower was termed βρόδον,[34] and the plant βρόδα,[35] and by the cognation of β with the digamma which belonged to that dialect,[36] the connexion between the Oriental and Western term is directly established.[37] From the Syriac or Chaldee ורדא, in the emphatical state, we thus deduce the Pelasgic FPAΔA, the Eolic BPOΔA, the ancient PHOΔA, and the modern 'POΔA, by the regular process of derivation.

As the Arabic is the most copious of the Oriental dialects, in it the root, from which the word thus derived is descended, happens to be preserved: it at once determines the primitive signification of the term. In that language, the radical ورد *warada,* signifies to *dye red,* as well as to blossom, and may be varied by accidental alterations to signify *red,* or *a red flower.*[38] Even in the root from which the term 'ρόδον is thus remotely descended, we obtain some evidence of its having originally signified nothing but a *dye-flower.* As

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[33] Vide Castel. Lex. p. 987, sub rad. ורד. The Syriac has ܘܪܕܐ, rosa, de flore et frutice dicitur, Michael. Lex. p. 238; the Chaldee, ורדא, rosa, Buxtorf. Lex. Chald. Talm. p. 1397; the Arabic ورد idem quod ורד Chald. rosa, Rapheling. Lex. Arab.; the Coptic ⲟⲩⲃⲉⲣⲧ, rosa, Kirch. Ling. Ægypt. Rest.; the Ethiopic ረደ, frutex,.... rosa flos dicitur ጽጌ : ረደ (zege rada), Ludolf. Lex. p. 117. In the Coptic, ⲟⲩ is merely the prefix of gender, on rejecting which we have ⲃⲉⲣⲧ, analogous to ورد of the Arabic; for ⲧ is often substituted for د in this language, as is obvious in ⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛ, oleum rosarum, Kirch. ib.

[34] Hesych. sub voc. βρόδα· 'ΑΙολεῖς 'ρόδα.

[35] Ibid. sub voc. ῥόδη.

[36] Priscian. Gram. lib. i. cap. de lit. "In B etiam solet apud Æoles transire F digamma, quoties ab P incipit dictio quæ solet aspirari; ut ῥήτωρ, βρήτωρ dicunt; consonanti digamma in eadem syllaba præponere recusantes, commutabant id in B, βρήτωρ, βρόδον dicentes." From the Eolic BPOΔON we thus regularly recover the Pelasgic FPAΔON; for, as Vossius observes, De Permut. Lit. "Æolibus et Cretensibus familiare fuit A in O permutare; dicebantque ὀνόγυρις pro ἀνάγυρις, βοτὶς pro βατὶς." In like manner they used Βρόδα for Fράδα.

[37] Of the digamma Priscian declares, ubi supr. "*Vocarique Vau* et digamma." Hence in the Oriental and Greek alphabets, in which it had the force of the numeral 6, it is called וו, βαῦ, *vau.* The connexion is, by this letter, immediately established between the Pelasgic FPAΔA and the Chaldee or Syriac וְרָד *vrad.*

[38] Vid. Castel. Lex. ut supr. p. 987. Hotting. Lex. Harm. rad. ורד, p. 92. 15.

from the etymology of this word, it thus appears that such was its primitive sense, I proceed to shew, that, in this sense, it is properly used by the earliest writers of the Eastern and Western continents.

By the author of the Canticle, a phrase is used[39] which is rendered, in our vernacular version of the Scriptures, "the rose of Sharon." But that the expression in the original affords no countenance to the supposition, that the flower so named was known to the author of that book, the common consent of the early Oriental versions places beyond a doubt, in which it is generally rendered by a phrase analogous to "a flower of the field."[40] In the ancient Chaldee Paraphrase, it is, however, expressed with greater precision, by a word synonymous with *lily* or *narcissus*.[41] And that this is its proper force, a

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[39] Cant. ii. 1. The modern translators of Scripture, misled by the lexicons, have generally rendered the Hebrew חבצלת by a term analogous to *rose*. The Italian of Diodati expresses the passage by "Io son *la rosa* di Saron;" the English of the authorised version by "I am *the rose* of Sharon." But, apparently following the Latin Vulgate, the German of Luther renders it, "Ich bin *eine Blume* zu Saron;" and the Spanish of Scio, "Yo flor del campo." The Hebrew חבצלה is with most probability derived from the Chaldee חבץ "he expressed," בצלא "the bulb;" or the Syriac ܚܒܨ and ܟܒܨ, with the same sense. From the former root the Syrians derive ܚܒܝܨܘܢܐ *chabitsune*, signifying "things from which a liquid is expressed." Vide Michael. Lex. Syr. p. 273. Between this derivative and *the lily*—a bulbous flower from which *a dye was expressed*—the analogy is easily traced; what reference it can have to *the rose* is not easily seen.

[40] In the ancient Oriental versions, the Hebrew אני חבצלת השרון is thus almost uniformly rendered. In the Ethiopic, አነ ፡ ጽጌ ፡ ገዳም ፡ "I (am) the flower of the field;" which sense is also expressed by the Arabic, انا زهرة القعة; by the Septuagint Greek, ἐγὼ ἄνθος τοῦ πεδίου· and the Latin Vulgate, "ego flos campi." The Syriac, indeed, of the Polyglot has ܐܝܟ ܫܘܫܢܬ ܫܪܘܢܐ "qualis (est) flos abietum;" but if, with an inconsiderable alteration, we read, as I believe we ought, ܐܢܐ ܫܘܫܢܬ ܫܪܘܢܐ "ego lilium campi," we shall have the proper meaning of the phrase. Confr. Ferrar. Nomenc. Syr. col. 682, 651. In the ܫܪܘܢܐ of this version, which is derived from ܫܪܐ (Syr. Chald. et Samar "habitare," Hott. Lex. Harm. p. 527), and is rendered in the Nomenclator of Ferrarius, ibid. "locus fertilis;" and in Michaelis's edition of Castel. p. 941, "regio," from חשרון, Is. lxv. 10, we have the proper force of this Hebrew word improperly rendered Sharon, and an authority for the preceding rendering of the ancient versions, which employ a term analogous to *field*.

[41] Buxtorf observes on the passage before us, Lex. Chald. Talm. 1397. v. נרק—"נרקים narcissus juxta quosdam; vel lilium, rosa. אנא מתילא לנרקים רטיב 'ego assimilata sum narcisso virenti,' Cantic. ii. 1. respondet Hebræo חבצלת lilium, vel rosa. Scribitur in fine per ם, sed legendum per ס, ut sit Græcum Ναρκίσσος, quod Galatinus et Munsterus nota-

collation of the versions of a passage in Isaiah, in which it is preserved, sufficiently evinces, where it is variously rendered by a term having either signification.[42] As the Targum renders the Hebrew word thus explained, and that expressing a *lily* by the same term, ורד,[43] *ward,* little doubt can be entertained that such, likewise, is the force of this word, which has been mentioned as the original of the term ῥόδον. In fine, as the Alexandrine translators who composed the Septuagint or Greek version, and who were alike acquainted with the eastern and western language, render the Hebrew synonyme of this word by the term κρίνον, which is further expressed in the *lilium* of the Latin translation;[44] its proper signification seems to be placed beyond contraversion. That from a flower so termed a *red dye* was extracted, I shall soon have occasion to shew, on the authority of Vitruvius and Pliny;[45]

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runt." In the choice which is thus left us between the lily and the rose, there can be little difficulty, from the resemblance traced between the narcissus and either flower, in making an election.

[42] Is. xxxv. 1, ותפרח כחבצלת In rendering this passage, the versions very generally adopt a term analogous to *lily*. Of the ancient translations, the Chaldee renders the phrase ויזהרון כשושניא "and shall shine as the lily:" the Arabic, with the same sense, ولترهر مثل السوسن "and flourish like the lily:" the Septuagint likewise, καὶ ἀνθεῖτω ὡς κρίνον· and the Latin Vulgate, "et florebit quasi *lilium*." The Syriac, indeed, in a play on the original term, reads with a slight variation, ܘܬܦܪܥ ܐܝܟ ܣܡܪܠܝܬܐ "and will flourish as the narcissus." Of the modern versions, the Spanish, in the translation of the Jews and De Valera, renders it, "florecerà como el *lirio*;" the German, in the edition of Wolder, "und wird blühen wie die *Lilien*;" and the low Dutch, "ende sal bloeyen ghelijck als de *lilien*." The Italian, however, of Diodati, translates it, "e fiorirà come una rosa;" the French of the Geneva edition, "et fleurira comme une rose;" the German, in that of Piscator, "und wird blühen wie eine Rose;" and the English, "shall flourish like the rose."

[43] In Buxtorf we find the versions of the Hebrew word in the Targum thus collated. Lex. Hebr. et Chald. r. חבץ "חבצלת rosa, lilium. Cant. ii. 1. Jesa. xxxv. 1. Priori loco in Targum redditur וַרְדָא rosa; in altera שׁוֹשַׁנִּיא lilia. Deinde Hebræum שׁוֹשַׁנִּים, Cant. ii. 1. in Targum וַרְדִין rosæ." From what has been already offered on this subject, it must appear, that the word is rendered by a term which has uniformly the signification of *a lily*; such being the obvious meaning of שושנים, and, as we have seen, of ורדין also; the former signifying a white lily, and the latter a red.

[44] Is. xxxv. 1. ut supr. n. 42.

[45] Vid. infr. p. 340. n. 54. Authority for an ancient dye of this kind may be found in Exod. xxxix. 24.

so much, indeed, we have already seen, is implied in the radical from whence the Oriental word is descended. Whether the derivative is taken generally in the sense of "a flower of the field," or specifically as "a lily or narcissus," it thus obviously appears to have signified *a flower used in dying.*

In the earliest writer of the Western continent, an example of the term ῥόδον with the same force, though it appear to be remotely sought, is not, however, difficult to instance. That Homer must be understood in the same sense, in using the phrase ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς, which, with equal impropriety as in the preceding example, is rendered "the rosy-fingered Morn," is, I believe, a point that cannot long admit of a question. In applying this epithet to the goddess, whom he celebrates as "the golden-throned Dawn,"[46] and whom his disciple and imitator describes as "the Dawn in rosy chariot,"[47] that the poet alludes to any natural object is wholly inconceivable; for, in every country where the human complexion assumes the tint of the rose, red fingers are so far from being deemed a beauty, that they are the common mark of vulgar occupation. But when understood with reference to an artificial *dye,* the image acquires a different force and propriety; as it has been immemorially the custom of the eastern beauties to stain the tops of their fingers red; a practice which is still observed by the females of Greece and Turkey.[48] And the view which is thus acquired of the expression derives

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[46] Ὡς δ' ἀῦ Τιθωνὸν χρυσόθρονος ἤρπασεν Ἠώς. *Hymn. in Vener.*
As Morn, enthroned on gold, Tithonus rapt.

Which image derives some confirmation from the parallel passage:

Ὡς μὲν ὅτ' Ὠρίων' εἷλετο ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς. *Odyss.* E.
As rosy-fingered Morn Orion rapt.

[47] Hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis
Jam medium ætherio cursu trajecerat axem. *Æneid.* vi. 535.

[48] Chandler thus describes a Greek female of the better class, Trav. vol. i. chap. 4. "The latter, a girl in a long white vest, with a zone about her middle, her feet naked, *her nails dyed red,* her hair platted, and hanging down her back." In like manner Lady M. W. Montague declares of the Turkish ladies, Lett. xxix. "*They dye their nails a rose colour;* but I own I cannot accustom myself to this fashion to find any beauty in it." Ion, in reciting an anecdote of Sophocles, in which the poet is represented as justifying the image of Phrynichus, λάμπει δ' ἐπὶ πορφυρέαις παρηΐσι φῶς ἵμερος, — which, as imitated by Virgil, Gray copies in his "purple light of love,"—represents him as justifying it by reference to Homer's ῥοδοδάκτυλος, which he illustrates by

confirmation from the composition of the term; the sense of "rosy-fingered" requiring an adjective for a substantive, ῥόδεος for ῥόδον, to the proper formation of the compound;[49] whereas, the ancients, in expressing by the same word the colour used in dying, and the subject from which it was extracted,[50] furnish adequate authority for the present epithet. But the different degrees of knowledge which Homer exhibits on the subject of dyes and flowers seems decisive in disposing of the difficulty. While it is certain, from the preceding part of these observations, that he never could have seen a fine rose, he has plainly expressed himself acquainted with the Phœnicians as a nation of manufacturers, and with the dyed cloth which was an article of their commerce.[51] As the island of Rhodes was colonised by that maritime people, from whom also it received its name, which, as known to the poet,[52] must have been bestowed on it previously to his times, it is even probable he was acquainted with the dye as a branch of the Rhodian manufacture. With the assistance of these observations, it may be readily determined, whether the image of the poet was deduced from the tint of the rose, or the dye extracted from some flower, like the *balaustium* or orange-lily.

But one observation carries with it particular weight in determining the original force of ῥόδον, as signifying properly a dye-flower. This term enters into the composition of the names of the principal flowers used in dying, but which bear not the most distant resemblance to any species of rose.

The inferior kinds of many flowers were distinguished by the Greeks, by compounding their names with the term κυνός, from κύων, after a similar analogy to our dog-rose and dog-briar. But this term, when conjoined with

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allusion to the custom of dying the tops of the fingers. Athen. Deipnos. xiii. p. 604. b. εἰ γάρ τις εἰς ῥόδιον χρῶμα βάψαι τὰς δακτύλους, πορφυροβαφῆς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐ γυναικὸς καλῆς, ποιήσαι; "if any female dip her fingers into a red colour, will she make them the hands of a dyer, and not of a beautiful woman?"

[49] As βαθύκολπος, βαθύῤῥοος, are compounded of βαθὺς, not βάθος; χρυσοκόμης, χρυσόκομας of χρύσιος, or χρυσόος, not χρυσὸς; the analogy of the language seems to require regularly ῥοδιοδάκτυλος, from ῥόδιος, not ῥοδοδάκτυλος from ῥόδον. The adjective was applied to the colour used in dying the fingers. Vid. Athen. ut supr. n. 48.

[50] Thus the term φοίνιξ signified the plant and the dye, ὄστρεος the murex and the colour: in the epithets, φοινικοπάρῃος, μιλτοπάρῃος, ῥοδόχροος, ῥοδοδάκτυλος, the composition is formed, after the same analogy, by prefixing a substantive.

[51] Iliad. Υ. 744. Δ. 541.

[52] Il. B. 651.

ῥόδον, signified no species of the rose, but expressly a lily,[53] and one of the kind and colour from which a dye was extracted.[54] From the flower termed by the Greeks ὑάκινθος and ὕσγινον, and by the Latins *hyacinthus* and *vaccinium*, which have been identified with the red lily,[55] we are assured by the ancients a tincture was produced, which was used for that purpose.[56] This flower, which is sometimes confounded with the narcissus, appears to me to be the lily, for which the rose is improperly substituted in our translation of Scripture.

After the flower of the pomegranate and the red or orange-lily, the plant madder seems to have been held in estimation by dyers.[57] The name of this plant, which has been variously corrupted by the later Greeks, is obviously a derivative of the same term, being analogous to red rodon;[58] for that such was its proper appellation is obvious from what has been observed on the dog-rodon, and remains to be observed on the white rodon; although Dioscorides' knowledge of the rose, to which it bears not the least resemblance,

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[53] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. 5. "Est et *rubens lilium* quod Græci κρίνον vocant, alii florem ejus κυνόῤῥοδον." Thus likewise Hesychius, sub voc. Κυνόῤῥοδον· κρίνον ὅμοιον ὑακίνθῳ.

[54] Confr. supr. n. 53. et infr. n. 55.

[55] Salmas. de Homon. Hyl. Iatr. cap. "*Hysginum* id esse quod *vaccinium* et *hyacinthum* existimat Hermolaus .... Nicandri Theriacôn scholiastes dicit flavi esse coloris, ξανθὸν τῷ χρώματι, ὑσγινοβαφῆ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῆ βεβαμμένα." Conf. Castilion not. in Vitruv. lib. vii. cap. xiv. p. 301.

[56] Of the vaccinium Pliny observes, Nat. Hist. xvi. 18. "Item *vaccinia*, Italiæ in aucupiis sata, Galliæ vero etiam, *purpuræ tingendæ causa*." Also Vitruvius, lib. vii. 14. "Eadem ratione *vaccinium* temperantes et lac miscentes purpuram faciunt elegantem." Conf. infr. n. 57.

[57] Vitruv. ibid. "Fiunt etiam purpurei colores infecta creta *rubiæ radice* et hysgino; non minus et ex floribus alii colores." We should, however, probably read, for "infecta creta," infectus Cretæ, *dyes of Crete*. Pliny, speaking of *dyes*, uses the expression generally (Nat. Hist. viii. 48.) "De reliquarum lanarum *infectu* dicemus suo loco;" and particularly of those *of Crete* (ib. xxvi. 10.) "Tria autem genera ejus [fuci marini]....tertium crispis foliis, quo *in Creta* vestes tinguntur."

[58] Dioscorid. iii. 160. Ἐρυθρόδανον, ἡ ἐρυθάδανον, ἔνιοι δὲ τυίθριον καλοῦσι· ῥίζα δέ ἐστιν ἐρυθρὰ βαφική. From this passage, the Ancient Glossary published by Labbe has, p. 161, "Rubia, ἐρυθρόδανον. Onomast." As the preceding part of the compound is merely an epithet qualifying the subsequent, and the term ῥόδον, for which another word cannot be easily substituted, is frequently so qualified; there can be little doubt it entered into its composition. As to the last name τυίθριον, it is probably corrupted from τὸ ἐρυθρόν.

disposed him to vary its name, in order to pervert its etymology. In specifying, however, that it was "a red root used in dying,"[59] he justifies our adducing it as an example corroborative of the same position.

The name given to the privet was similarly compounded with that bestowed on the madder; as the Greeks termed the one the red rodon, they termed the other the white rodon.[60] This plant, in its shape and colour, resembles neither the flower of the rose or the pomegranate; but from its berries, which contain a purple juice, a fine purple dye may be extracted.[61] As the madder received its name from the properties of its root, the privet received its name from the qualities of its berries. From its use as a dye it was termed a rodon; but its blossom being white, it was denominated the white rodon, to distinguish it from the madder.

From the preceding examples alone, the decision of the question respecting the original meaning of the term ῥόδον seems capable of being now deduced by a single observation. On assuming that *the rose* was the first flower to which the term was applied, and the type from which all flowers so termed

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[59] Dioscor. ibid.

[60] Labb. Gloss. Græc. sub voc. Λευκόῤῥοδον, ligustrum, saliunca. Philox. Id. Gloss. Lat. sub voc. Ligustrum, κυνόῤῥοδον, ἄνθιμις, λευκόῤῥοδον. It is probable, therefore, that it is to this flower Aristophanes alludes, under the word ἀνθίμων, in the annexed passage; for the same Glossary assigns this as the only signification of that word: Gloss. ib. sub voc. Ἄνθιμις, ligustrum. And before this writer, Pollux observes, Onomast. lib. vi. cap. 19. Τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς στιφανοῖς ἄνθη.... ἀνθίμις, παρθενὶς, καὶ ἰ.

Πῶς ἂν ἐμὲ καὶ σέ τις Ἔρως ξυναγάγοι λαβών,
Ὥσπερ ὁ γεγραμμένος ἔχων στέφανον ἀνθίμων.

Acharn. act. iv. sc. 3.

Would that some guide, with dove-like wing, were ours,
As Cupid 's painted, crown'd with vernal flow'rs!

The scholiast observes on this passage: Ζεῦξις ὁ ζωγράφος ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ἔγραψε τὸν Ἔρωτα ὡραιότατον, ἐστεμμένον ῥόδοις — ἀνθίμων ἀντὶ τῶν ῥόδων: which is transferred by Suidas into his lexicon. If this supposition be admitted, the noun must form its plural according to the observation of Porson, in Eurip. Med. v. 494. It must be, however, remarked, that the "crown of roses" depends for its authority, not on the poet, but the grammarian; for Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. vii. 13. describes *an herb*, termed ἄνθιμον: beyond which it is perhaps useless to look for the crown to which Aristophanes alludes.

[61] Rouill. Hist. Plant. ii. 60. "Oriuntur ex iis baccæ racematim cohærentes ... hederæ baccis minores, læviores, nigriores .... *purpureo intus succo.*"

have derived their appellation, it is inconceivable that the lily, madder, and privet, should have been at all termed roses, and inexplicable that they should have been called the dog-rose, the red rose, and the white rose. But on the supposition that the term signified a *dye-flower*, no name so appropriate could be applied to those plants as the dog dye-flower, the red dye-flower, and the white dye-flower; the blossom of the pomegranate assuming to itself, by eminence, the name of the dye-flower.

That with this signification the term ῥόδον was actually used, it may be expedient to prove by adequate examples; and the undertaking seems the more necessary, as the elucidation of this point will conduce to the removal of the last difficulties in which the subject appears to be embarrassed.

In an abusive dialogue in Aristophanes' comedy of the Clouds, one of the speakers is represented as replying ironically, Ῥόδα μ' εἴρηκας.[62] The source of this phrase, which is improperly rendered, "You have spoken *roses*," is eastern; the Orientalists having used the pomegranate as a favourite object of comparison. "Your work is as precious as the pomegranate;"—"Your words are as sweet as the pomegranate," were phrases to which custom had given the triteness of proverbs.[63] Such expressions readily made their way into Greece, with the cultivation of the plant, and the manufacture of the dye derived from the Orientalists. This, at least, is clearly established by the parallel expression in an ancient dramatic writer, which is preserved in Athenæus, and which forms the best comment on the phrase in Aristophanes. Epylicus, in his comedy termed the Thief Apprehended, as that writer informs us, used the expression, Μῆλα καὶ ῥόας λέγεις,[64] "You speak apples and *pomegranates*." The phrase in both writers is obviously derived from the same source, though it is parodied in Aristophanes, the point of whose wit is heightened by the substitution of the wild plant for the cultivated.

From a comparison of a passage adopted by the scholiast of Theocritus from Theophrastus, with the original from which it is deduced, we are led to

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[62] Aristoph. Nub. act. iii. sc. 2. Suidas, with his usual diligence and predilections, transcribes in his lexicon, sub voc. ῥόδον, the observation of the scholiast on this passage. If it is imagined, from the context of the poet, χρίνων στεφανοῖς, that there is an allusion in the phrase to a chaplet of roses, it may be observed, that *the pomegranate* was used for the same purpose. Vide Athen. Diepnos. xv. p. 680, a.

[63] Vide Spanh. ubi supr. p. 285. Confr. Buxtorf. Lex. Rab. Talm. rad. רמן, p. 2265.

[64] Apud Athen. Diepnos. xiv. p. 650. e.

a similar inference. The commentator, referring to the naturalist in justification of the assertion, declares that "the dog-briar bears a berry resembling the *rodon*;"[65] the naturalist expressly declares, that "the dog-briar bears a ruddy berry, and resembling that of the *pomegranate*."[66] The observation of the expositor cannot be so naturally reconciled with his author's text, as by supposing that they allude to the same plant under a different name. In this sense it is probable also the scholiast on Pindar should be understood, in declaring, that "some say Rhodes was so called from its producing σπουδαῖα ῥόδα, superior dye-flowers;"[67] for Spanheim, as I have already intimated, has clearly proved, that the island was not only celebrated for flowers of that kind, but that they were properly the blossoms of the *wild pomegranate*.[68]

In fine, unless we have recourse to the supposition that some species of the pomegranate was termed a rodon, it seems unaccountable that some flowers should have acquired that name, for no apparent reason, but that they bore it a resemblance. The plants cistus and hypocistus were, however, termed the spurious or canine rodon;[69] of both, we are assured by Dioscorides, that in their blossom they resembled the bud of the pomegranate.[70] From the resemblance there can be little ground of doubt, as they are wholly unlike the rose, they received the appellation of rodon.

From the application of the term rodon, in this sense, its extension to other plants, which were equally unlike the rose, admits of an easy explanation, from the examples which afford it illustration. The name rodon having acquired the signification of dye-flower; as the tincture extracted from flowers so named was red, by an obvious analogy it soon passed to others distinguished by that colour. Unless recourse is had to such a supposition,

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[65] Schol. Theocr. Idyl. E. 92. Φυτάριον δὲ ὁ κυνόσβατός ἐστιν ὅμοιον ῥόδῳ ἔχον τὸν καρπόν, ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ θάμνου καὶ δένδρου, παρόμοιον ταῖς ῥοαῖς, ἢ ταῖς ῥοδίαις, ἀκανθώδης, ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος.

[66] Theophr. Hist. Plant. iii. 18. Τὸ δὲ κυνόσβατον τὸν καρπὸν ὑπέρυθρον ἔχει, καὶ παραπλήσιον τῷ τῆς ῥοιᾶς· ἔστι δὲ δένδρου καὶ θάμνου μεταξύ, καὶ παρόμοιον ταῖς ῥοιαῖς.

[67] Schol. in Olymp. vii. Τινὲς δέ φασι κληθῆναι [Ῥόδον] οὕτω, διὰ τὸ σπουδαῖα ἔχειν ῥόδα.

[68] Spanh. ubi supr. pp. 273, 275.

[69] Salmas. ubi supr. cap. xxv. "Scribonius Largus cisthum *caninam rosam* a quibusdam appellatam ait, cujus florem ἀγρίοις ῥόδοις .... similem prodit Theophrastus, cap. xxi." "Hypocisthidos qui est successus rosæ sylvaticæ quam quidem caninam vocant."

[70] Dioscor. i. 126. Κίστος—ἄνθη ἁβρύνει ὅσπερ ῥοιᾶς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ θήλεῖ λευκά. Id. ibid. 127. Φύεται δὲ παρὰ τὰς ῥίζας τῆ Κίστῃ ἡ λεγομένη Ὑπόκιστις .... ὅμοιόν τι κυτίνῳ ῥοιᾶς.

it will not be easy to account for the extension of the name to plants so void of resemblance to the rose as the campion and marshmallows. We are informed, however, by Pliny the naturalist, that the flower known to the Romans as the "Greek rose," was the lychnis, which modern florists identify with the former plant, and which Dioscorides notices for its deep red colour, distinguishing it as the garland-lychnis, as it was twined into chaplets.[71] And a native Greek botanist particularises, as the rodon which was wreathed by his countrymen into crowns, the amalthæa, which he describes as resembling the cultivated mallows.[72] It is certain that both plants, from the smoothness and flexibility of their stems, were adapted to the purpose for which chaplets were worn at their festivals by the Greeks, who employed them to compress the brow, as a remedy against the effects of intemperance or inebriety.[73] For this purpose the shrub, known to the moderns as the rose, was the worst adapted of all plants, from the thorny roughness of its stem, and deciduous nature of its flowers, which occasioned its being very rarely used, even at the period of its highest cultivation, in composing crowns or garlands.[74]

From the views thus opened into this subject, every remaining difficulty

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[71] Plin. Hist. Nat. xxi. 4. "Nec odore nec specie probabilis est quæ *Græca* appellatur a nostris, a Græcis lychnis, non nisi in humidis locis proveniens, nec unquam excedens quinque folia, violæque magnitudine, odore nullo." Labb. Gloss. Lat. sub voc. Rosa Græca, λυχνὶς. Of this plant, Dioscorides observes, lib. iii. cap. 114. Λυχνὶς στεφανωματικὴ, ἄνθος ἐστὶν ὅμοιον λευκοΐῳ, ἐμπόρφυρον δὲ πλεκόμενον εἰς στέφανα. It is accordingly enumerated by Nicander, with the plant anthemis, among the flowers used in crowns: ap. Athen. Deipnos. xv. p. 683. e.

Σὺν καίπις τεξίᾳ χροιῇ λυχνὶς, ὐδὲ θρυαλλὶς,
Οὐδὲ μὴν ἀνθεμίδων κεινὴ γηραόσσαι ἀκμή.

With the deep lychnis the thryallis vies,
And anthemis, with bloom that never dies.

[72] Salmas. ubi supr. cap. xxv. p. 25. d. Florem malvæ sic [rosam] vocarunt Græci. Harpocration περὶ φυσικῶν δυνάμεων de Althæa αὐτή ἐστι τὸ ῥόδον, ἐξ ἧς τὰς στεφάνους πλέκουσιν Ἕλληνες ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τῶν θεῶν, φύλλα ἔχουσα ὅμοια μαλαχῆς ἡμέρου.

[73] Aristot. et Aristo. Ceus. ap. Athen. Deipnos. xv. p. 674. Philonid. de Coron. ap. eund. ibid. p. 675. c.

[74] Pliny observes of the rose, Nat. Hist. xxi. 3. "Usus ejus in coronis prope *minimus est*." After an enumeration of the several flowers used in crowns, Theophrastus remarks on the rose, in a passage quoted by Athenæus, ibid. p. 680. e. τὸ δὲ ῥόδον ὑστερεῖ τούτων, καὶ τιλιουταῖον μὲν φαίνεται, πρῶτον δὲ παύεται. He elsewhere notices its transitory beauty, observing, Hist. Plant. vii. 17. ὀλιγοχρόνιος γὰρ ἡ ἄνθησις.

in which it appears embarrassed may find an adequate solution. Of those passages of the ancients in which the controverted term occurs, and in which, from preconceived opinions, we may be disposed to conceive it signifies a rose, we may easily arrive at a just appreciation. It should be, however, borne in mind, that no controversy is at present moved with regard to the existence of the term in those writers, but exclusively respecting its specific meaning. And in forming a just estimate on this subject, it may be useful to observe, that whatever be the signification ascribed to the term, whether it be considered the rose, the lychnis, or the amalthæa, the plant to which it is assigned has obtained, among the great variety of shrubs which were similarly used, but its share of admiration—provided the suspected odes are excepted, in which a flower, precisely corresponding to the modern rose, is celebrated with a partiality extravagant and unexampled.

It cannot be therefore deemed necessary to extend this discussion with an investigation of the different passages in which the term happens to be introduced by the ancients. Every purpose of the inquiry will be, indeed, answered, by considering it with reference to the practice of the early lyrists, and more particularly Anacreon.

I formerly had occasion to cite the summary account which is given by Julius Pollux of the crowns mentioned by those poets, and to notice the illustration which it receives from the genuine remains of the Teïan bard preserved by Athenæus.[75] The testimony of the first-named writer, it still remains to be observed, closes with the remark, that "Anacreon names also the rodon-crown."[76] This passage, on which I have intentionally deferred offering an observation, until some definitive idea should be acquired of the meaning annexed to the term employed in it, presents the only place in which it can be at all supposed that those early and diligent compilers discovered an allusion to the rose, among the chaplets described by the poet. The authority in his works, in which the observation is founded, is preserved

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[75] Vid. supr. p. 332.

[76] Jul. Pollux, ut supr. p. 332. n. 19. Ὁ δὲ Ἀνακρέων καὶ στέφανον ῥόδινον ὀνόμασε. On the authority of two MSS. and a quotation in Athenæus, ubi infr. n. 77. ῥόδινον is restored in this passage, for ῥοδιαῖον of the printed editions; to which reading the preference is also given by Jungermann.

by Athenæus,[77] and may be, I conceive, thus restored to grammar and metre:—

Στιφάνους δ' ἀνὴρ τρεῖς ἕκαστος εἶχε·
Ῥοδίνω τὸ μὲν, τὸν δὲ Ναυκρατίτην.

"The guests their brows with triple chaplets bind,
Two red-flow'r wreaths with Egypt's plant entwined."

From this passage it is, however, plain, that the fictitious Anacreon can derive no confirmation. It forms no part of the suspected odes; and from the exclusive manner in which it is noticed by the two writers who allude to it, we must collect, that the chaplet which it mentions was noticed but in this solitary passage of Anacreon, and was wholly unnoticed by Alcæus and Sappho. It furnishes as little authority to the kind of chaplet which is described in the supposititious productions. The crown of which Anacreon speaks, must, from the epithet which he employs, have consisted of the plant itself wreathed into a chaplet.[78] Such is the only inference which the structure of his language warrants, and which is consistent with the history of crowns and the testimony of Pliny, on their late variegation with flowers. Whatever be the plant to which the poet alludes, and which, from the preceding remarks,[79] must have differed from the rose, his imitator, it is clear, describes a garland of roses, which he sometimes represents as interwoven with lilies.[80] In such descriptions, he is thus not merely without countenance from

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[77] Athen. ut supr. xv. p. 671. e.

[78] Adjectives formed after the analogy of ῥόδινος express something *made out of the matter* signified by the primitive; thus, ξύλινος, λίθινος, χρύσινος, signify "made of wood, stone, gold." So, μύρον κρόκινον, κιναμωμίνον, νάρδινον, κρίνινον, signify "ointment made of the crocus, cinnamon, spikenard, or lily." Athen. Deipnos. x. p. 439. b. As the Greeks wreathed the plant itself into a chaplet, they accordingly expressed it by a word similarly formed; properly using the phrase, στέφανον μύρτινον, ἐρπύλινον, φιλύρινον, instead of μύρτα, ἐρπύλλα, φιλύρας. Conf. Athen. ubi supr. p. 676. f. 679. e. Anacreon, in the following passage, preserved by Athenæus, ibid. p. 674. d., explains the term λώτινος, by declaring that the crown was so platted:

Πλεκτὰς δ' ὑποθυμίαδας
Περὶ στέθεσι λώτινας ἔθεντο.

Platted wreaths of lotus worn
Round the neck, the breast adorn.

[79] Spanh. ut supr. p. 275.

[80] Od. iv. 3, 4, 15, 16; xv. 7, 8; xxxiii. 6, 7, 8.

this fragment of Anacreon, but is as irreconcilably opposed to the history of crowns and testimony of Pliny, as to the statement of Pollux and Athenæus.

The history of the interesting flower on which I have so long dwelt, may be now reduced within narrow limits. The name rodon having passed from flowers used in dyeing to those of the same colour with the dye, it thus descended to the rose; to which it was more particularly applicable, from the likeness which it was thought to bear to the principal dye-flower; for the resemblance of the rose and the balaustium has been often remarked, and has indeed given rise to the error respecting the real flower impressed on the coins of the Rhodians.[81] As cultivation tended to heighten the beauty of that admired flower, the reputation of its rival continued to decline; the dye extracted from it in Rhodes having been superseded by the brighter colour drawn from the murex by the Coans and Cyprians.[82] The one flower having thus sunk into oblivion, while the other engrossed greater notice, that which continued in favour finally appropriated the name which it first received by adoption. Its superiority became at length so decided, that the term by which it was known to the Greeks was dropped in its appellation; and it was at last merely denominated from the most remarkable peculiarity which distinguished it, according to the number of its petals.[83]

From the time of its first cultivation, the partiality which it excited forms a striking contrast to the slight attention with which it was originally

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[81] Spanh. ibid. This similarity has sometimes occasioned that the one should be mistaken for the other, particularly by those writers who wrote after *the rose* had succeeded in reputation to *the pomegranate*. Vide Pausan. Eliac. vi. p. 203. Conf. Eriph. ap. Athen. ibid. iii. p. 84. c.; from whence it appears, that the latter was the favourite of Venus. Some of the errors transmitted by antiquaries, in determining the flowers described on ancient monuments, are pointed out in a Memoir of the Acad. des Bell. Lettr. tom. iii. p. 181. Among the plants confounded with the lotus, the author specifies the rodon-coloured lily mentioned by Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 32. which he identifies with the Egyptian bean or nymphæa.

[82] Pausan. Lacon. iii. p. 264.

[83] Meurs. Gloss. Græco-barb. sub voc. Τριακοντάφυλλον, rosa. Moschópulas, *'ρόδον τὸ κοινῶς τριακοντάφυλλον.* Recentiores ut τεσσαρὰ et τριαντὰ pro τριάκοντα; sic quoque τεσσαράφυλλον et τριαντάφυλλον. Conf. Du Fresne Gloss. sub voc. Id. sub voc. Σαραντόν, rosa, Glossæ Iatricæ MSS. Græco-barb. *πρίμον, τὸ 'ρόδον λίγυπτοι σαραντόν.* This word is obviously contracted from τεσσαρακοστὸ, as the preceding from τριάκοντα. The Arabs, who were versed in the works of the Greek naturalists, probably adopted from hence also their ورد مضاعف *ward mudaafon*, rosa multiplex. Vid. Castel. ut supr. col. 987.

regarded. At the distance of about forty years from the publication of Theophrastus's History of Plants, from whence that epoch in its history must be dated, the notice bestowed upon it by Theocritus[84] marks the progress of its improvement during that period. To the descriptions given of it by Cratinus and Nicander, who flourished about the same time as that poet, Athenæus is principally indebted for the notices respecting it, in his account of the crowns of the ancients.[85] From the testimony of the last-named writer, we learn how widely its cultivation had spread after the age of Theophrastus.

Etolia then produced fine roses near Olenus, Achaia at Niceas, and Pamphylia at Phaselis; nor were those to be despised which were produced near the Meander, at Leucophrys and Magnesia.[86] When transplanted into the Italian soil, where it was still recognised as an indigenous native of Mount Pangæus, it principally flourished at Præneste; and from thence France received the finest specimens of the flower, which was cultivated in Provence.[87] The name by which it is universally known in the European languages, as well of the Latin and Teutonic as of the Celtic and Slavonic stock, prove its remote descent to the people by whom those languages are used, to be deduced from the same original.[88]

The argument which I have thus offered, as a test by which the authenticity of the odes passing under Anacreon's name may be tried, whatever estimate may be formed of its weight, has so little to encounter from the evidence advanced in their support, that it derives from it the fullest confir-

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[84] Theocr. Idyl. E. 92.

[85] Vid. Cratin. ap. Athen. xv. p. 685. Nicand. ap. eund. ib. p. 683. b.

[86] Nicand. ibid. [87] Plin. Hist. Nat. xxi. 4. Clusius de Rar. Plant. i. 114.

[88] The Greeks having, as it were, created the rose by cultivation, not only gave it a Greek name, but one that signified the peculiarity which it acquired by their art: the term τριακοντάφυλλον, expressing the multitude of petals which it acquired in growing double. The term by which it is known to Europeans, clearly implies that the Latins transmitted to them the flower with its name, either directly or remotely. In the Italian, Spanish, and Hungarian, it is accordingly termed, as in the Latin, *rosa;* in the French, Saxon, German, and English, *rose;* in the Dutch, *roose;* in the Russ and Polish, *roza;* in the Irish, *ros;* and in the Welsh, *rhos.* The Persians and Turks call it, indeed, گل *goul*, from a different source; but M. Anquetil observes, in commenting on the oldest work in which the word occurs, Boun-Dehesch, cap. xxvi. "La rose, le narcisse, le jasmin, l'églantine, la tulipe, la coloquinte, ... le safran, le zerdé [espèce de chélidonie], la violette, le dardé, et les autres productions de cette espèce, s'appelle *goul* (fleur)." Zendavest. tom. ii. p. 405.

mation. On the evidence of a manuscript of the tenth century, and the quotation of one ode by Aulus Gellius, the most learned of their advocates rests their pretensions.[89] In turning to the testimony of these vouchers, which reflect mutual light on each other, I find it difficult to restrain my wonder, that it has been ever challenged in their favour. When tried by this evidence, nothing seems more clear than that they must be adjudged to some person different from the reputed author. While they exhibit that similarity among themselves, and likeness to the specimen preserved by Aulus Gellius, which proves them the production of the same hand, in the first, the last, and the twentieth ode, the author, in the most unequivocal manner, assumes the character of a mere imitator of Anacreon.[90] The

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[89] Vid. Anacr. Carm. a J. F. Fischer. Præf. p. vi. ed. Lips. 1793.

[90] Od. lxv. p. 236; lxvi. p. 239. Frag. I. p. 328. ed. Fischer. The first of these odes, which forms Ode i. in the Vatican MS., commences thus:

Ἀνακρέων ἰδών με
Ὁ Τήϊος μελῳδὸς
Ὄναρ πρὸς οἱ κάλιστα.

I saw Anacreon, bard of pleasure,
The minstrel of the Teïan measure;
'Twas in a vision of the night. MOORE.

The second, which forms Ode xx. in the same MS., commences thus:

Ἡδυμελὴς Ἀνακρέων,
Ἡδυμελὴς δὲ Σαπφώ·
Πινδαρικὸν τόδε μοι μέλος
Συγκεράσας τις ἰηπίοι.

Though Anacreon sweetly sing,
And Sappho sweetly touch the string;
With nobler rage, my strains shall swell,
Like the full tide from Pindar's shell.

The third, which forms Ode lix. in the same MS., contains this couplet:

Τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμῶ,
Τὸν ἀοίδιμον μελιστήν.

Like Anacreon, still inspire
The descant of the Teïan lyre. MOORE.

To the vindicators of the authenticity of the work in which these verses occur, it is referred to say, how Anacreon can be supposed the imitator of Pindar; with respect to whom he is said to have been an ancient.

very title which he has prefixed to the entire collection,[91] leaves the claims of that poet to the merit of giving them birth, something less than ambiguous. And between this title and the notice with which Aulus Gellius prefaces the ode which he quotes,[92] there exists that similarity which discloses the source from whence it was adopted.

With respect to the probable author of those odes, and the period at which they were composed; the latter point is so far decided, as it was obviously antecedent to the times of Aulus Gellius. From the palpable imitations which one of them betrays to the "Loves" of Lucian,[93] they appear

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[91] Ἀνακρέοντος Τηΐου Συμποτιακὰ Ἡμιάμβια καὶ Ἀνακρεόντεια, καὶ Τρίμετρα· "The Teïan Anacreon's Convivial Semi-iambics, and *Anacreontics*, and Trimetres." This title, indeed, may derive some qualification from the *metres* termed Anacreontic; of which two kinds, the heroic and iambic, are noticed by the ancient grammarians. Vid. Max. Victorin. de Carm. Heroic. It is thus, indeed, said of Anacreon himself, by Suidas, sub voc. Ἀνακρέων· καὶ συνίγραψε παροίνια μέλη, καὶ ἰάμβους καὶ τὰ καλούμενα Ἀνακρεόντεια. Of the first kind of compositions examples may be found in Athenæus, x. p. 564. d. forming Fragm. IV.; and in Hephæstio Enchir. p. 69. ed. Pau. forming Ode lx. Of the proper "iambic," specimens are preserved by Athenæus, x. p. 427. a. forming Ode lvii.; and by Stobæus, Eclog. 117. p. 599. But of the heroic or proper "*Anacreontics*," which Horace has exclusively imitated, the Vatican MS. unfortunately contains *no specimen*. The "Anacreontics," specified in the title, as enumerated with the "semi-iambics," can have, therefore, no application, unless to *the imitations of Anacreon*, which are subjoined in the work, and quoted above, n. 90. Of the trimetres, Ode xxx., which consists of the pharacratian measure, may be an example; the name is, however, given to the senarium, or six-foot iambic, to which it is probable the notice in Suidas may allude.

[92] Aulus Gellius, speaking of some verses which he heard recited at a feast, prefaces Ode xvii., which he quotes, with the following words: Noct. Attic. xix. 9.—"ac, posteaquam introducti pueri puellæque sunt jucundum in modum Ἀνακρεόντεια pleraque et Sapphica, et *poetarum quoque recentium* Ἐλεγεῖα quædam erotica dulcia et venusta accinerunt. Oblectati autem sumus, præter multa alia, *versiculis* lepidissimis *Anacreontis senis*, quos equidem scripsi." In the first part of this extract, the author obviously speaks not of the works of Anacreon or Sappho, but of the metres termed Anacreontic, Sapphic, and Elegiac. It is singular, that in mentioning "the Anacreontics," in this sense he avoids stating that they were, like "the erotic Elegiacs," the work of "recent poets;" and then alludes to the "old man Anacreon," by a term which designates him as the inventor of the metre, not less than the composer of the verses. Had the object of the author been that merely of preserving a relic of the poet, such a preface to it would have been wholly misplaced. Had it been that of preserving a happy imitation, offered as a genuine production of the poet, he could have hardly prefaced it in a different manner.

[93] Compare Ode xxx. εἰς τὰς Ἔρωτας, and Lucian. Dial. Ἔρωτες. Θᾶττον ἄν μοι θαλάττης κύματα, καὶ ἑ.

to have been composed subsequently to the times of this original writer. The limit thus assigned to the period in which they probably appeared, brings them as low as the close of Trajan's reign, about the year 110 of the Christian era. While it must be allowed, that, with the exception of some inaccuracies in the language and numbers, they possess great beauty and much elegance, it is to be observed, that they are as singularly distinguished by the multiplicity and closeness of the imitations which they contain of preceding writers, as by the scantiness of the quotations which they have supplied to the compilers from the ancient poets. To this peculiarity we may probably impute a circumstance, not uncommon in the sophisticators of the ancient writers, that the author, having sought a factitious reputation for his work under an assumed name, was prevented from making it his own by a public acknowledgment. He, indeed, reserved to himself the power of reclaiming it at any time, by inserting in it three odes, which identify the writer by a likeness to the remainder of the work, as striking as the dissimilarity which it possesses to the genuine remains of the reputed author.

XIX. *Some Account of the Manuscript Library at Holkham, in Norfolk, belonging to T. W. Coke, Esq.* By W. Roscoe, Esq. R.A. R.S.L.

Read Feb. 1826.

Presuming that it may tend to promote one of the principal objects for which the Royal Society of Literature was founded, to examine into the literary treasures which this country contains, and to lay the contents of them before the public, I hope to meet with the indulgence of the Society, whilst I submit to it a brief account of the collection of MSS. now at Holkham, in Norfolk, the seat of T. W. Coke, Esq., which, as it appears to me, has not been hitherto so extensively known as its importance deserves. A catalogue of these MSS. is now in preparation, under the patronage of its present munificent proprietor; but as this work will, from the nature of the decorations by which it is intended to be accompanied, require some time for its completion, a general view of the collection may not, in the interim, be unacceptable to the Society.

The foundation of this library was laid in the reign of Elizabeth, by Lord Chief-justice Coke. Several MSS. formerly belonging to him, and bearing his autograph, and others entirely in his own hand-writing, yet remain. There is, however, reason to believe, that of the works either collected or written by him many have been dispersed, by falling into the hands of his descendants, and having probably been divided as personal estate. This idea is confirmed by a letter from Mr. Evelyn to Mr. Pepys, in which it is said, — "Our famous lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, purchased a very chosen library of Greek and other MSS., which were sold him by Dr. Meric Casaubon, son of the learned Isaac; and these, together with his delicious villa (Durdens), came to the possession of the present Earl of Berkeley, from his uncle Sir Robert Coke. He has sometimes told me he would build a convenient repository for them, which should be public, for the use of the clergie of Surrey; but what he has done, or thinks to do herein, I know not." From which information we may presume, that as the MSS. thus referred to required a particular building to contain them, they must have

been very numerous; in which case, those now remaining at Holkham, as far as they can be distinguished from the rest, can comprise only a small part of the collection.

We have not been able to discover that any additions were made to this library, until about a century after the death of Sir Edward Coke; when his estates having become vested in Thomas Coke, a lineal descendant of Henry Coke, the fifth son of the Lord Chief-justice, that gentleman, about the year 1712, made a journey to Italy, where he resided for several years, and was acquainted with the most distinguished scholars and principal artists of the time. It was during this journey that he formed the design of erecting the splendid and extensive mansion of Holkham, and of furnishing it with the fine collection of statues, pictures, and other works of art, which yet remain there. To these he determined to add a collection of MSS. of ancient authors, with such others of more recent date as appeared most curious and valuable. The circumstances of the times, and his intimacy with many persons of rank and learning, favoured his views; and the present collection may be taken as a decisive proof of his judgment, assiduity, and success. On his return to England, about the year 1720, Mr. Coke appears to have attached himself to Sir Robert Walpole, then at the height of his popularity. His support was rewarded by his promotion to the dignity of a baronet, and afterwards by his elevation to the peerage, by the title of Lord Lovel, to which was afterwards added the superior rank of Earl of Leicester. That he engaged in public affairs, may appear from his having been appointed, in the year 1733, joint post-master general with the Hon. Edward Carteret; which, together with his other numerous avocations, seems to have drawn off his attention from the care of those MSS. which he had collected with so much earnestness and expense. Certain it is, that, to whatever cause it may be assigned, they were suffered, during the subsequent life of Lord Leicester, and of his widow Lady Leicester, who survived him some years, to remain in the state in which they were imported; most of them deprived of their original covers, of which it is presumed they had been stripped in order to avoid the duties on importation. In this state they came into the possession of Mr. Coke, the present proprietor, by whose directions they have been thoroughly examined, cleaned, and secured from further injury by suitable bindings, and now form a distinct collection from the printed library, in a separate apartment at Holkham.

The plan which has been adopted in the arrangement of these MSS. is not precisely founded on any of the numerous systems suggested by bibliographers, but is such as appears best adapted to the nature of the collection, and most likely to facilitate the examination of the various works it contains. An abridged account of the principal works comprised under the following heads, may serve to give a general idea of the whole collection.

Hebrew Manuscripts.

1. This class contains a fine copy of the Hebrew Pentateuch, written on deer-skins, and forming a roll of one hundred and six feet long, by two feet and one inch wide, mounted on rollers, with silver bells, richly gilt, and a hand to point out the text in reading.

This copy was inspected by the late Dr. Kennicott, who has given an account of it in his *Dissertatio Generalis;* from which it appears he thought it might be ascribed to the latter part of the fifteenth century. Vide Ken. *Diss. Gen.* 65, 85, &c.

2. A copy of the Hebrew Bible, on vellum, of a large quarto size, written in three columns, with Masoretic points, and a copious commentary.

This manuscript has also been examined by Dr. Kennicott, who ascribes it to the close of the fourteenth century. De Rossi, in his note on Kennicott, Codex 682, speaks highly of it, and conceives it to be as early as the thirteenth century. It is also particularly described in Burns's edition of Kennicott's *Dissertatio Gen.* as "*Cod. Hispan. fol. min. oblongo; columnis tripartitis, cum Masora copiosissima, nitide et perspicue conscripta, quæ cum editis conferri meretur.*"

Under this head it may also be allowable to notice a copy of the Hebrew Bible, of extreme rarity, printed on vellum, without date, or place of printing, which was also examined by Dr. Kennicott. *Diss. Gen.* p. 104.

Of this very curious and early edition, some account is also given by De Rossi, *de Heb. Typ. Origine,* p. 60. It is also recognised by Panzer, vol. iv. pp. 96, 185. It is printed on fine strong vellum, in a large, clear, and beautiful type, and is ornamented with prints in wood at the beginning of the several books, which in this copy are coloured, in imitation of drawings.

Of the edition of Soncini, 1488, of which " wonderfully rare book" Mr. Dibdin believes there are only two copies in England, some account is given by him in his Library Companion, p. 21, &c. But with this edition, which it is conjectured was printed at Lisbon about the same period, and which, according to Panzer, " in value, magnificence, elegance, and correctness, not only rivals that of Soncini, but greatly excels it," Mr. Dibdin does not appear to have been acquainted. Although in its original binding, this copy has unfortunately been deprived of some of its leaves, as noticed by Dr. Kennicott.

Greek Evangelists.

1. In this department is a copy of the Gospels, of the tenth century, finely written on vellum, and highly decorated with imitations of historical subjects and whole-length figures of the sacred writers, similar to the earliest of those enumerated by Lambecius, in his Catalogue of the MSS. in the Vienna Library. Specimens of the text and illuminations in the present MS. will be given in the proposed catalogue.

2. Another MS. on vellum, with the table of contents and capitals of the chapters written in letters of gold, and illuminated drawings of each of the evangelists, with their appropriate symbols, but which have suffered materially by time. This MS. may be attributed to the eleventh century.

Latin Bibles.

1. Of the nine copies of the Latin Bible, on vellum, in this collection, two may be more particularly distinguished. One of these consists of four volumes, large folio size, but of unequal height, and comprises the Old Testament as translated from the original Hebrew by St. Jerome, who also corrected the ancient Latin translation of the New Testament, and added prologues, or introductory discourses, to the respective books, which are found in most of the ancient MSS., and also in some of the early printed editions.

In the present copy, the books of the Old and New Testament are preceded by their respective prologues, but are given in a very different order from that in which they appear in the printed editions. After the Epistles of

St. Paul follow some verses of Pope Damasus, who died in the year 384, and an epistle of St. Jerome addressed to that pontiff, in which he gives an account of his own labours in collecting the various Latin translations of the evangelists, mutilated and dispersed throughout Christendom, and comprising them in one complete body: "*Pius labor, sed periculosa præsumptio; judicare de cæteris, ipsum ab omnibus judicandum; senis mutare linguam, et canescentem jam mundum ad initia retrahere parvulorum.*"

These volumes are written in two columns, in a strong legible hand, without inconvenient contractions. From the character of the text, and the rude style of the drawings, this MS. may be attributed to the twelfth century.

2. The other copy of the Latin Bible, before referred to, is executed in a much superior style, and is a remarkable specimen of early art. It commences with a frontispiece of the papal arms, and a title-page surrounded by small compartments, each containing a portrait of one of the saints or martyrs, highly finished in miniature. These ornaments are of a much more recent date than the remainder of the volume, and were probably executed when it came into the possession of one of the popes, to whom, from various indications, it appears at some time to have belonged.

The remainder of the volume exhibits a series of Scripture-history pieces, mostly contained in oblong compartments at the foot of the page, of a character so far surpassing the uniform and prescriptive style usually employed in the decoration of MSS. as to justify the belief that they are either the work of Giotto, or of some Italian artist of his school. Such, at least, is the opinion of Mr. Ottley, the well-known author of the History of Engraving, of whose taste and judgment in works of art the public are well apprised, and who, in his remarks on this volume, has observed, that "Giotto was employed for a considerable time at Avignon, under Clement V. who first transferred the papal chair from Rome to France in 1305; and it is very probable that this book may have been written in France soon after that time, and adorned with miniatures executed in the school of Giotto."

This volume contains some variations from the usual copies. There are five books of Esdras, but the fifth is formed of the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of the fourth book. The word *sed* is frequently written *set;* a practice characteristic of an early date. At the close is the interpretation of

Hebrew names attributed to Remigius Antissiodorensis, and found in some of the early editions of the Bible. The vellum on which this MS. is written is of the finest quality, of a folio size; and the whole is in excellent order, bound in blue velvet, in a case.

This beautiful MS. was added to the collection by the present possessor, Mr. Coke.

Latin Evangelists.

The most remarkable works in this class have also been added to the library by Mr. Coke (having been purchased for him by Roger Wilbraham, Esq.), and are of the highest value as specimens of palæography; whilst the metallic bindings are of singular importance as works of art, exhibiting the style which immediately succeeded to the ancient ivory *diptychs.* Of works of this nature few are hitherto known; and the researches of Hearne, and the more recent inquiries of Mr. Dibdin, have not enabled them to discover any that can be compared to the present volumes. The text is written in a fine and legible character, frequently with gold capitals, and the covers are of silver highly gilt, enriched with gold filagree, and surrounded with pearls and precious stones. They are in good preservation, in their original bindings, and have lately been enclosed in solander cases. There are four works of this description in the library, two of which contain the evangelists, and the other two are included in the catalogue, under the head of Missals and offices of the Roman church. From internal evidence, they appear to have been executed at different dates between the years 1000 and 1200.

Synods, Councils, Conclaves, &c.

1. Under this head will be found several rare and interesting articles, particularly a History of the Councils, written in Latin, by Paolo Sarpi, better known by the name of *Fra Paolo,* and contained in two large volumes in folio. This is the original work, and is cited by Montfaucon in his Diary, and certified by Bernardo Trevisano, (who sold or exchanged it with Mr. Smith, the British resident at Venice), to be "*Scritto di mano di Fra Paolo.*" The fidelity and impartiality of this writer are well known from his

other works, and particularly his History of the Council of Trent. The present work does not appear to have been printed.

2. A still more extensive work is also found in this class, under the title of *Ristretto degli Annali Ecclesiastici e Secolari*, in four large volumes in quarto, by the celebrated Alessandro Tassoni, who is well known to have distinguished himself no less as a sound and judicious critic and historian, than as a celebrated poet. Of this work of Tassoni, which is chiefly an abridgment in Italian of the great work of Cardinal Baronius, copies exist in some of the Italian libraries, and one is found in the Royal Library at Paris; but it has not hitherto been printed.

3. To these materials for ecclesiastical history may be added the extensive and very important collection of documents known by the name of The Nuncio's Memoirs, and comprised in eight large folio volumes, under the title of "*Joannis Baptistæ Rinuccini, de Hæresis Anglicanæ intrusione et progressu, et de Bello Catholico ad annum* 1641 *cœpto, exindeque per aliquot annos gesto, Commentarius.*" Rinuccini was archbishop of Fermo, and was the nuncio, or legate, sent by Innocent X. in the year 1645, to the Catholics in Ireland. His character is given at length in Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, vol. i. p. 558; and a particular and candid account of his conduct in Ireland may be found in Mr. Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics, vol. ii. pp. 375 *et seq.*, where he says, "The disastrous result of his (Rinuccini's) nunciature, and the reception which he met with at Rome, affected him so much, that in a short time afterwards he died of grief." Mr. Carte, in reference to this collection, and to Lord Leicester, by whom it was added to the Holkham library, says, in the preface to his history, (p. 5), "I was allowed the perusal of this work by a noble peer of this realm, who, in his travels to Italy and other foreign countries, collected this, with a great many valuable manuscripts of great use in the commonwealth of learning, and which he is very free of communicating for the good of the public. I have had frequent occasion of quoting this collection, for many particulars which would not otherwise have come to light, as will appear by the references thereto in the course of this history."

4. Amongst several other works relating to the commotions in Ireland, this library contains also a translation into Latin of the Report of Rinuccini, written by him in Italian, on his return from his mission. From a minute in

the hand-writing of the translator, it appears this translation was made at Florence in the year 1666, from a copy preserved amongst the papers of the archbishop.

Fathers of the Church and Theologians.

Under this head, which comprehends about one hundred and twenty MSS., are contained the works of the chief fathers of the church, as well Greek as Latin. Among the former are fine copies of several of the writings of Athanasius, of the Gregorys, of Eusebius, of Cyril, of Chrysostom, of Basil, of Pachomius, of Sophronius, of Anastatius, of Macarius, of Leo the emperor, of John Damascenus, of Theophylact, of Theodore Studita, of Matthæus Quænor, and various others; together with extensive collections of miscellaneous writings of other Greek theologians of uncommon occurrence, several of which have not been published. Among the Latin we may notice the works of St. Jerome, of several of which splendid copies exist in this collection; St. Augustine, the MSS. of whose works are also particularly fine; Lactantius, a noble copy, ornamented with miniatures and arabesques; Simon de Chasia, Peter de Palude, Guido Pancerollus, Johannis Cassianus, Georgius Eneadenus, with numerous collections of the lives of the saints, and controversial tracts.

Jurisprudence, Ecclesiastical and Civil.

One of the most important works in this department, and at the same time one of the most highly ornamented MSS. in the whole collection, is a copy of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or Pandects of Justinian, on vellum, of a large folio size. Of the discovery of this work, and of the nature of the character in which the original copy is written, and whether it be the work of a Greek or Latin scribe, some remarks may be found in the life of Lorenzo de' Medici, chap. vii. In the present volume it is preceded by a prologue, and a long commentary in eleven books, by Azo, or Azzo, a celebrated Italian jurist, of whom some account will be given in the catalogue. Throughout the work almost every page is decorated with illuminated drawings, the designs of which are many of them grotesque in the highest degree, forming a singular contrast to the gravity of the subject. In this class are also contained splendid copies upon vellum of the Decretals of Gregory IX. and

Boniface VIII.; the Constitutions of Clement V. and the Ordinations of Benedict XII.; also of the *Speculum Judiciale* of Durandus, in three volumes. But a more interesting work to this country is a small volume in 8vo, entitled *Leges Saxonicæ et Anglicanæ*, which formerly belonged to Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury in the time of Elizabeth, and afterwards came into the possession of Lord C. T. Coke, whose autograph it bears. This collection contains many curious tracts, probably not elsewhere to be found. The other works in this department consist chiefly of early MSS., copies of the statutes and pleadings, and of the ancient *Registrum Brevium*. There are also several volumes of special pleadings and forms of writs, reports of cases, &c., which belonged to Lord C. T. Coke, and some of which were undoubtedly collected or written by himself; amongst which is a Report of the Judgment and part of the Arguments in Shelley's case, dedicated by him to Lord Buckhorst, at the close of which are some remarks in the hand-writing of Sir Edward Coke.

Greek Poets.

The Iliad of Homer, preceded by the Batrachomyomachia. Gr.

This beautiful MS. is accompanied by a perpetual glossary, or paraphrase, in Greek, which is inserted in red ink between the lines of the text. The Iliad is preceded by several tracts relating to Homer, and is followed by the epigrams.

This copy was lent by the late Lord Leicester to Maittaire, and was employed by him in his edition of the Batrachomyomachia, Lond. 1721, which is dedicated to Lord Leicester, and where a particular account of this MS. may be found.

From the character in which this fine copy is written, Maittaire attributes it to the twelfth century. It is on fine vellum, of a folio size, and in perfect condition.

The Iliad of Homer, the twelve first books, and the Batrachomyomachia. Gr. 4to, on paper. These are preceded by the proem of Eustathius, and are accompanied by a glossary and marginal notes.

This MS. of Homer was formerly in the Strozzi Library at Florence, where it was seen and examined by Montfaucon, as appears by a memo-

randum extracted from his *Diarium Italicum,* and inserted near the close of the volume.

This copy was also lent by Lord Leicester to Maittaire, and was consulted by him in his edition of the Batrachomyomachia, where he has expressed his acknowledgments for the favour.

The Odyssey of Homer. Gr. on paper, fol.

The paper of this beautiful MS. is remarkably thick, and highly polished, so as to resemble the finest vellum. The characters are those in use in, or before, the tenth century.

The volume is unfortunately imperfect at the beginning, and commences with the 263d line of the first book, from which it is complete to the end.

It has been supposed by one of the most eminent Greek scholars of the present day, who has inspected this MS., that it is not earlier than the fourteenth century; an opinion founded, 1, on the form of the Greek sigma, which is here frequently given as the Roman C, a practice which, as he contends, did not prevail until about that period; and 2. on the MS. being written *on paper.* On which it may be observed, that in the Laurentian Library are numerous MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in which the sigma is represented by C, and that the manufacture of cotton paper (*charta bombycina*) was discovered about the end of the ninth, or beginning of the tenth century.

There are also found in this department copies of the Sibylline Oracles, Pindar, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, which merit particular notice.

Greek Historians, and Miscellaneous Writers.

Besides fine copies of Herodotus, Xenophon, and others of the elder writers, this collection contains several MSS. of the more recent Greek authors; amongst which are the works of Alcinous, Maximus Tyrius, Libanius, Philostratus, Georgius Cedrenus, Georgius Œcumenius, Cleomedes, Oribasius, and Michael Apostolicus; the last of whom was one of the Greek fugitives who found a refuge in Italy about the middle of the fifteenth century, and who took an active part in the dispute between Gemisthus Pletho and Theodore Gaza respecting the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle. Several of his works, existing in different libraries, are enumerated by Fabricius

in his *Bibliotheca Græca;* and others are found in the Laurentian Library. The present volume terminates with a collection of letters, addressed to Gemistus Pletho, Michael Marullus, John Argyropylus, Manuel Chrysoloras, Cardinal Bessarion, Leonicus Chalcondyles, Peter Calliergus, &c. These works have not been published. Michael Apostolicus was the father of two very learned sons, viz. 1. Arsenius, who was expelled from the Greek church for having taken part with the Latins, and was rewarded with the archbishopric of Malvasia. He collected and published the Greek scholia on the tragedies of Euripides, and was the author of several learned works; amongst which is a volume of apothegms, &c., collected from the Greek historians, orators, poets, and philosophers, entitled *Violaria*, &c., dedicated to Leo X., and afterwards printed at Rome. This collection was begun by Michael Apostolicus, as Arsenius himself informs us in his dedication; at the same time boasting that the additional matter collected by himself was much more valuable than that which his father had left. 2. Aristobulus appears as the author of one of the Greek epigrams prefixed to the *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ* of Varinus Camers (ed. Ald. 1496); also of the preface to the ludicrous Greek poem entitled Γαλεομυομαχία, in which he refers to some of his father's writings.

Under this head may also be noticed a beautiful copy of the Lexicon of St. Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, written on the finest vellum, of a folio size, and in which the colour of the ink, and the clearness of the character, cannot be excelled. This Lexicon has not been printed (*v. H. Step. Thesaurum, Tit. Glossarium, præf. p.* 6. *in not. ed. Valpy*); but has been made use of, together with the Lexicon of Philoxenus, and others, in the *Glossaria Græco-Latina* of Labbæus, published in Mr. Valpy's new edition of the *Thesaurus.*

Besides the Lexicon attributed to St. Cyril, the present volume contains also a dictionary of Greek words, whose different significations are known only by the accent, and which is attributed to Johannes Philoponus. This is followed by extracts and readings from various authors, treatises on weights and measures, astronomical tables, &c. The tract of Philoponus has frequently been printed at the end of other lexicons, and separately at Witemb. 1615.

Of the Lexicon of St. Cyril, copies exist in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and the Laurentian at Florence; but most of them are imperfect at the beginning or end. In a letter from the late Dr. Edward Clarke to

Mr. Otter, from the Isle of Zea, dated the 25th October, 1801, he says: "I have a Greek MS. on vellum, of an author I believe unknown; a Greek Lexicon of great antiquity, bearing the title of 'the Lexicon of St. Cyril, of Alexandria,' written in the same characters as the work. St. Cyril was bishop of Alexandria in the time of Theodosius II., successor of Arcadius, and distinguished himself by the persecution of the Jews in that city, in the year 415. In the year 431, he presided in the council of Ephesus against the Nestorians. Arcadius founded the library and convent at Patmos; and as St. Cyril had great influence at the court of his successor Theodosius, his Lexicon might have been presented, among other gifts which the Library received from Constantinople at that time. If so, the Patmos Lexicon is 1386 years old, and therefore very good authority in establishing the purity of the Greek language. Wheler, in his travels, mentions having seen such a Lexicon in the library of a convent at Mount Pentalique, with which I hope to compare the Patmos Lexicon in a few days; as, since Wheler's time, no travellers have been to interrupt the slumbers of the monks there, or to open their MSS. There is one thing to be observed: if the word ἅγιος is to be translated *saint*, Cyril could not obtain that epithet till long after his death; but I believe it was usual to distinguish eminent prelates and pious men by that epithet in all writings; not with the interpretation of *saint*, but *holy;* as ἅγιον ξύλον, the holy cross."—*Life of Dr. Clarke*, p. 499.

That Dr. Clarke might, with his sanguine temperament, in the first moment of acquisition, suppose that he had obtained a MS. 1386 years old, is not perhaps surprising; but, to say nothing of the well-founded objection he has himself raised, to its being contemporary with its author, it may be observed, that so far from this work being unknown, copies of it exist in different libraries, which all bear the same title; and therefore, from any thing stated by Dr. Clarke, may be of equal antiquity with his own. It is, indeed, highly probable that this was one of the works copied by the monks of Mount Athos before the invention of printing, and sold as of some remote antiquity. Probably Dr. Clarke, on subsequent consideration, was aware that he had long antedated the copy he had obtained, as this is not enumerated amongst the most valuable of his MSS. offered by him to the Bodleian Library in 1808, where several of the most curious of them are particularly described.

Latin Poets.

In this class we find a fine copy of Plautus of the fourteenth century, on paper, in folio, which, from an inscription at the end of the volume, appears to have belonged to Lorenzo and Giovanni de' Medici, the sons of Pier-Francesco, and cousins of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and who acted a conspicuous part in the affairs of Italy during the attack of Charles VIII. on that country.

This MS. contains the twenty comedies of Plautus, and is valuable, not only for the text, which frequently varies from the printed editions, but on account of the different readings, which are neatly interlined in red ink, and are probably selected from earlier MSS.

There appears also a good copy of Terence, on paper, in octavo, at the end of which is inscribed, "Calliopius recensui. Finis." Of this Calliopius mention is made in *Terentii Op. Hagæ-Comit.* 1726. *Fabric. Bib. Lat.* i. p. 36. *Bandini Bib. Laur.* ii. 266. There are also two other valuable copies of Terence, one of which bears the date of 1390, the other of 1419; the second is a beautiful copy on fine vellum, and at the end are inscribed the names of several persons to whom it has successively belonged.

This class contains also ten copies of Virgil, of very different degrees of merit and elegance; six of Horace, six of Ovid, with others of minor authors, amounting in the whole to about forty MSS., of which two or three may here deserve more particular notice.

There are few books in existence so well calculated to give an idea of the beauty of the MS. copies of former times as the exquisite copy in this collection of the entire works of Virgil, in two volumes, large folio size, written on vellum of the finest quality, in a clear and distinct hand, and decorated with illuminated drawings, which, for singularity of design and vividness of colouring, cannot be excelled. These volumes afford an additional proof of the efforts made by those who devoted themselves to the copying of MSS. to contend with the printed works, which then began to issue in great abundance from the press, and to make up by their splendour and elegance for the additional price demanded for them. By a note at the end of the first volume, it appears to have been finished on St. Thomas Aquinas's day, 1472; and by another note, that the sixth book of the Æneid was finished on the 24th March, 1473. The manner in which these figures

are written has misled a very eminent classic scholar, who inspected these books, to attribute them to 1412 and 1413. Besides the twelve books of the Æneid, this MS. contains also the thirteenth book by Maphæus Vegius. These volumes are in their original bindings, with brass bosses and curious clasps, and were added to the collection by Mr. Coke.

Another MS. deserving of notice, at least for the splendour of the work, is a copy of Persius and Horace, in one volume, on vellum, of a very large folio size, transcribed for Raphael de Marcatellis, Episcopus Rosen., in the year 1497, and ornamented with numerous arabesques and drawings in gold and colours, which in the Horace are found at the foot of almost every page. It commences with the epistle to Lorenzo de' Medici from Bartolommeo Fontio, prefixed to his editions of Horace, published at Venice in 1480, and several times afterwards; from one of which the present text was probably transcribed. To the Horace is prefixed the fine ode of Politiano to Landino, beginning—

"Vates Threicio blandior Orpheo;"

which is followed by the proëm of Landino, and by his life of Horace.

In the present library are several other splendid volumes on vellum, of a folio size, which have been transcribed at the expense of the same munificent ecclesiastic, who has, in each case, commemorated his acquisition in an inscription similar to the following one found in the present volume:—"*Hoc volumen comparavit Raphael de Marcatellis, Dei gratia Epūs. Rosens. Abbas Sancti Baronis juxta Gandaven. Anno Dni.* 1497."

The copy of Ovid in this collection, formerly belonging to the bishop, appears to have been completed at still greater expense than the Horace.

Latin Historians.

Of this class, the richest perhaps in the whole collection, it would be impossible, on the present occasion, to do more than give a very imperfect idea. A brief notice of a few of the principal works will, however, be indispensable to our present purpose.

This department commences with Sallust, of which author there are four copies, two on paper, and two on vellum; one of the latter of which is highly ornamented with illuminations of the capital letters, and figures of birds and flowers. This copy belonged to Lord Leicester, and has his autograph. Of

the Commentaries of Cæsar there are four copies; three of which are on vellum of folio size. Two of them appear to have been edited by Julius Celsus Constantinus, the frequent intrusion of whose name into the manuscripts of this author, induced M. de la Monnoye, in his remarks on the *Menagium*, to observe, that Julius Celsus "a été l'écueil de la plupart des ecrivains qui en ont fait mention." *Menag.* tom. iii. p. 162.

But the most valuable portion of the present department consists of a collection of the MSS. of Livy, obtained by Lord Leicester with great labour and at very considerable expense. Of these, the most distinguished is the celebrated MS. of Livy which belonged to Alphonso I., king of Naples, and is annotated with marginal observations and references in the hand-writing of that monarch. This MS., after having passed through the hands of several eminent scholars, was sent by the celebrated jurist Cujacius, in France, to Justus Lipsius, in Holland; an autograph letter of whom is prefixed to the volume. It afterwards came into the possession of Lord Leicester, who lent it, with twelve other MSS. and four early printed editions of Livy, to the learned Drakenborch, the best editor of that author; a favour of such essential importance, that Drakenborch has, in return, dedicated to Lord Leicester, then Lord Lovel, his edition of Livy in seven volumes in quarto, of which the splendid presentation copy, on large paper, yet remains in the Holkham Library. Before this copy of Livy had fallen under the inspection of Drakenborch, it had been considered as the individual MS. of that author, which had been sent by Cosmo de' Medici, about the year 1436, to Alphonso of Naples, as a pledge of peace and amity. This circumstance is also adverted to by Drakenborch; but although he admits that this volume belonged to Alphonso, and that the annotations are in his hand-writing, he has endeavoured to shew that this could not, in all probability, be the volume so sent. The reasons adduced by him for such opinions are by no means satisfactory, and will be considered at length in the proposed catalogue.

The entire works of Livy are supposed to have consisted of fourteen decades, of ten books each, of which there now only remain the first, third, and fourth decade, and five books of the fifth. Of these the present copy contains the first, third, and fourth decades, wanting, however, in the last, book xxxiii., and the latter part of book xl.; a defect which is thus noted in the hand-writing of the king at the close:—"*Hic non vid'. finis libri qui deberet continere bellum Philippi et Persei ejus filii regum Macedoniæ de quo supra in*

accusatione Demetrii fratris Persei fit mentio." This MS. forms a very thick volume, written on the finest vellum, of a large size, each page divided into two columns, and richly ornamented with illuminated drawings and arabesques, not only in the upper and lower margins, but in the spaces between the columns.

The other MSS. of Livy in this collection are most of them particularly described by Drakenborch, as *Codex Lovelianus secundus, tertius, quartus,* &c. Many of these are of great value, and contain different portions of the work of Livy.

We must not, however, omit, as connected with the present subject, to notice a valuable work, although of a more recent date, now in the library at Holkham, being a collation of the works of Livy with the different MSS. in the Laurentian Library at Florence, as well as with those of St. Mark and Corsini, executed by the learned and indefatigable Anton-Maria Biscioni, then prefect of the Laurentian, for the express use of Lord Leicester. In this work, which consists of 650 folios or 1300 closely written pages, Biscioni was engaged upwards of three years, and the result is a surprising monument of his diligence and accuracy. His dedicatory letter to Lord Leicester is dated vii. Kal. Apr. 1721. Notwithstanding the munificence of Lord Leicester, it does not appear that he communicated to Drakenborch this inestimable work of Biscioni, from which, and other circumstances, there is reason to believe that he had at one time intended himself to give an edition of this author.

Amongst the other Latin historians in this collection, there are found MSS. of Sextus Rufus, Quintus Curtius, Valerius Maximus, Tacitus, a splendid copy; Eutropius, Justin, Orosius, Cassiodorus, &c., which will be particularly described in the catalogue.

Latin Orators, Philosophers, Grammarians, &c.

In this department a considerable portion is occupied by Cicero, of whose various works there are here no less than eighteen MSS., several of which are very valuable and highly ornamented. Amongst these is a collection of the Orations, written on vellum of a large folio size, apparently by different hands, in a clear Roman character. The very large initial letter of each of the orations is decorated in a superior style, in gold and colours. This

copy, which contains twenty-nine orations, is probably of the fourteenth century; and might, as well as two other copies of different orations in this collection, be consulted with advantage by those who are engaged in rectifying this portion of the text of the author.

In this class is also found a noble volume of the works of Seneca, which may almost rival the Livy of Alphonso of Naples, and which it closely resembles, as well in the character of the writing as in the number and splendour of the illuminated drawings, with which almost every page throughout the book is decorated. It is also remarkable, that it has descended to the present times in nearly the same track as the Livy, having at one period belonged to Justus Lipsius, to whom it was presented by Paulus Melissus, and by whom we find the following inscription:—

Hunc librum Societati Jesu dono dedi;
Servat mihi ad vitam. J. Lipsius.

After the death of Lipsius, this MS. came (like the work of Livy before mentioned) into the possession of John Wowers of Amsterdam, who has prefixed to it the following inscription:—

L. Annæi Senecæ
opus
a se ab antiquitate
suscipiendum
Paulus Melissus e Germania
J. Lipsio dono misit;
Johannes Woverius Antwerpiensis
nunc possideo.
Ea lege ut post me
alium atque alium dominum
sortiatur.

Among other valuable MSS. in this class, is a fine copy of the elder Pliny in two volumes, on vellum, of a large folio size, which nearly agrees with a copy in the Laurentian Library attributed to the thirteenth century, and is probably of as early a date. Copies also appear of Macrobius, Vegetius, Boethius, Apuleius, Priscianus, Nonius Marcellus, the two latter of which are splendid volumes, copied and decorated for Raphael de Marcatellis, bishop of Rosen; Pompeius Festus Isidorus, Johannes Jostellius, &c.

Later Latin Poets.

Besides good copies of the works of Juvencus and Sedulino, this department contains those of many of the early writers in the revival of letters, particularly of Philippus Gualterius, Galfredus Ismolanus, Petrus de Riga, Alanus de Insulis, Matthæus Lupus, and a fine copy of the various works of Albertinus Mussatus of Padua, the author of the *Eccerinis*, the first regular drama of modern times. There is also a beautiful and large copy, on vellum, in folio, of the versified Epistles of Petrarca, and another of his *Africa*, with other pieces at the end.

But one of the most curious MSS. in the collection is a fine copy of the Latin satires of Phililphus, written under his own eye, and addressed by him to Gulielmus Orsino, *Gran Concelliere di Francia;* as appears by a copy of an Italian letter to him from the author, at the close of the work. Of these satires no copy appears in the Laurentian Library; the virulent abuse which they contain against the Medici, having most probably prevented their admission into that collection.

Amongst several other early writers of Latin poetry, some of whose works have not been printed, is a volume of Epigrams by Thomas Porter, who lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and who was patronised by Sir John Heveningham of Norfolk, to whom his volume is inscribed. We find here an epitaph on Sir Philip Sidney, and the following lines addressed to Lord Chief-justice Coke:—

> "Agmine virtutum stipatus, amictus amore,
> Teque parentis habet patria nostra loco."

Later Latin Prose Writers and Translators.

Of this large and very miscellaneous class, it may be sufficient for our present purpose to observe, that it consists, in a great degree, of those versions of the ancient Greek authors into Latin, which, in the revival of literature, furnished such ample employment for the most distinguished scholars of the time; amongst which we may particularly notice the Herodotus of Laurentius Valla, of which there are here several copies; the Diogenes Laërtius of Ambrogio Traversari, the Diodorus Siculus of Poggio

Bracciolini, the Philostratus (*de vitâ Apollonii Tyanæi*) of Alamanni Rinuccini, and the Josephus of Rufinus. A still more numerous tribe consists of the early chroniclers, many of whom exhibit a singular mixture of truth and fabulous history: such are the histories of the Trojan war, of Dictys Cretensis and Guido Colonna; the chronicles of Paullus Diaconus, of Fra Martinus, of Venerable Bede, and of Flavius Blondus; the Commentaries of Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.), and the Diaries of Burchard and Stephen Infessura, with various other local chronicles and memoirs. In this class are also included many of the critical and literary works of the early Italian scholars, who long persevered in preferring, in their compositions, the Latin language to that of their own country. Of these the principal are the lives of the most eminent Latin writers, by Sicco Polentone, numerous works of Lionardo Bruni, commonly called Lionardo Aretino; of Æneas Sylvius, of the elder Peter Paul Virgerius, of John Argyropylus, of Lupus Castelliunculus, of Marsilius Fuinus, of Pontanus; to which might be added many other names of less eminent scholars, many of whose works have not been printed. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the MSS. of this class afford few specimens of elegant ornament, or that they are almost wholly confined within the limits of the fifteenth century.

Italian Poets.

Six copies of the *Divina Commedia* of Dante form the principal feature in this department. Of these, three are on vellum, of folio size, and three on paper. Of the vellum copies, one is decorated in the lower margins of every leaf with a coloured drawing of the subject mentioned in the text above, executed in a very rude and singular style, but not without merit when considered with reference to the time they were produced, which was probably before the close of the fourteenth century.

Another of these copies is written in a strong semi-Gothic hand, without contractions, with occasional annotations in a later character. From the illuminated papal arms on the title-page, this copy appears to have belonged to Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius). These early copies of the *Divina Commedia* differ greatly from each other in orthography, but substantially agree in the text.

Of Petrarca are copies of the Sonetti, Canzoni, and Trionfi; the latter in

a separate volume, on vellum, highly enriched with historical drawings. But the most curious volume in this department is a small collection of Italian poetry, in the hand-writing of Felice Feliciano, an Italian poet of the fifteenth century, enumerated by Guadrio among the Rimatori of this period, (vol. ii. p. 207), and who has dated his work July 1462. This collection contains specimens of no fewer than sixteen poets of that period, several of whom are not mentioned by any of the historians of Italian literature, and are not known by any other productions. This little volume, which contains some pieces of considerable merit, is valuable and curious, as having been produced at a period when the poetry of Italy is supposed to have been in its lowest state of degradation, and may serve to shew that the hope of its revival was at no time extinguished.

Italian Prose Writers.

In this class is the beautiful copy of the Decamerone of Boccacio, already introduced to public notice in Mr. Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron. Mr. Dibdin's admiration of this volume is justly and warmly expressed: "For an apposite and interesting specimen of illumination," he observes, "I know of nothing which can presume to lift its head above this charming production of early art." This volume is written in double columns in a clear and distinct hand, without inconvenient contractions; but does not appear to exhibit any peculiar purity of text.

Italian Historians and Translators.

This large and miscellaneous collection comprises translations into Italian of several of the ancient Roman authors, among which are the Histories of Julius Cæsar and of Quintus Curtius, by Pier-Candidus Decembrius, of which fine copies, contemporary with the translator, are here preserved; also several translations of Sallust, and translations of Livy, of Suetonius, &c., mostly by anonymous authors, whose labours have been superseded by later productions.

Here are also found several ancient chronicles, commencing, according to the fashion of the times, with the creation of the world, and brought down to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. More correct works may be said

to have begun with Matteo Palmerio, Fra Martino, and Giovanni Villani; MSS. of whom are in this collection.

The historians of the different states of Italy are numerous. Of Florence we have the Commentaries or Memoirs of Francesco Cavalcante, of Gino Capponi, of Gregorio Dati, of Bernardo Segni, of Bartolommeo Cerretani, of Benedetto Varchi, of Gionotto Donati, &c.; besides which there are found local histories of Venice, of Naples, of Rome, and of several of the minor states and cities of Italy. An extensive history of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, by the Commendatore Fra Bartolommeo dal Pozzo, in two volumes folio, appears to be in the hand-writing of the author, and to have received his frequent alterations and corrections. It is accompanied by several original and curious documents.

In this class are also found large collections of original letters, written by the dataries or secretaries of the Roman see, on various subjects, between the years 1600 and 1650, with the autographs of the Cardinals Borghesi, Barberini, St. Onufrio, &c.

Relazioni, or Reports of the State of various Countries, Narratives, Memoirs, &c.

There is no class of literature to which the noble collector of the present library seems to have paid greater attention, than the *relazioni* or reports of different countries, which the envoys of other states were accustomed to make, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to their own governments, on their return from their missions; giving an account not only of the political relations, condition, and resources of the several states of Europe, but of the manners and habits of the people. These works, therefore, contain an immense fund of information absolutely necessary to the history of the times. Very few of these pieces, which were written by some of the most eminent diplomatists and politicians of the age, have been printed.

Amongst those which relate to this country are:—

The Report on the State of England, by Nicolo Millino, ambassador from Venice to Queen Elizabeth.

Report of England, by the Secretary of Pietro Duodo, in 1606.

Letters from London; containing the original drafts or sketches of letters from the ambassador or agent of the Roman see at London to the cardinal secretary, at Rome, and others, from July 1617 to January 1619.

Report on the Kingdom of England to the Senate (of Venice), by M. Daniello Barbaro, Venetian ambassador in the time of Edward VI.

Report on England, by the Cav. Sagredo, Venetian ambassador in the time of Charles I.

Report on the State of the Catholic Religion in England to Urban VIII., by Gregorio Panzani, on his return from thence in 1637.

Report on England, by the Cavalier Pietro Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador in the time of Charles II.

Under the names of *Trattati varii, Ragguagli di Avvenimente,* &c., we find a large collection of lives, histories, tragical events, trials, executions, conspiracies, accidents, &c., comprehending the most remarkable occurrences in Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; many of which have since been made the subject of theatrical representation. Of these pieces a great portion is comprised in six large volumes, under the name of *Miscellania di Avvenimenti notabili,* which were probably copied for Lord Leicester.

On the appointment of a Venetian senator, or on his mission as a governor or an ambassador, he was bound to provide and keep in his house a copy of the laws of the republic, to exhibit it to the Doge, and to take an oath that he would read it over at least every two months. These books, or capitularies, were beautifully written on fine vellum, and decorated with drawings and miniatures of the family arms, &c., by the best Venetian artists of the time. This has been the reason that they are now generally found in a mutilated state, having been deprived of their decorated frontispieces, &c. A considerable number of these books, in perfect condition, and in their original rich Venetian bindings, are found in the present collection.

French Manuscripts.

The French MSS. are few in number, but compose some of the richest articles in the collection; amongst which may be enumerated the *Chroniques des Contes d'Hainault,* consisting of two volumes, finely written in strong

characters, on vellum of a large folio size, and ornamented with highly executed miniature paintings, far superior to what might have been expected from the age in which they were produced.

The original work, of which the present is a translation, was written in Latin by Diego, or Jacques de Guise, and was translated into French by the command of Philip duke of Burgundy, in the year 1446, at the suggestion of Simon Nockart, a priest of Hainault, to whom the translation is (perhaps erroneously) attributed.

The work commences from the destruction of Troy and the arrival in Belgium of the Trojan Hanno, the supposed ancestor of the sovereigns of Hainault, and is continued to the year of our Lord 1054, when Victor II. was pope, Henry III. emperor, and Edward the Confessor king of England. It is consequently made up from the legendary histories of the times, and cannot be expected to afford any useful information in the present day.

The drawings and illuminations by which this work is decorated are most highly finished in gold and colours, and accompanied with arabesques and flowers, executed in such a manner as to give a very favourable idea of the state of the arts in the Low Countries at this early period.

The beauty of this work is, however, equalled, if not excelled, by another historical production of a similar nature, entitled *Chronique des Contes de Flandres*, in two volumes, which appears to have been translated, probably from the same author, in the time of Charles the Bold, the successor of Philip, who, in the year 1466, married, as his third wife, Margaret the sister of Edward IV. of England. In an historical point of view, this work has greatly the advantage of that of the Counts of Hainault, as it embraces a period highly interesting to English history, and particularly describes the battles of Agincourt, Cressy, and Poictiers. The miniatures in these volumes are also much more numerous than in the former, and are highly finished with grey and gold. That the work was executed about the year 1476, for the Duchess of Burgundy, appears from the first illuminated drawing, in which the author is represented as presenting his book to her on his knees, and by the autograph of the duchess at the close, subscribed in strong characters—Margurete d'Angleterre.

Of the same period is a small volume, entitled *Le Dialogue de Jésus-Christ et de la Duchesse*, by the latter of whom we are to understand the

same duchess of Burgundy mentioned in the foregoing historical work, as appears by the following passage in the preface of the anonymous translator: "Et pour ce que ailleurs ay translate une compilacion des œuvres de miséricordes, intitulé *Bienheureux seront les Misérícordieux,* J'ai empris ceste présent ouvrage à la request de très puissant et excellent dame et princesse, Madame Marguerite d'York, femme et espouse de Charles, par la grace de Dieu, duc de Bourgoingne, de Lothr, de Brabant, de Lembourg, et de Lucemborg, et de Gultes, conte de Flandres, d'Artois, de Bourgoingne, palatine de Haynault, de Hollande, de Zellande, et de Namur, et de Zulephen, marquis du Saint Empire, seigneur de Frese, de Salms, et de Malines, &c., le quel ouvraige conduit, et est intitulée *Le Dialogue de la Duchesse à Jésuchrist,* et maine à la vye contemplative."

A collection of tracts on the state of France about the middle of the sixteenth century, and a Statistical Account of the British Isles, the author of which describes himself as having lived twenty-four years in England, are also found in this department of the collection.

English Manuscripts.

In this class we may particularly notice an ancient and venerable copy of the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, written on vellum of a large quarto size, in a fair and legible hand, the capital letters illuminated; but the volume has been much injured by damp, and is defective both at the beginning and end, commencing about the middle of the knight's tale, and terminating in the prose tale of Melibœus. The readings in this MS. vary greatly from those of the few printed copies which there has been an opportunity of comparing it with.

Richard de Hampole Stimulus Conscientiæ, or the Prick of Conscience. On vellum, 8vo. size.

The author of this work was Richard Rolle, commonly called Richard de Hampole. He was "an eremite" of the order of St. Augustine, residing at the priory of Hampole, four miles from Doncaster, where he died in 1349. Some account of his work is given by Warton in his History of English Poetry (vol. i. p. 256); but a much more full and interesting history of it may be found in a dissertation in the nineteenth volume of the *Archæologia,* by Mr. J. B. Yates of Liverpool, from a MS. in his own possession, and which nearly corresponds with the present.

Copies of this work exist also in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge; but it has never been printed.

Among the English historical works are two chronicles on paper, one in folio, purporting to be the chronicle of England from the reign of Brutus, or Brute, to that of Henry V. inclusive; the other, in quarto, from the arrival of King Brute to the ninth year of King Henry VI.

In the last-mentioned volume, in the reign of Richard II. is the following passage:—"The xxii yer, by ye assenting of ye kyng, ye reme was sett to ferme to Syr Wyllyam Scrope, erle of Wilschyre and tresorer of Inglond, to John Bussche, Herry Grene, and Willyam Bagott, knythes;" a circumstance alluded to by Shakespeare, Richard II. act ii. where John of Gaunt says:

> "This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land—
> Dear for her reputation through the world—
> Is now leas'd out, (I die pronouncing it),
> Like to a tenement, or pelting farm."

This portion of the library contains also a large collection of tracts and historical documents, amongst which are some originals with the autographs of Richard III., Elizabeth, and James I. A great part of these were collected by Lord C. T. Coke, and exhibit specimens of his hand-writing. By some unknown circumstance they afterwards came into the possession of Sir Andrew Fountaine, from whose representative, Mr. Fountaine, of Narford in Norfolk, Mr. Coke, the present possessor, repurchased them.

Science and Art.

Copies (of the fourteenth century, on paper, folio) of the Astronomical Works of Ptolemy in Greek, and the Architecture of Vitruvius in Latin, are found in this department, agreeing, in general, with those of the same authors found in the Laurentian and other libraries.

But one of the chief treasures of this collection is the treatise, by Leonardo da Vinci, on the Nature, Weight, and Motion of Water, written in his own hand, *alla mancina*, or from right to left; a work which has never been printed, and of which this copy is unique.

In a modern title prefixed by Giuseppe Ghezzi, a painter at Rome, to whom the book formerly belonged, it is thus described—"*Libro originale della natura, peso, e moto delle acque, composto, scritto, e figurato di proprio*

carattere alla mancina, in tempo di Ludovico il Moro, nel condur che fece le acque del naviglio della martesana dall' Adda," &c.; and in a more ancient hand, on a separate leaf at the beginning, is written — *" Libro scritto da Leonardo Vincio, che tratta del sole, della luna, del corso dell' acqua, de i ponti, e del moto."*

This volume, which is particularly mentioned by Raphael Du Fresne in his Life of Leonardo da Vinci, contains thirty-six leaves, very closely written, in a neat clear hand, easily legible when reflected by a mirror, and is accompanied by numerous sketches drawn with a pen by the hand of Leonardo himself, in the margin, describing the different courses of currents as opposed by different obstacles, with various implements, machines, and mathematical figures, illustrative of the subject. It is accompanied by another volume, containing a very fair transcript of the original, written in the usual manner, with the figures well copied in Indian ink.

Another splendid ornament of the present collection consists of a volume of original drawings, chiefly architectural, from antique buildings, fragments, &c. at Rome, by Raffaelle d'Urbino.

It is well known that Raffaelle was employed by Leo X. to make an accurate survey of the city of Rome, with representations of its ancient buildings and other remains of antiquity. An account of his proceedings in the execution of this great work is given in a letter from himself to the Pope, some extracts of which may be found in the Life of Leo X. chap. xxii.

That the present collection of drawings is a portion of those executed by Raffaelle for this purpose, there can be no doubt; this opinion not being founded on a mere inspection of them, although this will sufficiently prove that they cannot be the work of any other hand, but resting on the express evidence of several Italian writers, by whom the present volume is particularly referred to. In a note in the anonymous Life of Raffaelle, published by Comolli, is the following passage: —

" I molti disegni architettonici da lui [Raffaelle] *fatti a questo oggetto, sono stati mai sempre l' ammirazione e lo stupore de conoscitori."* Winckelman (*Osservazioni sull' Architettura,* p. 50. not. 6. Edit. Roma.) *Ne ricorda due collezioni; una presso il Barone di Stosch, l' altra nella Biblioteca di Tomaso Coke, Lord Leicester.* (*Vita di Raff. edit. da Comolli,* p. 72. not. 80.)

This volume contains thirty-five folio sheets, some of which are folded and drawn on both sides. These drawings are for the most part executed with

a reed-pen, in brown ink, or bistre; and are sometimes accompanied by short memoranda in the hand-writing of Raffaelle, stating where they were found, &c. A few drawings on other subjects are inserted at the close of the volume, amongst which is a fine free sketch of Moses raising the brazen serpent, as painted by Michel Agnolo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, which may assist in deciding the warmly-contested question, whether Raffaelle studied the works of Michel Agnolo.

Heraldry.

On this subject there is here a very extensive collection, of which the following are some of the principal works.

Bulla Aurea. The bull, or imperial rescript of the Emperor Charles IV. prescribing the qualifications of the electors, and the proceedings to be observed in electing a king of the Romans; followed by a treatise *de Prærogativis Romani Imperii,* with the imperial arms emblazoned at the commencement. MS., on vellum, quarto size, bound in purple morocco.

Statuta Ordinis Velleris Militum fundati a metuendissimo principe et dom. Philippo, Dei gratia Burgundiæ et Brabantiæ Duce. An. Dom. M.CCCC.XXIX.

These rules and orders, to be observed by the knights of the Golden Fleece, are terminated by a list of the first members. MS., on paper, quarto, in purple morocco.

Geoffroi de Charni, Poëme sur les Joustes; avec les demandes pour la Jouste, que je Geoffroi de Charni fait à haut et puissant prince des Chevaliers, notre dame de la noble Maison a été (être) jugées par vous et les Chevaliers de votre noble compagnie. On vellum and paper, quarto, sæc. XV.

Chase (case) *dei Zentiluomini di Venexia che si trova, a di* 1408, *fin al* 1452.

An early and curious account of the arms of the Venetian nobility, prefaced by an extract of a letter from Sicco Polentone to Michael Savonarola, a physician at Padua. The armorial bearings are rudely drawn and coloured, and are given in alphabetical order, commencing with the family of Albani, in 1158. MS., on paper, folio.

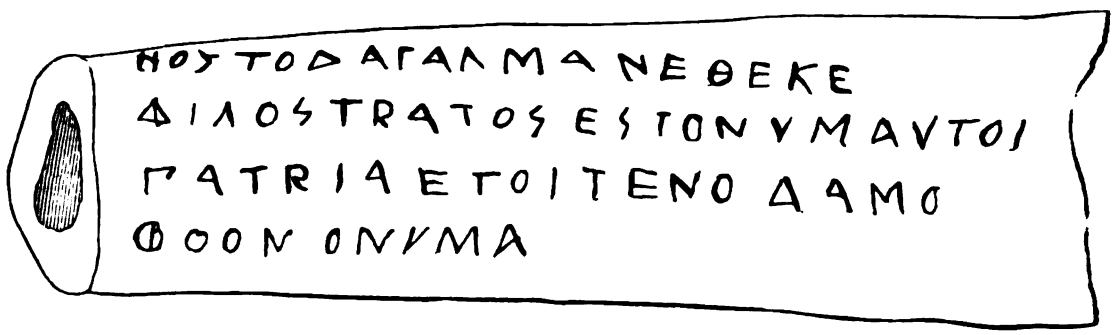
Nicolai Uptoni de Officio Militari. A work of Nicholas Upton's on Heraldry, in English, was printed by Caxton in 1496; but a complete edition was published at London in 1654, from a MS. in the possession of the very

learned John Selden, to whom it is dedicated, which edition agrees with the present copy, as well in its commencement and termination, as in the figures by which it is illustrated. MS., on vellum, folio size, sæc. xv.

Many very large and extensive collections of the arms and emblazonments of the nobility and gentry of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are also found in this collection, and will be particularly described in the catalogue now in preparation.

XX. *On an Inscription found in Ægina.* By Lieut.-Colonel Leake, M.R.S.L.

Read May 15, 1833.



The inscribed monument, of which the above is a rough sketch, was discovered about two years ago, in the island of Ægina, by George Finlay, Esq., of Liosa, in Attica; but some of the letters of the latter part not having been deciphered, until recently by Christopher Wordsworth, Esq., I have only within these few days been enabled to obtain the following result in the cursive Hellenic:—

"Ος τόδ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκε Φιλόστρατος ἔστ' ὄνυμ' αὐτῷ,
Πατρὶ δὲ τῷ τήνου Δαμοφόων ὄνυμα.

The Doric dialect shews the monument to have been of the independent times of Ægina, prior to its subjection to Athens; while the rudeness of the poetry, the form of the characters, the columnar shape of the stele, combined with the longitudinal mode of inscribing, found only on similar monuments of a remote antiquity, render the conjecture probable that it was not later than the middle of the sixth century B.C. It was disengaged by Mr. Finlay from the wall of the church of the small monastery of 'Aghios Asómatos, on the north-eastern side of the peak, or highest summit of Ægina, where are some remains of an ancient building which several late travellers have considered to be the real Panhellenium, having also supposed that the great ruined

hexastyle near the north-eastern cape of the island was the temple of Minerva mentioned by Herodotus.[1]

The only two arguments which I can discover in favour of this new light, are, First, that a statue of Minerva occupied the centre of either pediment of the ruined hexastyle. Secondly, that this temple does not stand upon the mountain now called τὸ Ὄρος, and which is evidently the same described by Pausanias under the name of ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς, or τὸ ὄρος τὸ Πανελλήνιον,[2] but on a mountain as distant from it as well can be; since the island being in shape nearly an equilateral triangle, the Oros occupies one angle, the temple another, and the ancient city the third. This latter argument is undoubtedly strong, and appears to agree with a remark of Theophrastus, that when the clouds rested upon Mount Panhellenium in Ægina, Athens was threatened with rain.[3] It seems absurd to apply such an observation to the height on which the temple stands, separately from the highest peak. On considering the words of Theophrastus, however, there is great reason to believe that he alluded to that appearance of the suspension of the clouds over the temple, when the Oros was capped, which, as the temple is conspicuous from Athens, and the two objects are in the same line, would naturally be remarked by the Athenians whenever it happened. And again, as the whole of Ægina consists of mountains to the south-east, and a single plain to the north-west, it is easy to conceive that all the former region may have been called the Panhellenian mountain, and that the temple may have been built in that part of it which the ancients, who always carefully considered the effect of position in their public buildings, might judge the best adapted to it. The argument derived from the figure of Minerva in the pediments of the hexastyle is of no great weight. If the artist intended, as there is every reason to believe, to represent in the compositions of the pediments some action or actions of the Æacidæ, whose ancestor was the founder of the Panhellenium, such as the defence of the body of Patroclus by Ajax,[4] the most obvious mode of completing his work was by filling up the centre of the composition with an upright figure of larger dimensions than the rest, repre-

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[1] Herodot. l. iii. c. 59.

[2] Pausan. Corinth. c. 29.

[3] Ἐὰν ὁ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑλλανίου νεφέλη καθίζηται, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὕδωρ γίνεται. Theophrast. de Signis Pluviarum.

[4] The veneration in which the Æacidæ were held in Ægina, and particularly Ajax, is shewn by Pindar in several of his odes in honour of Æginetan hieronicæ.

senting Minerva, who on Greek vases, and similar monuments of ancient art upon which heroic subjects are depicted, is constantly introduced as the θεὸς ἐπίκουρος. It may even be said, that to place her statue over the door of her temple, would have been a vulgar idea, and of which we find no example among the Greeks; whereas, in the sculptural decorations of a temple of Jupiter, she was well placed as an emblem of that emanation of the divine prudence, without which no great action is accomplished.

It has been asserted, that Herodotus describes the temple of Minerva, which is not mentioned by any other author, as being at a place named Œa; but this is a mistake. He states only that Œa contained statues of Damia and Auxesia, *alias* Ceres and Proserpine, that it was twenty stades distant from the city of Ægina, and that it was situated in the interior of the island;[5] which latter circumstance is confirmed by the historian's subsequent narrative of an expedition undertaken by the Athenians to carry off the two statues, when, according to the Æginetan account of that affair, the Athenians were attacked, and destroyed by some Argives, who had come from Epidaurus to the assistance of the Æginetans, unknown to the Athenians.[6] The position of the now-abandoned village of 'Eghina, which occupied a height between the ancient city and the ruined temple, about two-thirds of the distance from the former to the latter, and where the remains of Hellenic walls still exist, seems to accord precisely with the situation of Œa. Judging from general analogy, we might presume that the temple of Minerva was in the Acropolis of the city of Ægina. That it stood at least in the city, is supported by the circumstance which caused the historian to introduce the mention of this temple, namely, that the Æginetæ therein deposited some prows of galleys, shaped in the form of a boar's head, which galleys they had taken in battle about the year 520 B.C., in conjunction with the Cretans, from the Samians, who, for five years, had been settled at Cydonia, in Crete.[7] It is much more probable

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[5] Τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμίης καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ἐκόμισάν τε καὶ ἱδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρης ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἴη μέν ἐστι οὔνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστά κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐς ἥκοσι ἀπέχει. Herodot. lib. v. c. 83.

[6] Τοὺς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβῆναι ἐς τὴν Αἰγιναίην καὶ παρεῖναι βοηθέοντάς σφι τοὺς Ἀργείους· καὶ λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ οὐ προσηκόσι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπιπεσόντας, ὑποταμομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. Herodot. lib. v. c. 86.

[7] Ἔκτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Αἰγινῆται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες, ἀνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν· καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρῴρας ἀκρωτηριάσαντες καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. Herodot. lib. iii. c. 59.

that such trophies should have been dedicated in the maritime city than on a distant mountain.

Besides the inscription discovered at Asómato by Mr. Finlay, another has been observed, long since, in the same place, and copied by several travellers. It is in the Doric dialect, and appears to be nearly of the same degree of antiquity as the former; but being incomplete, and otherwise not so well preserved, its interpretation is more doubtful. It is engraved on three sides of a plinth, which served as the pedestal of a statue. The incompleteness of the inscription shews that the fourth side also was inscribed. The words on the three sides seem to have been as follows :—

ΚΟΛΙΑΔΑ ΕΣ ΗΑΒΑΙΟΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ ΗΑΛΤΙΜΟΝ

If HABAION be the Doric form of Ἡβαῖον, the temple which stood at Asómato was dedicated to Hebe. Colias being an epithet of Venus, derived from her worship at Cape Colias in Attica, now Trispýrghi, the entire inscription would seem to have been : —

Ἀφροδίτην (or τὴν θεὰν τὴν) Κωλιάδα ἐς Ἡβαῖον ἐποίησεν Ἀλτίμων.[8]

It is not impossible that the particular allusion of Pindar, in two of his Æginetan odes,[9] to Hebe and to Hora, the κάρυξ Ἀφροδίτας, who seems to have been the same attendant, or personified attribute of Venus, as Hebe, may have had reference to the worship of Hebe in Ægina.

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[8] For some observations on this inscription, see Boeckh (Corp. Inscr. vol. ii. p. 172), who remarks that there was a temple of Hebe at Æxone, an Attic demus, not far from Colias, as appears from Insc. N. 214, vol. i. p. 345.

[9] Nem. 7. 8.

XXI. *On the Prometheus of Æschylus; an Essay, preparatory to a series of Disquisitions respecting the Egyptian in connection with the Sacerdotal Theology, and in contrast with the Mysteries of ancient Greece.* By S. T. Coleridge, Esq. R.A., R.S.L.

Read May 18, 1825.

The French savans who went to Egypt in the train of Napoleon, Denon, Fourrier, and Dupuis, (it has been *asserted*), "triumphantly vindicated the chronology of Herodotus, on the authority of documents that cannot lie;" namely, the inscriptions and sculptures of those enormous masses of architecture, that might seem to have been built in the wish of rivalling the mountains, and at some unknown future to answer the same purpose—that is, to stand the gigantic tombstones of an elder world. It is decided (say the critics whose words I have before cited) that the present division of the zodiac had been already arranged by the Egyptians fifteen thousand years before the Christian era; and, according to an inscription "which cannot lie," the temple of Esne is of eight thousand years' standing.

Now, in the first place, among a people who had placed their national pride in their antiquity, I do not see the impossibility of an inscription *lying;* and, secondly, as little can I see the improbability of a modern interpreter misunderstanding it; and, lastly, the incredibility of a French infidel's partaking of both defects, is still less evident to my understanding. The inscriptions may be, and in some instances very probably are, of later date than the temples themselves—the offspring of vanity or priestly rivalry, or of certain astrological theories; or the temples themselves may have been built in the place of former and ruder structures, at an earlier and ruder period, and not impossibly under a different scheme of hieroglyphic or significant characters; and these may have been intentionally or ignorantly miscopied or mistranslated.

But what more than all the preceding, I cannot but persuade myself, to a man of sound judgment and enlightened common sense—a man with whom the demonstrable laws of the human mind, and the rules gene-

ralised from the great mass of facts respecting human nature, weigh more than any two or three detached documents or narrations, of whatever authority the narrator may be, and however difficult it may be to bring positive proofs against the antiquity of the document—I cannot but persuade myself, I say, that for such a man, the relation preserved in the first book of the Pentateuch, and which, in perfect accordance with all analogous experience, with all the facts of history, and all that the principles of political economy would lead us to anticipate, conveys to us the rapid progress in civilisation and splendour from Abraham and Abimelech, to Joseph and Pharaoh, will be worth a whole library of such inferences.

I am aware that it is almost universal to speak of the gross idolatry of Egypt; nay, that arguments have been grounded on this assumption in proof of the Divine origin of the Mosaic monotheism. But, first, if by this we are to understand that the great doctrine of the one Supreme Being was first revealed to the great Hebrew legislator, his own inspired writings supply abundant and direct confutation of the position. Of certain astrological superstitions, of certain talismans connected with star-magic, plates and images constructed in supposed harmony with the movements and influences of celestial bodies, there doubtless exist hints, if not direct proofs, both in the Mosaic writings and those next to these in antiquity. But of plain idolatry, or the existence of a polytheistic religion, represented by various idols, each signifying a several deity, I can find no decisive proof in the Pentateuch; and when I collate these with the books of the prophets, and the other inspired writings subsequent to the Mosaic, I cannot but regard the absence of any such proof in the latter, compared with the numerous and powerful assertions, or evident implications of Egyptian idolatry in the former, both as an argument of incomparably greater value in support of the age and authenticity of the Pentateuch; and as a strong presumption in favour of the hypothesis on which I shall in part ground the theory which will pervade this series of disquisitions—viz. that the sacerdotal religion of Egypt had, during the interval from Abimelech to Moses, degenerated from the patriarchal or arkite monotheism into a pantheism, cosmotheism, or worship of the world as God.

The reason, or pretext, assigned by the Hebrew legislator to Pharaoh, for leading his countrymen into the wilderness to join with their brethren, the tribes who still sojourned in the nomadic state, viz. that their sacrifices

would be an abomination to the Egyptians, may be urged as inconsistent with, nay, as confuting this hypothesis. But to this I reply, first, that the worship of the ox and cow was not, in and of itself, and necessarily, a contravention of the first commandment, though a very gross breach of the second; for it is most certain that the Ten tribes worshipped the Jehovah, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, under the same or similar symbols. Secondly, that the cow, the Isis, and the Io of the Greeks, truly represented, in the first instance, the earth, or productive nature, and afterwards the mundane religion grounded on the worship of nature, or the τὸ πᾶν, as God. In after-times, the ox or bull was added, representing the sun, or generative force of nature, according to the habit of male and female deities, which spread almost over the whole world—the positive and negative forces in the science of superstition; for the pantheism of the sage necessarily engenders polytheism as the popular creed. But, lastly, a very sufficient reason may, I think, be assigned for the choice of the ox and cow, as representing the very life of nature, by the first legislators of Egypt, and for the similar sacred character in the Brachmanic tribes of Hindostan. The progress from savagery to civilisation is evidently first from the hunting to the pastoral state, a process which even now is going on, within our own times, among the South American Indians in the vast tracts between Buenos Ayres and the Andes; but the second, and the most important step, is from the pastoral or wandering to the agricultural or fixed state. Now, if even for men born and reared under European civilisation, the charms of a wandering life have been found so great a temptation, that few who have taken to it have been induced to return (see the confession in the preamble to the statute respecting the gipsies), how much greater must have been the danger of relapse in the first formation of fixed states with a condensed population? and what stronger prevention could the ingenuity of the priestly kings (for the priestly is ever the first form of government)[1] devise, than to have made the ox or cow the representatives of the Divine principle in the world, and, as such, an object of adoration, the wilful destruction of which was sacrilege? For this rendered a return to the pastoral state impossible; in which the flesh of these animals and the milk formed almost the exclusive food of mankind; while, in the meantime, by once compelling and habituating them to the use of a vegetable diet, it

[1] Euripides, Helena—Introduction.

enforced the laborious cultivation of the soil, and both produced and permitted a vast and condensed population. In the process and continued subdivisions of polytheism, this great *sacred word* (for so the consecrated animals were called, ἱεροὶ λόγοι,) became multiplied till almost every power and supposed attribute of nature had its symbol in some consecrated animal, from the beetle to the hawk. Wherever the powers of nature had found a cycle for themselves, in which the power still reproduced the same phenomenon during a given period, whether in the motions of the heavenly orbs, or in the smallest living organic body, there the Egyptian sages predicted life and mind:—Time, cyclical time, was their abstraction of the Deity, and their holydays were their gods.

The diversity between theism and pantheism may be most simply and generally expressed in the following formula, in which the material universe is expressed by W, and the Deity by G.

$$W-G=O;$$

or, the world without God is an impossible conception. This position is common to theist and pantheist. But the pantheist adds the converse:

$$G-W=O,$$

for which the theist substitutes

$$G-W=G;$$

or, that

$\overline{G=G}$, anterior and irrelative to the existence of the world, is equal to $\overline{G+W}$.

"Before the mountains were, thou art." I am not about to lead the Society beyond the bounds of my subject into divinity or theology in the professional sense. But, without a precise definition of pantheism, without a clear insight into the essential distinction between it and the theism of the Scriptures, it appears to me impossible to understand either the import or the history of the polytheism of the great historical nations. I beg leave, therefore, to repeat, and carry on my former position, that the religion of Egypt, at the time of the exodus of the Hebrews, was a pantheism, on the point of passing into that polytheism of which it afterwards afforded a specimen, gross and distasteful even to polytheists themselves of other nations.

The objects which, on my appointment as Royal Associate of the Royal Society of Literature, I proposed to myself, were, 1st, the elucidation of the

purpose of the Greek drama, and the relations in which it stood to the mysteries on the one hand, and to the state or sacerdotal religion on the other. 2d, The connection of the Greek tragic poets with philosophy, as the peculiar offspring of Greek genius. 3d, The connection of the Homeric and cyclical poets with the popular religion of the Greeks; and, lastly, from all these,—namely, the mysteries, the sacerdotal religion, their philosophy before and after Socrates, the stage, the Homeric poetry and the legendary belief of the people; and from the sources and productive causes in the derivation and confluence of the tribes that finally shaped themselves into a nation of Greeks,—to give a juster and more distinct view of this singular people, and of the place which they occupied in the history of the world and the great scheme of Divine Providence, than I have hitherto seen; or rather let me say, than it appears to me possible to give by any other process.

The present essay, however, I devote to the purpose of removing, or at least invalidating, one objection that I may reasonably anticipate, and which may be conveyed in the following question:—What proof have you of the fact of any connection between the Greek drama and either the mysteries or the philosophy of Greece? What proof that it was the office of the tragic poet, under a disguise of the sacerdotal religion, mixed with the legendary or popular belief, to reveal as much of the mysteries interpreted by philosophy, as would counteract the demoralising effects of the state religion, without compromising the tranquillity of the state itself, or weakening that paramount reverence, without which a republic (such, I mean, as the republics of ancient Greece were) could not exist.

I know no better way in which I can reply to this objection, than by giving as my proof and instance the Prometheus of Æschylus, accompanied with an exposition of (what I believe to be) the intention of the poet, and the mythic import of the work, of which it may be truly said, that it is more properly tragedy itself in the plenitude of the idea, than a particular tragic poem; and as a preface to this exposition, and for the twin purpose of rendering it intelligible and of explaining its connection with the whole scheme of my essays, I entreat permission to insert a quotation from a work of my own, which has indeed been in print since the year 1809, but which few of my auditors will probably have heard of, and still fewer, if any, have read.

"As the representative of the youth and approaching manhood of the human intellect, we have ancient Greece, from Orpheus, Linus, Musæus, and the other mythological bards, or perhaps the brotherhoods impersonated under those names, to the time when the republics lost their independence, and their learned men sunk into copyists and commentators of the works of their forefathers. That we include these as educated under a distinct providential, though not miraculous, dispensation, will surprise no one, who reflects, that in whatever has a permanent operation on the destinies and intellectual condition of mankind at large — that in all which has been manifestly employed as a co-agent in the mightiest revolution of the moral world, the propagation of the Gospel, and in the intellectual progress of mankind, the restoration of philosophy, science, and the ingenuous arts — it were irreligion not to acknowledge the hand of Divine Providence. The periods, too, join on to each other. The earliest Greeks took up the religious and lyrical poetry of the Hebrews; and the schools of the prophets were, however partially and imperfectly, represented by the mysteries derived through the corrupt channel of the Phœnicians. With these secret schools of physiological theology, the mythical poets were doubtless in connection; and it was these schools which prevented polytheism from producing all its natural sensualising effects. The mysteries and the mythical hymns and pæans shaped themselves gradually into epic poetry and history on the one hand, and into the ethical tragedy and philosophy on the other. Under their protection, and that of a youthful liberty, secretly controlled by a species of internal theocracy, the sciences, and the sterner kinds of the fine arts, viz. architecture and statuary, grew up together, followed, indeed, by painting; but a statuesque and austerely idealised painting, which did not degenerate into mere copies of the sense, till the process for which Greece existed had been completed."

1. The Greeks alone brought forth *Philosophy* in the proper and contra-distinguishable sense of the term, which we may compare to the coronation medal with its symbolic characters, as contrasted with the coins issued under the same sovereign current in the market. In the primary sense, philosophy had for its aim and proper subject the τὰ περὶ ἀρχῶν, *de originibus rerum*, as far as man proposes to discover the same in and by the pure reason alone. This, I say, was the *offspring* of Greece, elsewhere *adopted* only. The predisposition appears in their earliest poetry.

2. The first object (or subject-matter) of Greek philosophising, was in some measure philosophy itself, not indeed as the *product*, but as the producent power—the *productivity*. Great minds turned inward on the fact of the *diversity* between Man and beast; a superiority of *kind*, in addition to that of *degree;* the latter, *i. e.* difference in *degree*, comprehending the more enlarged sphere and the multifold application of faculties common to man and animals; even this being in great measure a transfusion from the former, namely, from the superiority in *kind:* for only by its co-existence with reason, free-will, self-consciousness, the contra-distinguishing attributes of man, does the instinctive intelligence manifested in the ant, the dog, the elephant, &c. become human UNDERSTANDING. It is a truth with which Heraclitus, the senior and almost contemporary of the Tragic Poet, appears, from the few genuine fragments of his writings that are yet extant, to have been deeply impressed—That the mere understanding, considered as the power of adapting means to immediate purposes, differs indeed from the intelligence displayed by animals, and not in degree only; but yet does not differ by any excellence which it derives from itself, or by any inherent diversity, but solely in consequence of a combination with far higher powers of a diverse kind in one and the same subject.

Long before the entire separation of metaphysics from poetry, that is, while yet poesy, in all its several species of verse, music, statuary, &c. continued mythic—while yet poetry remained the union of the sensuous and the philosophic mind—the efficient presence of the latter in the synthesis of the two, had manifested itself in the sublime mythus περὶ γνώσεως τοῦ Νοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις. The most venerable, and perhaps the most ancient, of Grecian mythi, is a philosopheme, the very same in subject-matter with the earliest record of the Hebrews, but most characteristically different in tone and conception; for the patriarchal religion, as the antithesis of pantheism, was necessarily personal; and the doctrines of a faith, the first ground of which, and the primary enunciation, is the eternal I AM, must be in part historic, and must assume the historic form. Hence the Hebrew record is a narrative; and the first instance of the fact is given as the origin of the fact.

That a profound truth—a truth that is indeed the grand and indispensable condition of all moral responsibility—is involved in this characteristic of the sacred narrative, I am not alone persuaded, but distinctly aware. This, however, does not preclude—nay, as an additional mark of

the wisdom that inspired the sacred historian, it rather supplies a motive to us, impels and authorises us to see, in the *form* of the vehicle of the truth, an accommodation to the then childhood of the human race. Under this impression we may, I trust, safely consider the narration (introduced as it is here introduced, for the purpose of explaining a mere work of the unaided mind of man by comparison) as an ἔπος ἱερογλυφικὸν, and as such (apparently, I mean, not actually) a synthesis of poesy and philosophy, characteristic of the childhood of nations.

In the Greek we see already the dawn of approaching manhood. The substance, the *stuff*, is philosophy, the *form* only is poetry. The Prometheus is a *philosopheme* and παντηγορικὸν: the tree of knowledge of good and evil, an allegory (περοπαίδευμα), though the noblest and most pregnant of its kind.

3. The generation of the Νοῦς, or pure reason in man. 1st, Superadded or infused, *a supra*, to mark that it was no mere evolution of the animal basis—that it could not have grown out of the other faculties of man, his life, sense, understanding, as the flower grows out of the stem, having pre-existed *potentially* in the seed. 2d, The νοῦς, or fire, was *stolen*, to mark its hetero-, or rather its alto-geneity, *i. e.* its *diversity*, its difference in *kind*, from the faculties which are common to man with the nobler animals. 3d, And stolen *from heaven*, to mark its *superiority* in kind, as well as its essential *diversity*. 4th, And a *spark*, to mark that it is not subject to any modifying reaction from that on which it immediately acts; that it suffers no change, and receives no accession from the inferior, but multiplies itself by conversion, without being alloyed by, or amalgamated with, that which it *potenziates*, ennobles, transmutes. 5th, and lastly (in order to imply the homogeneity of the donor and of the gift), by a God, and a God of the race before the *dynasty* of Jove—Jove, the binder of reluctant powers, the coercer and entrancer of free spirits under the fetters of shape and mass and passive mobility; but likewise by a God of the same race and essence with Jove, and linked of yore in closest and friendliest intimacy with him. *This*, to mark the pre-existence, in order of thought, of the Nous, as spiritual, both to the objects of sense, and to their products, formed, as it were, by the precipitation, or, if I may dare adopt the bold language of Leibnitz, by the coagulation of spirit. In other words, this derivation of the spark from above, and from a God anterior to the Jovial dynasty (*i. e.* to the submersion of spirits in material forms), was intended to mark the *transcendency* of the Nous, the contra-distinctive faculty of man, as

timeless (ἄχρονον τι), and in this *negative* sense *eternal.* It signified, I say, its superiority to, and its diversity from, all things that subsist in space and time, nay, even those which, though spaceless, yet partake of time, namely, souls. For the soul, if it be defined physiologically as the principle of sensibility, irritability, and growth, together with the functions of the organs which are at once the representatives and the instruments of these, must be considered *in genere,* though not in degree or *dignity,* common to man and the inferior animals. It was the spirit, the Nous, which man alone possessed; and I must be permitted to suggest, that this notion deserves some respect, were it only that it can shew a semblance, at least, of sanction from a far higher authority.

4. The Greeks agreed with the cosmogonies of the East in deriving all sensible forms from the *Indistinguishable.* This latter we find designated as the τ' ἄμορφον, the ὕδωρ προκοσμικὸν, the χάος, as the essentially unintelligible, yet necessarily presumed basis or sub-position of all positions. That it is scientifically considered an indispensable idea for the human mind, just as the mathematical point, &c. for the geometrician; of *this* the various systems of our geologists and cosmogonists, from Burnet to La Place, afford strong presumption. As an idea, it must be interpreted as a striving of the mind to distinguish *being* from *existence,* or *potential* being, the ground of being containing the possibility of existence, from being *actualised.* In the language of the Mysteries, it was the Esurience, the πόθος, or desiderium, the unfueled fire, the Ceres, the ever-seeking maternal goddess, the origin and interpretation of whose name is found in the Hebrew root signifying hunger, and thence capacity. It was, in short, an effort to represent the universal ground of all differences, distinct or opposite, but in relation to which all antitheses, as well as all antitheta, existed only potentially. This was the Container and Withholder; such is the primitive sense of the Hebrew word rendered darkness (Gen. i. 2.), out of which light, *i. e.* the *lux lucifica,* as distinguished from *lumen seu lux phœnomenon,* was produced. Say rather, that which, producing itself into light as the one pole or antagonist power, remained in the other pole as darkness, *i. e.* gravity, or the principle of mass, or wholeness without distinction of parts.

And here the peculiar, the philosophic genius of Greece began its fœtal throb. Here it individualised itself in contradistinction from the Hebrew archology, on one side, and from the Phœnician on the other. The Phœnician

confounded the Indistinguishable with the Absolute, the alpha and omega, the ineffable *causa sui.* It confounded, I say, the *multëity* below intellect, *i. e.* unintelligible from defect of the subject, with the absolute Identity above all intellect, *i. e.* transcending comprehension by the plenitude of its excellence. With the Phœnician sages the cosmogony was their theogony, and *vice versâ.* Hence, too, flowed their theurgic rites, their magic, their worship (*cultus et apotheosis*) of the plastic forces, chemical and vital; and these, or their notions respecting these, formed the hidden meaning, the soul, as it were, of which the popular and civil worship was the body with its drapery.

The Hebrew wisdom imperatively asserts an unbeginning creative One who neither *became* the world; nor is the world eternally; nor made the world out of himself by emanation or evolution; but who *willed* it, and it *was!* Τὰ ἄθεα ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐγένετο χάος. And this chaos, the eternal will, by the Spirit and the Word, or express Fiat, again acting as the impregnant distinctive and ordonnant power, enabled to become a *world*—κοσμεῖσθαι. So must it be when a religion that shall preclude superstition on the one hand, and brute indifference on the other, is to be true for the meditative sage, yet intelligible, or at least apprehensible, for all but the fools in heart.

The Greek philosopheme, preserved for us in the Æschylian Prometheus, stands midway betwixt both, yet is distinct in kind from either. With the Hebrew or purer Semitic, it assumes an X Y Z, (I take these letters in their algebraic application), an indeterminate Elohim, antecedent to the matter of the world (ὕλη ἄκοσμος) no less than to the ὕλη κεκοσμημένη. In this point, likewise, the Greek accorded with the Semitic, and differed from the Phœnician—that it held the antecedent X Y Z to be supersensuous and divine. But on the other hand, it coincides with the Phœnician in considering this antecedent ground of corporeal matter, (τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τοῦ σωματικοῦ) not so properly the cause of the latter, as the *occasion* and the still continuing *substance. Materia substat adhuc.* The corporeal was supposed co-essential with the antecedent of its corporeity. *Matter,* as distinguished from body, was a *non ens,* a simple apparition, *id quod mere* VIDETUR; but to body, the elder physico-theology of the Greeks allowed a *participation* in entity. It was *spiritus ipse oppressus, dormiens, et diversis modis somnians.* In short, body was the productive power suspended, and, as it were, quenched in the product. This may be rendered plainer by reflecting, that, in the pure

Semitic scheme, there are four terms introduced in the solution of the problem; 1st, the unbeginning, self-sufficing, and immutable Creator; 2d, the antecedent night or chaos, as the identity or including germ of the light and darkness, *i. e.* gravity; 3d, the chaos; and, 4th, the material world resulting from the powers communicated by the divine fiat. In the Phœnician scheme there are, in fact, but two—a self-organising chaos, and the omniform nature as the result. In the Greek scheme we have three terms, 1st, the hyle, which holds the place of the chaos, or the waters, in the true system; 2d, *τὰ σώματα*, answering to the Mosaic heaven and earth; and, 3d, the Saturnian, *οἱ χρόνοι ὑπερχρόνιοι*, which answers to the antecedent darkness of the Mosaic scheme, but to which the elder physico-theologists attributed a self-polarising power—a *natura gemina quæ fit et facit, agit et patitur.* In other words, the Elohim of the Greeks were still but a *natura deorum*, *τὸ θεῖον*, to which a vague plurality adhered; or if any unity was imagined, it was not personal—not a unity of excellence, but simply an expression of the negative—that which was to pass, but which had not yet passed, into distinct form.

All this will seem strange and obscure at first reading—perhaps fantastic. But it will only *seem.* Dry and prolix indeed it is to me in the writing, full as much as it can be to others in the attempt to understand it. But I know that, once mastered, the *idea* will be the key to the whole cypher of the Æschylian mythology. The sum, stated in the terms of philosophic logic, is this: First, What Moses appropriated to the chaos itself; what Moses made passive and a *materia subjecta* et *lucis* et *tenebrarum*, the containing *προβέμενον* of the thesis and antithesis; this the Greek placed anterior to the chaos: the chaos itself being the struggle between the hyperchronia, the *ἰδέαι πρόνομοι* as the *un*evolved *un*produced prothesis of which *ἰδέα καὶ νόμος* (idea and law), are the thesis and antithesis, (I use the word "produced" in the mathematical sense, as a point elongating itself to a bipolar line). Secondly, What Moses establishes, not merely as a transcendent *Monas*, but as an individual Ἑνάς likewise; this the Greek took as an harmony, *θεοὶ ἀθάνατοι*, *τὸ θεῖον*, as distinguished from *ὁ θεὸς*; or, to adopt the more expressive language of the Pythagoreans and the Cabalists, *numen numerantis*; and these are to be contemplated as the *identity.*

5. Now, according to the Greek philosopheme or mythus, in these (or in this identity) there arose a war, schism, or division, *i. e.* a polarization

into thesis and antithesis. In consequence of this schism in the τὸ θεῖον, the thesis becomes NOMOS — law, and the antithesis becomes IDEA, but so that the *nomos* IS *nomos*, because, and only because, the idea is idea: the *nomos* is not idea, only because the idea has *not* become *nomos*. And this NOT must be heedfully borne in mind through the whole interpretation of this most profound and pregnant philosopheme. The *nomos* is *essentially idea*, but *existentially* it is (idea) *substans, i. e. id quod* STAT SUB*tus, understanding sensu generalissimo*. The idea, which now is no longer idea, has substantiated itself, become real, as opposed to idea, and is henceforward, therefore, *substans in substantiato*. The first product of its energy is the thing itself: *ipsa se posuit et jam facta est ens positum*. Still, however, its productive energy is not exhausted in this product, but overflows, or is effluent as the specific forces, properties, faculties of the product. It reappears, in short, in the body, as the function of the body. As a sufficient illustration, though it cannot be offered as a perfect instance, take the following:—

In the world we see every where evidences of a unity, which the component parts are so far from explaining, that they necessarily pre-suppose it as the cause and condition of their existing *as* those parts, or even of their existing at all. This antecedent unity, or cause and principle of each union, it has, since the time of Bacon and Kepler, been customary to call a law. This crocus, for instance, or any other flower the reader may have in sight, or choose to bring before his fancy — that the root, stem, leaves, petals, &c. cohere as one plant, is owing to an antecedent power or principle in the seed, which existed before a single particle of the matters that constitute the *size* and visibility of the crocus, had been attracted from the surrounding soil, air, and moisture. Shall we turn to the seed? Here, too, the same necessity meets us. An antecedent unity (I speak not of the parent plant, but of an agency antecedent in order of operance, yet remaining present as the conservative and reproductive power) must here too be supposed. Analyse the seed with the finest tools, and let the solar microscope come in aid of your senses, what do you find? means and instruments, a wondrous fairy tale of nature, magazines of food, stores of various sorts, pipes, spiracles, defences—a house of many chambers, and the owner and inhabitant invisible! Now, compare a plant, thus contemplated, with an animal. In the former the productive energy exhausts itself, and, as it were, sleeps in

the product, or organismus—in its root, stem, foliage, blossom, seed. Its balsams, gums, resins, aromata, and all other bases of its sensible qualities, are, it is well known, mere excretions from the vegetable, eliminated as lifeless from the actual plant. The qualities are not *its* properties, but the properties, or far rather, the dispersion and volatilisation of these extruded and rejected bases. But in the animal it is otherwise. *Here* the antecedent unity—the productive and self-realising idea—strives, with partial success, to re-emancipate itself from its product, and seeks once again to become IDEA: vainly, indeed; for, in order to this, it must be retrogressive, and it hath subjected itself to the Fates, the evolvers of the endless thread!—to the stern necessity of progression. IDEA itself it cannot become, but it may, in long and graduated process, become an *image*, an *analogon*, an *anti-type* of IDEA. And this εἴδωλον may approximate to a perfect *likeness!* (*Quod est* SIMILE, *nequit esse idem.*) Thus, in the lower animals, we see this process of emancipation commence with the intermediate link, or that which forms the *trans*ition from properties to faculties; viz. with sensation. Then the faculties of sense, locomotion, construction; as, for instance, webs, hives, nests, &c. Then the functions; as of instinct, memory, fancy, instinctive intelligence, or understanding, as it exists in the most intelligent *animals*. Thus the idea (henceforward no more idea, but irrecoverable by its own fatal act) commences the process of its own transmutation, as *substans in substantiato*, as the *Entelech, i. e.* the *vis formatrix*, and it finishes the process as *substans* e *substantiato, i. e.* as the Understanding.

If, for the purpose of elucidating this process, I might be allowed to imitate the symbolic language of the algebraists, and thus to regard the successive steps of the process as so many powers and dignities of the nomos or law, the scheme would be represented thus:—

$$\text{Nomos}^1 = \text{Product} : N^2 = \text{Property} : N^3 = \text{Faculty} : N^4 = \text{Function} : N^5 = \text{Understanding},$$

which is, indeed, in one sense, itself a nomos, inasmuch as it is the index of the nomos, as well as its highest function; but, like the hand of a watch, it is likewise a *nomizomenon*. It is a verb, but still a verb passive.

On the other hand, Idea is so far co-essential with nomos, that by its co-existence (N.B. not *confluence*) with the nomos ἐν νομιζόμενοις (*ex. gr.* with the organismus and its faculties and functions in man), it becomes itself a

nomos. But (observe) a nomos autonomos, or containing its law in itself. Likewise, even as the nomos produces for its highest product the Understanding, so the idea, in its opposition, and, of course, its correspondence to the nomos, begets in itself an analogon to product; and this is self-consciousness. But as the product can never become Idea, so neither can the idea (if it is to remain idea) become or generate a distinct product. This analogon of product is to be itself; but were it indeed and substantially a product, it would cease to be self. It would be an object for a subject, not (as it is and must be) an object that is its own subject, and *vice versâ;* a conception which, if the uncombining and infusile genius of our language allowed it, might be expressed by the term subject-object. Now, Idea, taken in indissoluble connection with this analogon of product, is Mind, that which knows itself, and the existence of which may be inferred, but cannot appear or become a phenomenon.

By the benignity of Providence, the truths of most importance in themselves, and which it most concerns us to know, are familiar to us, even from childhood. Well for us if we do not abuse this privilege, and mistake the familiarity of the words which convey these truths for a clear understanding of the truths themselves. If the preceding disquisition, with all its subtlety and all its obscurity, should answer no other purpose, it will still have been neither purposeless nor devoid of utility, should it only lead us to sympathise with the strivings of the human intellect, awakened to the infinite importance of the inward oracle, γνῶθι σεαυτόν, and almost instinctively shaping its course of search in conformity with the Platonic intimation:—ψυχῆς φύσιν ἀξίως λόγου κατανοῆσαι ὅτι δυνατὸν εἶναι, ἀνευ τῆς τοῦ ὅλου φύσεως. But be this as it may, the ground-work of the Æschylian mythus is laid in the definition of Idea and Law, as correlatives that mutually interpret each the other; an idea, with the adequate power of realising itself, being a law, and a law considered abstractedly from, or in the absence of, the power of manifesting itself in its appropriate product, being an idea. Whether this be *true* philosophy, is not the question. The school of Aristotle would, of course, deny, the Platonic affirm it; for in this consists the difference of the two schools. Both acknowledge ideas as distinct from the mere generalisations from objects of sense; both would define an idea as an *ens rationale,* to which there can be no adequate correspondent in sensible experience. But, according to Aristotle, ideas are regulative only, and exist only as functions of the mind;

according to Plato, they are constitutive likewise, and one in essence with the power and life of nature. Ἐν λόγῳ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. And this, I assert, was the philosophy of the mythic poets, who, like Æschylus, adapted the secret doctrines of the mysteries as the (not always safely disguised) antidote to the debasing influences of the religion of the state.

But, to return and conclude this preliminary explanation: 6, then, we have only to substitute the term Will, and the term Constitutive Power, for nomos or law, and the process is the same. Permit me to represent the identity or prothesis by the letter Z, and the thesis and antithesis by X and Y respectively. Then, I say, X, by not being Y, but in consequence of being the correlative opposite of Y, is Will; and Y, by not being X, but the correlative and opposite of X, is Nature,—*natura naturans, νόμος φυσικός.* Hence we may see the necessity of contemplating the idea now as identical with the Reason, and now as one with the Will, and now as both in one: in which last case I shall, for convenience sake, employ the term Nous, the rational will, the practical reason.

7. We are now out of the holy jungle of transcendental metaphysics; if, indeed, the reader's patience shall have had strength and persistency enough to allow me to exclaim—

Ivimus ambo
Per densas umbras: at tenet umbra Deum.

Not that I regard the foregoing as articles of faith, or as *all* true. I have implied the contrary by contrasting it with, at least, by shewing its disparateness from, the Mosaic, which, *boná fide,* I do regard as *the* truth. But I believe that there is much and profound truth *in* it, *supra captum* φιλόσοφων, *qui non agnoscunt divinum, adeoque nec naturam, nisi nomine, agnoscunt, sed res cunctas ex sensuali corporeo cogitant; quibus hâc ex causâ interiora et sua et natura clausa manent, et simul cum illis exteriora quæ proxima interioribus sunt!* And with no less confidence do I believe that the positions above given, true or false, are *contained* in the Promethean mythus.

In this mythus, Jove is the impersonated representation or symbol of the nomos—Jupiter *est quodcunque vides.* He is the *mens agitans molem;* but, at the same time, the *molem corpoream ponens et constituens.* And so far the Greek Philosopheme does not differ essentially from the cosmotheism, or identification of God with the universe, in which consisted the

first apostasy of mankind after the flood, when they combined to raise a temple to the heavens, and which is still the favoured religion of the Chinese. Prometheus, in like manner, is the impersonated representative of IDEA, or of the same power as Jove, but contemplated as independent, and not immersed in the product as Law *minus* the productive energy. As such, it is next to be seen what the several significances of each *must* or *may* be, according to the philosophic conception; and of which significances, therefore, should we find in the philosopheme a correspondent to each, we shall be entitled to assert that such are the meanings of the fable. And, first, of Jove:—

8. Jove, then, represents, 1st, Nomos generally, as opposed to Idea or Nous; 2d, Nomos archinomos, now as the father, now as the sovereign, and now as the includer and representative of the *νόμοι οὐράνιοι κόσμικοι*, or *dei majores*, who had joined or come over to Jove in the first schism. 3d, Nomos *δαμήτης*, the subjugator of the spirits of the *ἰδέαι πρόνομοι*, (vide 4 *ad finem* and 5) who, thus subjugated, became *νόμοι ὑπονόμιοι ὑποσπονδοι*, *Titanes pacati*, *dei minores*, *i. e.* the elements considered as powers reduced to obedience under yet higher powers than themselves. 4th, Nomos *πολιτικὸς*, law in the Pauline sense, *νόμος ἀλλότριονομος* in antithesis to *νόμος αὐτόνομος*.

COROLLARY.—It is in this sense that Jove's jealous, ever-quarrelsome spouse represents the political sacerdotal cultus, the church, in short, of republican paganism—a church by law established, for the mere purposes of the particular state, unennobled by the consciousness of instrumentality to higher purposes—at once unenlightened and unchecked by revelation. Most gratefully ought we to acknowledge, that since the completion of our constitution in 1688, we may, with unflattering truth, elucidate the spirit and character of such a church by the contrast of the institution to which England owes the larger portion of its superiority in that in which alone superiority is an unmixed blessing—the diffused cultivation of its inhabitants. But, previously to this period, I shall offend no enlightened man if I say, without distinction of parties (*infra muros peccatur et extra*) that the history of Christendom presents us with too many illustrations of this Junonian jealousy, this factious harassing of the Sovereign Power, as soon as the latter betrayed any symptoms of a disposition to pursue its true policy, viz. to privilege and *perpetuate* that which is best, to tolerate the tolerable, and to

restrain none but those who would restrain all, and subjugate even the state itself. But while truth extorts this confession, it, at the same time, requires that it should be accompanied by an avowal of the fact, that the spirit is a relic of paganism; and with a bitter smile would an Æschylus or a Plato, in the shades, listen to a Gibbon or a Hume vaunting the mild and tolerant spirit of the state religions of ancient Greece or Rome. Here we have the sense of Jove's intrigues with Europa, Io, &c., whom the god, in his own nature a *general* lover, had successively taken under his protection. And here, too, see the full appropriateness of this part of the mythus, in which symbol fades away into allegory; but yet in reference to the working cause, as grounded in humanity, and always existing either actually or potentially, and thus never ceases wholly to be a symbol or tautegory.

9. Prometheus represents, 1st, *sensu generali*, Idea πρόνομος; and in this sense he is a θεὸς ὁμόφυλος, a fellow-tribesman both of the *dii majores*, with Jove at their head, and of the *Titans* or *Dii pacati*. 2d, He represents Idea φιλόνομος, νόμοδείκτης; and in this sense the (ci-devant) friend and counsellor of Jove, or *Nous uranius*. 3d, Λόγος φιλάνθρωπος, the *divine* humanity, the humane God, who *retained* unseen, *kept back* (or, in the catachresis characteristic of the Phœnicio-Grecian mythology) *stole* a portion (or *ignicula*) from the living *spirit* of law, which remained with the celestial gods unexpended ἐν τῷ νομιξέσθαι. He gave that which, according to the whole analogy of things, should have existed either as pure divinity—the sole property and birth-right of the *Dii Joviales*, the *Uranions*, or was conceded to inferior beings as a *substans in substantiato*. This spark divine Prometheus gave to an elect, a favoured animal, not as a *substans* or understanding, commensurate with, and confined by, the constitution and conditions of this particular organism, but as *aliquid* super*stans liberum non subactum, invictum, impacatum,* μὴ νομιζόμενον. This gift (by which we are to understand reason, theoretic and practical) was therefore a νόμος αὐτόνομος, unapproachable and unmodifiable by the animal basis—that is, by the pre-existing *substans* with its products, *i. e.* the animal organismus with its faculties and functions; but yet endowed with the power of potenziating (ennobling) and prescribing to the substance; and hence, therefore, a νόμος νομοπεῖθης, *lex legisuada*. 4th, By a transition, ordinary even in allegory, and *appropriate* to mythic symbol, but especially significant in the present case—the transition, I mean, from the giver to the gift—the giver, in very truth, being the gift, whence the soul

receives REASON; and reason is her being, says our Milton. Reason is from God, and God *is* reason, *mens ipsissima.*

Prometheus represents, 4thly, Nous ἐν ἄνθρωπῳ, νοῦς ἀγωνιστὴς. Thus contemplated, the Nous is of necessity, 1. *powerless;* for, all power, *i. e.* productivity, or productive energy, is in LAW, that is, νόμος ἀλλότριονομος.[2] Still, however, the Idea in the Law, the *numerus numerans* become νόμος, is the principle of the Law; and if with Law dwells Power, so with the knowledge, or the Idea *scientialis* of the Law, dwells Prophecy, Foresight. A perfect astronomical time-piece in relation to the motions of the heavenly bodies, or the magnet in the mariner's compass in relation to the magnetism of the earth, is a sufficient illustration.

Both νόμος and Idea (or nous) are the *verbum;* but, as in the former, it is the *verbum fiat,* "the WORD of the Lord," in the latter it must be the *verbum fiet, i. e.* "the WORD of the Lord in the mouth of the PROPHET." *Pari argumento,* as the knowledge is therefore not power, the power is not knowledge. The νόμος, the Ζεὺς παντοκράτωρ, seeks to learn, and, as it were, to *wrest* the secret, the hateful secret of his own fates, namely, the transitoriness adherent to all antithesis; for the *Identity* or the *Absolute* is alone eternal. This secret Jove would extort from the Nous, Prometheus, which is the fifth representment of Prometheus.

6. Introduce but the least of *Real* (as opposed to *Ideal*), the least speck of positive *ex*istence, even though it were but the mote in a sun-beam, into the sciential contemplamen or theorem, and it ceases to be *Science. Ratio desinit esse pura* Ratio *et fit* Discursus. *Stat* subter *et fit* ὑποθέτικον, *non* super*stat.* The Nous is bound to a rock, the immovable firmness of which is indissolubly connected with its barrenness, its non-productivity. Were it *productive* it would be Nomos; but it is Nous, because it is *not* Nomos.

7. Solitary, ἄβατῳ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ. Now, I say that the Nous, notwithstanding its *diversity* from the Nomizomeni, is yet, relatively to their supposed original essence, πᾶσι τοῖς νομιζομένοις ταυτογενὴς, of the same race or radix; though in another sense, viz. in relation to the πᾶν θεῖον, the pantheistic Elohim, it is conceived anterior to the schism, and to the conquest and enthronization of

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[2] I scarcely need say, that I use the word ἀλλότριονομος as a participle active, as exercising law on another, not as receiving law from another, though the latter is the classical force (I suppose) of the word.

Jove that succeeded. Hence the Prometheus of the great tragedian is *θεὸς συγγενὴς*. The kindred deities come to him, some to soothe, to condole; others to give weak, yet friendly counsels of submission; others to tempt, or insult. The most prominent of the latter, and the most odious to the imprisoned and insulated Nous, is HERMES, the impersonation of Interest, with the entrancing and serpentine Caduceus, and, as interest or motives intervening between the reason and its immediate self-determinations, the Antipathies to the *νόμος ἀυτόνομος*. The HERMES impersonates the eloquence of cupidity, the cajolement of power regnant; and, in a larger sense, custom, the irrational in language, *ῥῆματα, τὰ ῥητορικὰ*, the fluent, from *ῥέω*, the rhetorical in opposition to *λόγοι, τὰ νοητὰ*. But, primarily, the Hermes is the symbol of INTEREST. He is the messenger, the internuncio, in the low but expressive phrase, the GO-BETWEEN, to beguile or insult. And for the other visitors of Prometheus, the elementary powers, or spirits of the elements, *Titanes pacati, θεοὶ ὑπονόμιοι*, vassal potentates, and their solicitations, the noblest interpretation will be given, if I repeat the lines of our great contemporary poet:

> " Earth fills her lap with pleasures of her own :
> Yearnings she hath in her own natural kind,
> And e'en with something of a mother's mind,
> And no unworthy aim,
> The homely nurse doth all she can
> To make her foster-child, her inmate, MAN,
> Forget the glories he hath known,
> And that imperial palace whence he came!" WORDSWORTH.

which exquisite passage is prefigured in coarser clay, indeed, and with a less lofty spirit, but yet excellently in their kind, and even more fortunately for the illustration and ornament of the present commentary, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh stanzas of Dr. Henry More's poem on the Pre-existence of the Soul:

> " Thus groping after our own center's near
> And proper *substance*, we grew dark, contract,
> Swallow'd up of earthly life! Ne what we were
> Of old, thro' ignorance can we detect.
> Like noble babe, by fate or friends' neglect

Left to the care of sorry salvage wight,
Grown up to manly years cannot conject
His own true parentage, nor read aright
What father him begot, what womb him brought to light!

So we, as stranger infants elsewhere born,
Cannot divine from what spring we did flow;
Ne dare these base alliances to scorn,
Nor lift ourselves a whit from hence below;
Ne strive our parentage again to know,
Ne dream we once of any other stock,
Since fostered upon RHEA's[3] knees we grow,
In SATYRS' arms with many a mow and mock
Oft danced; and hairy PAN our cradle oft hath rock'd!

But Pan nor Rhea be our parentage!
We been the offspring of the all-seeing NOUS," &c.

To express the supersensual character of the reason, its abstraction from sensation, we find the Prometheus *ἀτιμητή*; while in the yearnings accompanying with the remorse incident to and only possible in consequence of the Nous, as the rational, self-conscious, and therefore responsible will, he is *γυπί διαρναιόμενος*.

If to these contemplations we add the control and despotism exercised on the free reason by Jupiter in his fourth symbolical character, as *νόμος πολιτικὸς*; by custom (Hermes); by necessity (*βία καὶ κράτος*); by the mechanic arts and powers, *συγγενεῖς τῷ* Νόῳ though they are, and which are symbolised in Hephaistos,—we shall see at once the propriety of the title, Prometheus *δεσμώτης*.

8. NATURE, or Zeus, as the *νόμος ἐν νομιζόμενοις*, knows herself only, can only come to a knowledge of herself, in Man! And even in man, only as man is supernatural, above nature, *noetic*. But this knowledge man refuses to communicate; *i. e.* the *human* understanding alone is at once *self*-conscious and conscious of nature. And this high prerogative it owes exclusively to

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[3] RHEA (from *ῥέω, fluo*), that is, the earth as the transitory, the *ever-flowing* nature, the flux and sum of phenomena or objects of the outward sense, in contradistinction from the earth as Vesta, as the firmamental law that sustains and disposes the apparent world. The Satyrs represent the sports and appetences of the sensuous nature (*φρόνημα σαρκὸς*)—Pan, or the total life of the earth, the presence of all in each, the universal organismus of bodies and bodily energy.

its being an assessor of the reason. Yet even the human understanding in its height of place seeks vainly to appropriate the IDEAS of the pure reason, which it can only represent by IDOLA. Here, then, the NOUS stands as Prometheus ἀντίπαλος, *renuens*, in hostile opposition to Jupiter Inquisitor.

9. Yet, finally, against the obstacles, and even under the fostering influences of the Nomos, τοῦ Νόμμου, a son of Jove himself, but a descendant from Io, the mundane religion, as contra-distinguished from the sacerdotal cultus, or religion of the state, an Alcides Liberator will arise, and the Nous, or divine principle in man, will be Prometheus ἐλευθερώμενος.

Did my limits or time permit me to trace the persecutions, wanderings, and migrations of the Io, the mundane religion, through the whole map marked out by the tragic poet, the coincidences would bring the truth, the unarbitrariness, of the preceding exposition as near to demonstration as can rationally be required on a question of history that must, for the greater part, be answered by combination of scattered facts. But this part of my subject, together with a particular exemplification of the light which my theory throws both on the sense and the beauty of numerous passages of this stupendous poem, I must reserve for a future communication.

De l'Origine des Hindous. Par A. W. de Schlegel.

Read Nov. 20, 1833, &c.

Chapitre I.—*Définition du Nom de Hindou.*

Je dis à dessein, *de l'origine des Hindous,* et non pas *des Indiens,* parceque ce dernier nom a été employé par les anciens et les modernes dans un sens si vague, qu'il pourrait facilement donner lieu à des mal-entendus, et que, dans la question qui va nous occuper, il est important de déterminer le peuple dont il s'agit avec la plus grande précision possible.

Le nom de Hindou est Persan, et inconnu à la nation même qu'il désigne. Il est pourtant dérivé d'un mot Sanscrit. *Sindhus* est le véritable nom du fleuve que nous nommons *Indus,* d'après l'exemple des anciens. L'analyse de la langue *Zend,* dans laquelle sont écrits les livres sacrés des Parsis, attribués à Zoroastre, a déjà fait voir que, dans les mots identiques avec le Sanscrit, l'aspiration est habituellement substituée à une *S* initiale. En omettant l'aspiration, et en changeant la voyelle finale, les Grecs en ont formé leur nom Ἰνδοί.

En Persan moderne, *hindou* signifie *noir;* mais il paraît que cette signification n'est qu'une application plus générale du nom propre, l'Inde étant considérée par les Persans comme le pays des hommes noirs.

Le nom du fleuve *Sindhus,* qui chez les Indiens même s'est communiqué à une partie du pays qu'il parcourt, est fort ancien. Si l'on en demande une preuve, outre celle que fournissent les plus anciens auteurs de l'Inde, on n'a qu'à consulter le géographe Ptolemée qui l'a écrit très exactement en lettres Grecques. Le mot *sindôn,* qu'Hérodote employe pour des étoffes de coton, provenant de l'Inde, doit en être dérivé.

Ce même historien comprend sous le nom *Indoi* les peuples qui habitaient sur la rive droite de l'Indus, peut-être les ancêtres des Baloutches d'aujourd'hui, ainsi que d'autres au nord des montagnes dans la Tartarie. Il ne semble guère avoir connu les véritables Hindous.

Les modernes, en suivant l'exemple des anciens, ont considéré la presqu'île au de-là du Gange comme une portion de l'Inde. Ils ont, par conséquent, compris sous le nom d'Indiens les habitans d'Ava, de Pégou, de Siam, lesquels n'ont rien de commun avec les Hindous. En général, les Grecs étendaient le nom de l'Inde jusqu'à l'extrémité orientale de l'Asie.

Tout le monde sait par quelle singulière méprise Christophe Colomb fut conduit à donner aux indigènes de l'Amérique, et des îles adjacentes, le nom d'Indiens. L'erreur fut bientôt reconnue, mais l'usage s'est maintenu jusqu'à nos jours.

Nous excluons du nom de Hindous tous les peuples qui n'habitent pas le pays enfermé entre les monts Himâlaya, l'Indus, et l'océan méridional. Mais il s'en faut que tous les habitans de cette vaste contrée doivent être compris sous cette dénomination. Je ne parle pas ici des colons nouvellement arrivés, ni des intrus, tels que les Maures, ou marchands Arabes, attirés par le commerce; les Guêbres, qui ont trouvé dans le Guzerate un refuge contre les persécutions religieuses éprouvées dans leur patrie; les Patanes ou Afghanes, les Mongoles, et les Persans, venus à la suite des conquérans; enfin, les descendans des Portugais, soit de sang pur, soit métis. Il est constaté aujourd'hui qu'il existe dans l'Inde des peuplades totalement distinctes par la race des Hindous, et, en toute apparence, plus anciennement indigènes que ceux-ci mêmes.

Chapitre II. — *Anciennes Migrations des Peuples.*

La question de l'origine d'une nation peut être prise dans le sens géographique, ou dans le sens généalogique; et la solution, pour être complette, doit embrasser les deux points de vue.

Sous le premier rapport l'on demande, d'où sont venus les ancêtres de la nation dont il s'agit? Quel pays ont-ils habité auparavant? par quel chemin sont-ils arrivés, par terre, ou par mer? et à quelle époque cette migration a-t-elle eu lieu?

On sera naturellement porté à s'adresser d'abord à la tradition populaire; mais il se pourrait bien que les investigateurs de ce côté n'obtinssent point de réponse du tout, ou des réponses fausses. Un peuple illettré, n'ayant pas l'usage de l'écriture, devenu sédentaire après une longue et pénible migration,

peut facilement dans quelques siècles en perdre le souvenir; ou s'il en reste quelques traces, il ne saura pas indiquer avec précision le point de départ, puisqu'il faudrait pour cela posséder une connaissance générale de la forme des continents et des mers. Des peuples encore sauvages ont souvent émigré, poussés par la nécessité, soit pour éviter un voisin plus puissant qu'eux, soit pour trouver un sol moins stérile et une nourriture plus abondante. C'est tout au plus, s'ils savaient s'orienter à peu près selon les quatre points cardinaux; ils se sont laissé guider par le hazard, en tournant les difficultés inattendues qu'ils rencontraient dans leur marche, et ils n'ont su mesurer les distances que par leur fatigue et la durée du voyage.

Il se peut donc que les peuples ayent été de bonne foi quand ils répondaient aux étrangers qui les questionnaient sur ce point: Nos ancêtres ne sont pas venus d'ailleurs; ils ont de tout temps habité ce pays; ils y sont nés. Mais ils peuvent avoir cru aussi qu'une possession immémoriale garantissait mieux leur droit à la propriété exclusive du sol, que l'aveu d'une conquête. Les historiens et les philosophes Grecs ne faisaient aucune difficulté d'admettre de pareilles prétensions: ils appelaient cela des *Autochthones.* Il leur paraissait tout simple, que le même développement des forces naturelles eût produit des hommes primitifs dans un grand nombre de pays. Nous ne pourrons pas aussi facilement acquiescer à cette hypothèse, ni consentir à multiplier arbitrairement les Autochthones. Car en laissant de côté le dogme, lequel ne doit jamais exercer la moindre influence sur une recherche purement historique, il est contraire aux maximes d'une saine logique d'admettre sans nécessité absolue un fait qui sort entièrement de la constitution actuelle de la nature.

D'ailleurs, nous connaissons une foule d'exemples de migrations plus étonnantes que celles qu'on avait réputées fabuleuses, et qui, néanmoins, sont bien constatées. Quoique les navigateurs et les voyageurs de l'ancien monde, aussi bien que les modernes, ayent trouvé presque toutes les terres, tant soit peu habitables, déjà occupées par une population plus ou moins clair-semée, nous avons tout lieu de croire qu'à une époque inconnue les différentes parties du globe ont été successivement peuplées par des colons venus de quelques contrées centrales. Nous avons, enfin, un moyen de retracer l'origine des nations, et de les ramener à une souche commune, qui manquait totalement aux anciens, et dont je parlerai bientôt plus en détail: c'est l'analyse comparée des langues.

Tacite, ce grand historien et mauvais antiquaire, en appliquant la même méthode que nous suivons, parle assez raisonnablement de la première population de la Grande Bretagne. Il en dérive les divers élémens de colons venus des Gaules, de l'Espagne, et de la Germanie.[1] Mais il considère, par des raisons bien futiles, les Germains comme des Autochthones.[2] Nous ne saurions douter que leurs ancêtres ne soyent venus de l'Asie; et nous trouverons de puissans argumens à l'appui de cette supposition, même dans nos recherches sur l'Inde.

De même que le souvenir de migrations réelles a souvent été oblitéré, quelquefois aussi on a mis en avant des migrations imaginaires, et les peuples auxquels on les attribuait y ont ajouté foi, lorsque la fiction flattait leur orgueil national par une parenté illustre. C'est ainsi que les Grecs ont forgé aux Romains leur origine Troyenne, laquelle, sous les premiers Césars, devint un article de foi politique. Pour rivaliser avec les Romains, on a fait conduire les Francs sur les rives du Rhin par Franco, fils de Priam. D'autres peuples Germaniques furent dérivés de Macédoniens, compagnons d'Alexandre le Grand; les Bavarois étaient venus de l'Armenie, &c. &c. Les conquérans de l'empire occidental étaient trop ignorans pour inventer de pareilles absurdités: ce sont les moines, leurs premiers historiens, qui les ont imaginées. Néanmoins, ces origines, prises au hazard dans l'histoire ancienne, ainsi que celles qui se rattachent à la table des descendans de Noé, ont eu cours pendant tout le moyen age; il n'y a pas long temps que la critique les a bannies pour toujours du domaine de l'histoire.

Quelquefois une migration est incontestable, mais il peut y avoir de l'ambiguité dans la direction qu'elle a prise. Les antiquaires Scandinaves ont généralement fait venir de leur pays tous les Goths qui ont conquis des provinces Romaines, en s'appuyant d'une tradition obscure et fabuleuse, rap-

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[1] Julii Agricolæ Vita, cap. xi.

[2] De Moribus Germanorum, cap. ii. " Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos: quia nec terra olim, sed classibus advehebantur, qui mutare sedes quærebant; et immensus ultra, utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia, aut Africa, aut Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret—informem terris, asperam cœlo, tristem cultu adspectuque—nisi si patria sit?"

portée par Jornandès. Aujourd'hui il est à peu près avéré, de l'aveu même de quelques savans Suédois,[3] que les ancêtres des Goths conquérans n'ont jamais habité la Scandinavie, et qu'au contraire une portion des Goths, vers la même époque où la masse de leur nation se porta vers l'occident et le midi, a passé la mer Baltique, et s'est établie en Suède. Tacite, qui écrivait un siècle après le commencement de l'ère Chrétienne, ne connaît point de Goths en Scandinavie, mais seulement des *Svions*, dont le nom est identique avec celui que les Suédois se donnent encore aujourd'hui.

Puisqu'une migration qui se rapporte à des temps comparativement modernes, et qui s'est faite, pour ainsi dire, dans notre voisinage, est enveloppée de tant d'obscurité, on ne sera pas étonné qu'il faille se contenter de probabilités, quand il s'agit de définir la mère-patrie d'une nation située à l'extrémité de l'horizon du monde connu aux anciens; d'une nation que les premières lueurs historiques, auxquelles nous puissions atteindre, nous présentent déjà comme parvenue à un haut dégré de civilisation.

CHAPITRE III.—*Examen de la Tradition Nationale des Hindous.*

Si nous consultons maintenant la tradition des Hindous, consignée dans les anciens livres Sanscrits, nous voyons qu'elle désigne la contrée située sur les deux rives du Gange comme le berceau de leur nation. C'est là la terre sainte que le Dieu créateur, selon eux, assigna au peuple élu, aux patriarches duquel il révéla le vrai culte. Si nous voulions donc nous exprimer à la manière des anciens, il faudrait dire que les Indiens prétendent être des Autochthones. Nous verrons bientôt des raisons décisives pour ne pas ajouter foi à cette assertion. Toutefois il pourrait y avoir cela de vrai, que les Hindous n'ont pris ce caractère particulier qui les distingue de toutes les autres nations, qu'après s'être établis dans le pays indiqué; que c'est là que se sont developpées les idées religieuses qui ont déterminé leurs mœurs, leur ordre social, et toute leur culture intellectuelle. Si nous demandons ensuite, de quel côté sont venus les colons de race Hindoue qui ont graduellement

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[3] Voyez la dissertation judicieuse de M. Gräberg de Hemso, écrite en Italien, et intitulée, "Su la Falsità dell' Origine Scandinava data ai Popoli detti Barbari chi distrussero l' Impero di Roma." Pisa, 1815.

peuplé cette vaste contrée, les mêmes traditions, d'accord sur un point important, nous fournissent quelques lumières. Le nord de l'Inde est constamment désigné comme le siège primitif du culte Brahmanique. " Le pays situé entre les chaînes des montagnes Himâlaya et Vindhia," dit la loi de Manou, " depuis l'océan oriental jusqu'à l'océan occidental, est appelé par les sages *Arya-âvarta*;" c'est à dire, la demeure des hommes respectables. ARYA, *honestus*, est le nom propre des Hindous, ou, si l'on veut, un titre d'honneur qu'ils se sont donné en opposition avec les *Mlêchhas*, c'est à dire les barbares. Sous cette dernière dénomination sont compris tous les peuples qui n'observent pas la loi Brahmanique. L'orgueil national inspira aux anciens Grecs la même division inégale du genre humain en Hellènes et en barbares. Les Egyptiens de leur côté declaraient que les Grecs étaient impurs, parcequ'ils n'observaient pas les mêmes règles qu'eux en fait de nourriture; et la façon de penser des Hindous est fondée sur le même principe.

La définition que je viens de citer, exclut positivement le Décan et la Péninsule; assez exacte dans le reste, elle laisse quelque vague du côté de l'occident, puisque les monts Himâlaya, en se terminant au nord de Cashmir, sont séparés de la côte de l'océan occidental par le cours de l'Indus, dans toute sa longueur. Mais d'autres données nous font voir assez clairement, qu'il faut étendre Arya-âvarta jusqu'à la rive gauche de ce fleuve.

Le même texte donne les subdivisions suivantes. Le pays situé à l'orient de la perte du fleuve Sarasvati, et à l'occident du confluent du Gange et du Yamouna (*Jumna*), est la *contrée du milieu*. L'espace compris entre le Sarasvati et le Drishadvati est le siège de Brahma, ou, ce qui revient au même, de la révélation. Je n'ai pas pu découvrir quel est ce dernier fleuve. Le pays limitrophe de celui-ci au nord est le séjour des sages qui ont cultivé la théologie; il comprend plusieurs états, entre autres la terre des Courous, la scène principale du Mahâ-Bhârata, aux environs de Delhi. Toute autorité en matière de religion et de culte dérive de ces deux pays-là. Le législateur semble accorder plus de latitude à la contrée adaptée aux sacrifices: elle s'étend aussi loin que l'antilope noir erre librement dans les forêts. Il appartient aux naturalistes de définir les limites entre lesquelles se trouve cette espèce sauvage.

Manou, cet antique législateur, est considéré en même temps comme le père du genre humain, dont plusieurs noms (*manuja, mânava, manushya*) sont des patronymiques, dérivés du sien. D'après la tradition, il doit avoir

vécu au centre du pays défini dans le code qui porte son nom. Le Râmâyana lui attribue expressément la fondation de la ville d'Ayôdhya, aujourd'hui Oude, située au nord du Gange, sur les rives du Sarayou, vulgairement appelé Goggrah. Le même poème donne une généalogie des anciens rois de ce pays ; il place Icshvâcou, fils de Manou, à la tête de la dynastie dont était issu le héros Râma. De Manou la généalogie remonte par l'intermédiaire de trois patriarches, êtres allégoriques, au dieu créateur Brahmâ, qui lui même est la première manifestation de l'être invisible et infini.

Ainsi la tradition nie bien décidément toute migration antérieure : elle déclare la possession du pays depuis le commencement du genre humain.

Pour développer avec quelque probabilité notre supposition contraire, il faut jeter un coup d'œil sur la position géographique de l'Inde. Cette vaste et belle contrée présente la forme d'un rhomboïde, ou d'une losange irrégulière. Aux deux extrémités du long diamètre sont, au nord le Cashmir, au midi le cap Comorin. L'embouchure de l'Indus, et le delta du Gange, confondu avec celui du Megna, ou plutôt le fond du Golfe de Bengale, forment les deux angles latéraux. Les faces tournées vers le sud-est et le sud-ouest sont entourées de l'océan méridional. Au nord-est ce sont les monts Himâlaya qui marquent la limite ; au nord-ouest c'est l'Indus.

De notre temps on s'est beaucoup appuyé en politique sur la théorie des frontières naturelles : on a été jusqu'à faire valoir comme un motif juste et raisonnable de faire la guerre, le besoin qu'un état éprouverait de se compléter, d'arriver à une démarcation prétendue immuable, et à je ne sais quelle intégrité idéale. La vraie circonscription naturelle, c'est l'homogénéité nationale qui se manifeste par la langue, les mœurs, et le caractère. Cette conformité se maintient malgré la division d'une même nation entre plusieurs états. Là où elle n'existe pas, elle n'est pas facilement produite par la conquête et l'action d'un pouvoir central, à moins que d'autres causes morales et intellectuelles, telles que la religion et la littérature, n'y joignent leur influence. Des mers d'une grand étendue, des chaînes de hautes montagnes, séparent en effet les nations ; les grands fleuves peuvent servir de barrière militaire, surtout dans un état encore imparfait de l'art de la guerre. Mais, en général, les fleuves sont un moyen de communication entre les peuples riverains à droite et à gauche ; et il faut de la violence de la part du gouvernement, des douanes, des prohibitions, pour mettre obstacle à ces relations habituelles.

En accordant, toutefois, une certaine réalité à l'idée des frontières natu-

relles, l'on ne saurait disconvenir que les limites de l'Inde ne soyent fortement tracées par la main de la nature, de manière à la separer entièrement du grand continent de l'Asie. C'est un pays à part, prédestiné au développement original d'une nationalité individuelle, qui en effet distingue les Hindous de tous les autres peuples du globe, *toto divisos orbe.* En même temps la vaste étendue de ce pays, et ses subdivisions naturelles, contrariaient la formation d'un seul grand empire, et favorisaient la division d'un même peuple en plusieurs états, et un système de politique intérieure.

La mer qui baigne les deux côtes méridionales, n'est point parsemée d'îles propres à faciliter le passage à un autre continent, comme la mer Égée entre l'Asie Mineure et la Grèce. L'île de Ceylan n'y fait pas exception: elle n'est séparée de la pointe de la péninsule que par un détroit dont un récif d'écueils à fleur d'eau occupe presque toute la largeur, et semble prouver son ancienne cohésion avec le continent. Au nord les Himâlaya, les plus hautes montagnes de la terre jusqu'ici connues, opposent une barrière insurmontable à la marche d'une armée, et à plus forte raison à la migration de colons pacifiques, qui doivent emmener avec eux leurs femmes et leurs enfans, et leur bétail domestique. Les Alpes ont été rendues practicables: c'est un triomphe de l'art Européen, qui n'a été complettement remporté que dans notre siècle; et cependant les Alpes ne sont qu'une bagatelle en comparaison des Himâlaya. L'escarpement des rochers, la profondeur des précipices, l'impétuosité des torrens, ensuite les neiges et les glaces éternelles, le froid excessif, l'air raréfié qui gêne la respiration à ces immenses hauteurs, devaient décourager les mortels les plus hardis: quand même ils auraient pu deviner que ces rochers stériles et inabordables, ces murailles colossales, dentelées de créneaux d'une blancheur éblouissante, qui bordaient leur horizon au midi, cachaient derrière elles un ciel délicieux et une terre toujours verdoyante.

On n'a qu'à lire la description du passage de M. Moorcroft au lac *Manasarôvara,*[4] et celle des voyages entrepris par des ingénieurs Anglais, pour

[4] C'est ainsi que ce nom s'écrit communément; mais en Sanscrit correct c'est *Mânasa-Sarôvara. Sarôvara,* lac principal, n'est qu'un titre ajouté au nom propre *Mânasa,* spirituel, dérivé de *manas,* μένος, *mens;* parce que Brahmâ doit avoir créé ce lac par la seule pensée. Voyez *Râmâyana,* lib. i. cap. xxvi. 8, 9. Dans ce même passage le poète dit que le fleuve Sarayou (*Goggrah*) en découle. M. Moorcroft n'a pu découvrir aucune issue de ce lac: mais ses recherches étaient incomplettes; et il n'est pas encore bien constaté, que je sache, si cette tradition sur la source du Sarayou est vraie, ou si c'est une erreur de la mythologie géographique.

pénétrer jusqu'aux sources du Gange et du Yamouna, lesquelles sont cependant situées sur le revers méridional des Himâlaya, pour se faire une idée des difficultés. Dans une partie moins élevée de la chaîne, l'industrie commerciale a pratiqué quelques défilés entre le pays de Népal et le Tibet. Le *yak*, ou bœuf grognant, garanti du froid par son épaisse fourrure, et habitué à marcher sur des sentiers rocailleux, est la seule bête de somme qu'on y puisse employer; néanmoins il fait souvent des chutes, et se perd dans les ravins. Vers l'orient les Himâlaya s'abaissent graduellement et se terminent, on ne sait pas au juste où, à une distance considérable du Golfe de Bengale; mais les montagnes sont remplacées par des forêts impénétrables, par d'autres rangées de collines, et par les marais à l'embouchure du Gange et du Megna.

Le côté occidental de l'Inde semble être plus ouvert, puisque dans cette énorme distance du Cashmir au delta de l'Indus, les limites ne sont marquées que par ce fleuve. Mais l'Indus, dans la partie supérieure de son cours, n'est pas navigable, à cause de sa rapidité, et des cataractes qu'il franchit; d'ailleurs sa rive droite est flanquée de montagnes qui sont un embranchement du Paropamisus des anciens. Vers la mer il forme des marais, ou il en est entouré; plus dans l'intérieur, et bien au delà du confluent des cinq fleuves réunis, il est bordé de déserts sablonneux. Jusque là, depuis l'endroit où il commence à traverser la plaine, près d'Attock, il reste un intervalle où le passage offre plus de facilité. Aussi c'est de ce côté que l'Inde de tout temps a été entamée par les conquérans étrangers: par Sémiramis, si son expédition Indienne, rapportée par Ctésias, et jusqu'ici suspecte comme fabuleuse, est authentique, ainsi que je penche à la croire après la découverte des monumens de la ville qui porte le nom de cette reine conquérante dans la Haute Arménie; par Alexandre le Grand, Seleucus, et les rois Grecs de la Bactriane; par les Indo-Scythes, ou peuples nomades qui un siècle avant notre ère envahirent quelques provinces; par Mahmoud le Gaznevide; par les Afghanes, les Mongoles, et les Persans sous Nadir Shah.

Toutes les probabilités se réunissent donc en faveur de la supposition que les ancêtres des Hindous seraient venus du même côté; supposition que nous verrons fortifiée des argumens d'un autre genre. Le Panjab aurait, par conséquent, été le premier pays occupé par les colons. Toutefois, la tradition ne le célèbre point comme une terre classique. Au contraire, dans un

passage du Mahâ-Bhârata que M. Lassen a publié et commenté,[5] ses habitans sont peints comme moins purs et moins corrects dans leurs usages que les vrais Aryas, étant peut-être corrompus par le voisinage des barbares. Cela porte à croire que, seulement après que les colons se fussent répandus dans les plaines du Gange, leur culte, et l'ordre social qui en dépend, aura pris une forme permanente. C'est là que la plus ancienne tradition s'arrête et se fixe, comme on a pu le voir par les sentences de Manou citées plus haut. J'y ajouterai un autre trait puisé dans la mythologie. Les Hindous sont reconnaissans envers la nature, et très-sensibles à la beauté de ses phénomènes même sauvages, tels que les cataractes, les glaciers, les volcans. Ils ont donc voué avec raison une grande vénération à ce fleuve majestueux, qui baigne les murs de leurs villes, porte leurs vaisseaux, et fertilise leurs campagnes par ses inondations régulières. Mais la superstition attribue à ses eaux des vertus plus mystérieuses: on l'employe de préférence dans toutes les cérémonies. De pieux pélerins vont visiter sa source à Gangôtri, ou, s'ils ne peuvent achever ce voyage aventureux, ses débouchés inférieurs de la région montueuse, son confluent avec le Yamouna et autres fleuves: ils en rapportent une cruche remplie d'eau, comme un trésor précieux. Une libation de ses ondes sacrées rejouit les Mânes; une ablution purifie les vivans de toute souillure; même ceux que ses tourbillons engloutissent, sont estimés heureux, parce que leur ame sanctifiée monte tout droit au ciel. La nymphe du Gange, la déesse *Ganga*, est la fille ainée du roi des montagnes, c'est à dire du Himavat ou Himâlaya; l'épouse de Siva, l'héroïque Dourga, est sa sœur. C'est un fleuve céleste, qui n'est descendu sur la terre et même jusqu'aux enfers, que par une suite de miracles, dont Vâlmîki a fait un récit ravissant. Le Sindhus, au contraire, le plus grand fleuve de l'Inde après le Gange, roule des flots obscurs à travers des contrées à demi-barbares. Il n'a point de parenté dans le ciel d'Indra; aucun pélerin ne le visite; aucun poète ne l'a chanté.[6]

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[5] Lassen de Pentapotamia Indica. Bonnæ, 1827.

[6] Si l'on avait eu plutôt connaissance de cette généalogie qui, au fond, n'est que l'énoncé poetique d'un fait naturel, on aurait pu s'épargner cette erreur géographique, qui s'est si longtemps maintenue sur toutes nos cartes, où l'on voit le Gange venir du fond du Tibet, et après un long circuit se frayer le chemin à travers une gorge imaginaire du Himâlaya.

Nous avons examiné jusqu'ici l'origine des Hindous sous le rapport géographique. Sans nous hasarder à determiner le pays dont leurs ancêtres sont partis, nous avons tâché de faire admettre comme probable, qu'ils sont entrés par le Panjab; que de là ils ont continué leur migration vers le sud-est, et qu'ils ont occupé le plus anciennement le bassin du Gange et de ses fleuves tributaires entre les monts Himâlaya et Vindhya, avant de se répandre vers le midi.

CHAPITRE IV. — *Diversité des Races Humaines.*

Je passe maintenant au côté généalogique de la question. Il consiste à demander: à quelle race d'hommes appartient la nation dont il s'agit? et à quelle famille de peuples?

Les races se reconnaissent à des caractères physiologiques, universels, ou du moins prédominans chez une masse d'hommes, et tellement constants, qu'ils se transmettent d'une génération à l'autre; les familles de peuples se reconnaissent à l'analogie des langues, qui prouve une communauté d'origine. Une seule race peut contenir plusieurs familles de peuples; mais il est impossible que les membres d'une même famille appartiennent à des races différentes.

La question concernant les races, de savoir si leur diversité est originaire, ou si ces variétés dans l'éspèce sont nées de l'influence du climat, a été agitée bien des fois dans le siècle passé et jusqu'à nos jours, non seulement avec vivacité, mais avec acrimonie; parceque, de part et d'autre, des arrière-pensées se mêlaient à cette dispute. On attaquait et l'on défendait au fond autre chose que ce qui semblait être l'objet immédiat de l'attaque et de la défense. Des thèses hazardées et fondées sur des observations superficielles, furent repoussées par un genre d'autorités, qui ne sauraient être admises dans une recherche purement physiologique et historique. Dans la chaleur de la dispute les antagonistes de l'unité ont été jusqu'à soutenir que les hommes blancs, les nègres, et les indigènes de l'Amerique, sont des espèces différentes, ce qui est contraire à tous les principes de la zoologie.

L'Europe moderne peut se vanter de posséder pour la première fois une connaissance qui a manqué à l'antiquité savante et éclairée, qui manque encore aujourd'hui aux nations les plus civilisées des autres parties du monde,

à moins qu'elles n'ayent reçu des communications Européennes ; je veux dire, la connaissance complette du globe terrestre et de ses habitans.

Cette connaissance, et le grand perfectionnement des sciences exactes et naturelles, caractérisent l'Europe moderne, et forment la base de sa supériorité. Dans tout le reste elle a eu des devanciers, et il a fallu qu'elle se contentât de rivaliser plus ou moins heureusement avec les Grecs et les Romains, dont elle a hérité les richesses intellectuelles.

Les anciens savaient, comme nous, que la terre est un globe, planant dans le vuide ; les astronomes d'Alexandrie, avec des instrumens très imparfaits, entreprirent d'en mesurer la circonférence. Mais le monde habitable à eux connu était extrêmement circonscrit. Il ne s'est guère écoulé plus de trois siècles, depuis que cet horizon si étroit a été graduellement élargi, d'abord par la navigation autour de l'Afrique et le passage maritime à l'Inde ; ensuite par la découverte d'un nouveau continent au delà de l'océan Atlantique, et d'un autre océan plus vaste entre l'Asie et l'Amérique. L'entreprise, jadis regardée comme impossible, de mesurer la circonférence du globe à force de voiles, de revenir au point de départ sans jamais rebrousser chemin, a été exécutée tant de fois avec succès, qu'un tour du monde n'est plus qu'un évènement ordinaire, qui excite à peine la curiosité de quelques amateurs. Les mers ont été parcourues dans toutes les directions et dans toutes les zones, jusque fort avant dans les régions glaciales. L'étendue et la configuration des grands continens, ainsi que la situation des îles, sont connues et déterminées par les moyens scientifiques que nous fournissent l'astronomie, la géométrie, et les instrumens perfectionnés. Les découvertes importantes sont épuisées ; une petite île inhabitée dans l'Océan Pacifique, qui aurait échappé à la vigilance de tant de croiseurs précédens, est une trouvaille pour un navigateur.

L'on peut affirmer que le contour est en général correct et même précis, à l'exception de quelque vague qui reste aux extrémités. Mais pour ombrer ce dessin et le colorier au naturel dans toutes ses parties, il reste encore une infinité de recherches à faire, principalement dans l'intérieur des grands continens, par rapport soit à la géographie, soit à l'ethnographie.

Toutefois, en joignant aux connaissances positives les inductions probables, nos moyens sont suffisans pour entreprendre de passer la revue du genre humain, et de classer systématiquement les populations si fortement contrastées qui occupent le globe.

Assurément, la recherche sur le caractère essentiel et l'origine des races, est une des plus intéressantes qui puissent exercer la sagacité du philosophe, de l'historien, et du naturaliste. Mais la solution en est difficile, d'autant plus qu'elle se complique avec d'autres questions également problématiques, et qui, de même, ont été traitées bien souvent sous l'influence d'une polémique passionnée. Quel était l'état primitif de l'homme? Quelle est la durée passée du genre humain? Depuis son existence, la surface du globe a-t-elle subi de grands changemens, soit par des révolutions subites et violentes, soit par le refroidissement graduel de la température? Voilà des questions auxquelles il faut appliquer l'examen le plus calme et le plus impartial; et après avoir employé à les éclaircir tous les moyens que nos connaissances actuelles nous fournissent, les esprits les plus sages finiront peut-être par douter, et par avouer leur ignorance.

L'école de philosophie dominante dans le dix-huitième siècle, il faut l'avouer, n'avait pas cette circonspection. C'est pourquoi les découvertes importantes en fait de géographie et d'ethnographie, déjà faites de son temps, ne lui ont guère profité. Toute négative qu'était cette école, elle aimait mieux bâtir des systèmes en l'air, que de s'engager dans la carrière laborieuse des observations naturelles, et des études historiques et philologiques. Aussi ce siècle a-t-il vu éclore une foule de théories, sur l'état de la nature, sur l'origine des langues, sur les commencemens et la marche de la civilisation; théories sans base réelle, et qui ne nous avancent pas d'un seul pas, lorsque nous tâchons de pénétrer plus avant dans une antiquité inconnue.

Combien n'a-t-on pas raisonné et déraisonné sur l'influence du climat, non seulement sur le physique de l'homme, mais sur ses qualités intellectuelles et morales, et même sur sa constitution sociale! Et comment caractérisait-on les climats! Le midi et le nord, le froid et le chaud. Voilà une distinction bien grossière pour une chose aussi complexe, aussi nuancée, et souvent aussi indéfinissable. Si l'on entend par climat l'ensemble de toutes les causes matérielles qui affectent directement ou indirectement les habitans d'un pays, il faudra convenir qu'elles peuvent produire des modifications très-sensibles sur leur tempérament et leur constitution corporelle. Mais il s'agit de constater, si ces causes sont suffisantes pour effacer le caractère distinctif d'une race, et pour y substituer un caractère différent.

Toutes les expériences qui ont été faites sur des colons transplantés en des climats fortement contrastés avec celui de la mère-patrie, semblent

décider cette question dans la négative. Les créoles Européens, dans toutes les parties du monde, ont conservé leur physionomie nationale. Dans la zone torride, leur teint s'est bruni: voilà tout, à moins qu'il n'y ait eu mêlange de sang et croisement des races. Il est un genre d'expériences d'une date bien plus ancienne en faveur de la même conclusion: c'est le voisinage de peuples de races différentes, depuis des temps immémoriaux, où cependant la ligne de démarcation n'en est pas moins restée tranchée. Les Lapons sont voisins des Suédois; il est probable que leurs ancêtres ont anciennement habité plus vers le midi, et qu'ils ont occupé, si non la Scandinavie entière, au moins une grande partie. Les colons de race Germanique, plus courageux et plus robustes que ce peuple faible et inoffensif, l'ont constamment repoussé vers les régions glaciales. Si les Lapons sont devenus ce qu'ils sont par l'effet du climat, les Suédois, en empiétant sur leur territoire, auraient risqué de se transformer en Lapons, ce qui pourtant n'est point arrivé.

En général, les défenseurs de l'unité généalogique prise à la lettre, par le même motif et dans le même système d'opinions, n'ont accordé au genre humain qu'une très-courte durée dans le passé. Ils ont rendu par là leur thèse plus difficile à soutenir. Car il est naturel de présumer, qu'il a fallu l'action des mêmes causes physiques, accumulée pendant des milliers d'années, pour produire un caractère de race tellement permanent, que quelques siècles passés sous des influences contraires n'y ont opéré aucun changement, ou l'ont, tout au plus, légèrement effleuré. La force de cette objection serait cependant affaiblie, si l'on pouvait admettre la comparaison entre le genre humain et un individu, et entre les ages du monde et ceux de la vie humaine. L'enfance est flexible en tout sens; l'homme adulte ne change plus. Ainsi la divergence des races aurait pu s'éffectuer rapidement dans les premiers temps, quoiqu'elle soit devenue, plus tard, un caractère indélébile.

Il me paraîtrait hors de propos de traiter ici à fond cette controverse. Sans rien préjuger, j'ai seulement voulu définir les points principaux sur lesquels elle roule, et en donner une notice littéraire.

Pour la question qui nous occupe, il suffit que les races soyent aussi anciennes que l'histoire, et cela est incontestable. Les témoignages les plus anciens nous décrivent l'Afrique intérieure comme le pays des hommes noirs. Sur des monumens Egyptiens, qui datent de quinze cents ou de deux mille ans avant notre ère, on voit des portraits de nègres, parfaitement ressemblans

à ceux d'aujourd'hui. Les Egyptiens y sont fortement contrastés avec cette race étrangère, soit par la couleur, soit par la taille, et surtout par le profil des têtes. Ils sont peints en rouge; mais il ne s'ensuit pas qu'ils ayent appartenu à une race cuivrée. Il ne faut pas oublier que leur peinture était monochrome, et ne pouvait exprimer autrement la carnation rembrunie par l'effet d'un ciel brûlant. Sur ces mêmes monumens les nations Asiatiques, vaincues par Sésostris, sont très-distinctement caractérisées. Il en est de même des figures sculptées sur les ruines de Persépolis, qui se rapportent à une époque moins ancienne. Lisez la description des Huns dans l'histoire de Jornandès : c'est un portrait vivant des Calmouques.

CHAPITRE V. — *Caractère Physiologique des Hindous.*

Platon affirme que, depuis dix mille ans, (mais glissons sur la chronologie, et disons, depuis des temps immémoriaux), les Egyptiens avaient figuré leurs dieux d'après le même type, et que leurs prêtres n'en permettaient pas la moindre altération. Si les Brahmanes ont suivi le même principe, comme il y a tout lieu de croire, nous pouvous espérer de retracer la physionomie Hindoue à une époque fort ancienne. Quelques écrivains ont révoqué en doute, à tort ce me semble, la haute antiquité de ces rochers façonnés en temples, de ces montagnes creusées, de tous ces merveilleux monumens d'architecture dans l'Inde, dont la plupart n'ont attiré l'attention des voyageurs que depuis peu. Mais sous le point de vue dont nous les envisageons, la date inconnue de leur construction devient à peu près indifférente; car les sculptures qui s'y trouvent attachées, seront en tout cas des imitations de sculptures plus anciennes. Il n'importe guère non plus qu'elles représentent des sujets mythologiques ou historiques, puisque l'on sait que les nations ont généralement formé les dieux à leur image. Seulement dans l'enfance de l'art, où le type a été fixé, les artistes ont cru atteindre à l'idéal, en exagérant les traits qui passaient pour des beautés. Les petites idoles en bronze, destinées au culte domestique, sont, à leur tour, des copies réduites des statues adorées dans les temples. L'on peut donc, dans des ouvrages modernes de l'art, contempler l'ancien type de la physionomie nationale. Je parle toujours des idoles provenant de l'Inde proprement dite. Dans l'île de Java les divinités Brahmaniques, par complaisance pour leur nouveaux

adorateurs, ont souvent adopté la physionomie Malaye, comme le prouve la collection très-curieuse d'originaux, rapportée par feu Sir Stamford Raffles. Les idoles de l'Asie centrale, où tant de sujets mythologiques originairement Indiens ont été introduits par les Bouddhistes, sont devenues Mongoles, et horriblement enlaidies.

Les peintres Hindous imitent la nature avec tant de fidélité, et même avec une naïveté si spirituelle et si pleine d'expression, qu'on peut très-bien, moyennant leurs portraits, se former une idée juste de la physionomie nationale, sans avoir été dans le pays; et cette physionomie est la même que l'on reconnaît déjà dans les plus anciens ouvrages de l'art. Le visage d'une forme ovale, le front élevé et dominant les parties inférieures; les pommettes des joues effacées; les yeux placés horizontalement, grands, quoique voilés par d'épaisses paupières, et surtout bien fendus; un nez saillant et souvent aquilin, dont l'arête est bien marquée, les aîles rapprochées et s'élargissant peu, l'ouverture des narines tournée vers en bas; les deux rangées de dents placées verticalement l'une au dessus de l'autre; la bouche petite, délicatement tracée, et bordée de lèvres modiquement gonflées; le menton arrondi; enfin, des cheveux noirs, longs, soyeux, et ondoyans, mais non crépus; chez les hommes à l'age viril, une barbe touffue qui, si elle n'est pas coupée, pousse jusqu'à une grande longueur; ajoutez à cela une taille svelte, surtout chez les femmes, une belle proportion entre la hauteur des jambes et des cuisses, et la partie du corps comprise entre les épaules et les hanches; des mains et des pieds d'une élégance remarquable: tels sont les traits qui rangent les Hindous incontestablement dans la race d'hommes à laquelle appartiennent les Persans, les Arabes, les habitans de l'Asie antérieure, et de l'Europe; tels sont les traits qui, d'autre part, les séparent de leurs voisins vers le nord, l'orient, et le midi; des Tibétains, des Mongoles, des Pégouans, des Siamois, et des Chinois, enfin, des Malais et des autres tribus qui peuplent l'Archipel Indien et l'Océanique.

Ceux qui n'ont pas fait une étude particulière de ces matières, objecteront peut-être que, de cette manière, les Hindous seraient classés dans la race blanche, tandis qu'ils sont noirs. En effet, ce sont des locutions populaires et familièrement employées: les sujets noirs de S. M. Britannique à Calcutta; et à Madras la ville noire, c'est-à-dire le quartier habité exclusivement par les indigènes. Mais, à parler exactement, les Hindous ne sont pas noirs comme les nègres; ils sont seulement très-basanés; et cette teinte foncée

varie beaucoup selon les provinces qu'ils habitent, le genre de vie qu'ils mènent, les classes sociales, et les sexes. On a remarqué que les Brahmanes du Malabar, d'un des pays les plus chauds de l'Inde, ont conservé une teinte fort claire. Dans la partie septentrionale les femmes d'un rang supérieur, qui ne sont jamais halées par le soleil, brillent même, si l'on peut s'en fier aux portraits, d'un bel incarnat, et ne sont pas plus brunettes que les beautés de l'Europe méridionale. En général, la couleur de la race blanche, qu'il faudrait plutôt, pour s'exprimer avec exactitude, appeler la race à peau transparente, est infiniment plus sujette à se modifier, tant par l'effet d'une chaleur passagère que par l'action constante du climat, que ne l'est la couleur des autres races, noire, cuivrée, jaune, et brune ou olivâtre. D'ailleurs, la couleur est un caractère trop superficiel pour servir à classifier les races. Ce n'est que la dernière ramification des phénomènes produits par la diversité de l'organisation intérieure. Vainement un philosophe célèbre, *Kant*, a-t-il essayé de faire de la couleur le caractère essentiel, et de ramener les races, classées d'après ce principe, *à priori* à l'unité primitive. Il a été réfuté victorieusement par *George Forster*, le jeune compagnon de Cook dans son second voyage autour du monde. C'est *Blumenbach*, le Nestor de nos naturalistes, qui a fait les recherches les plus profondes et les plus scientifiques sur ces variétés dans l'espèce humaine, et qui, en même temps, a mis le plus de circonspection dans l'énoncé des résultats. Blumenbach prend avec raison pour base de la distinction des races, la structure et les dimensions du crâne, et son agencement aux vertèbres du cou. Car il est évident que la forme du crâne même, qui ne se durcit que graduellement dans l'embryon et l'enfant nouveau né, est déterminée par le développement du cerveau, de cet organe matériel de la pensée ; ensuite la partie osseuse de la tête détermine, à son tour, la figure, la position, et les proportions des parties charnues. Or le visage est le siège visible de l'humanité : c'est là où l'activité de toutes les facultés intellectuelles trouve une expression. C'est, comme Cicéron l'a si bien remarqué, le caractère distinctif de l'homme, et qui, même dans son apparence extérieure, le place à une distance infinie de toutes les espèces animales. Blumenbach a formé le premier une riche collection de crânes, provenant de toutes les parties du globe et d'un grand nombre de nations. En combinant la forme du crâne avec les autres différences physiologiques, il divise le genre humain en cinq races principales. Il range les Hindous dans celle que j'ai désignée auparavant, et qu'il appelle la Race Caucasienne ; tant à cause de la position

centrale de cette chaîne de montagnes, que parce que sur son revers méridional, en Géorgie et en Circassie, le type de la race se trouve dans une rare perfection. La dénomination pourrait paraître arbitraire ; mais peu importe, pourvu que la classification soit juste.

La décision du grand naturaliste est pleinement confirmée par le résultat des recherches sur l'affiliation des langues, dont je parlerai bientôt.

Mais ici s'élève une nouvelle question : les Hindous sont-ils de race pure ou mixte ? On a contesté, en effet, aux anciens Hindous la pureté de leur sang dont ils sont si fiers ; on a étayé cette thèse par la division en castes, et par la condition servile où se trouve la dernière des quatre, celle des *Soudras*. Une telle dégradation de la grande masse du peuple, disait-on, n'a pu s'introduire qu'à la suite d'une conquête. Les deux ou même les trois castes supérieures seraient donc, dans cette supposition, la postérité des conquérans ; et les deux castes inférieures, où la quatrième seulement, seraient les descendans du people subjugué. Cependant l'histoire nous offre en foule des exemples d'inégalités tout aussi choquantes, et qui néanmoins se sont introduites par des changemens graduels et intérieurs dans l'ordre social, sans bouleversement subit et violent. En Europe le servage, l'état du laboureur attaché à la glebe, a existé pendant le moyen age, non seulement dans les provinces anciennement Romaines, où l'on pourrait le rapporter à la conquête, mais dans des pays dont la population est incontestablement homogène. C'est la nature qu'il faut accuser en premier lieu de l'inégalité parmi les hommes, puisque les individus naissent très-inégalement doués de facultés physiques et morales. Dans la formation de la société des hommes intelligens, courageux, actifs, persévérans, ont obtenu des avantages, parce qu'ils se rendaient utiles ou même nécessaires à leurs concitoyens ; ils ont ensuite usurpé des priviléges ; leurs descendans, placés dans une situation avantageuse, n'ont plus eu besoin de la même énergie pour s'y maintenir ; et la classe opprimée a fini par se résigner à sa situation, comme à un arrêt de la destinée, surtout lorsque quelque opinion religieuse s'y joignait. Cela suffit pour faire concevoir comment la division par castes, et la dégradation de la dernière, a pu naître au sein d'une même nation. Mais la nature de la langue Sanscrite, et son ancienne universalité dans tout le nord de l'Inde, fournit une preuve positive de la pureté du sang Hindou.

CHAPITRE VI.—*Sauvages Indigènes de l'Inde.*

Quoique, par les raisons que je viens de développer, nous ne saurions admettre que la nation des Hindous se soit formée par la fusion de deux peuples, appartenant à des familles, et peut-être à des races différentes, d'un peuple conquérant et d'un peuple subjugué ; il paraît que leurs ancêtres n'ont pas été les premiers occupans du pays ; qu'ils y ont déjà trouvé des habitans plus anciennement indigènes. Il exist encore aujourd'hui, dans l'Inde septentrionale, dans quelques districts montueux où la nature oppose de grands obstacles au défrichement et à la culture des terres, des tribus de chasseurs sauvages. Sans culte régulier, n'ayant pour toute religion que quelques superstitions confuses, ne reconnaissant nullement la loi Brahmanique, ils vivent du produit de la chasse, ou de racines et de fruits sauvages ; ils mangent même les viandes les plus impures. Presque nus, mais armés de flèches, de lances, et de massues, ils sortent de temps en temps de leurs repaires inaccessibles, et commettent des déprédations chez leurs voisins dans la plaine. Pour acheter la sécurité, les Anglais, tout puissans qu'ils sont, ont quelquefois consenti à payer des petites pensions à leurs chefs, ce qui cependant est un tribut déguisé sous un autre nom. Le besoin de se procurer certaines denrées qui leur manquent, par exemple du sel, a pu seul engager ces sauvages à faire un petit trafic d'échange. Ces premiers rudimens de la civilisation leur auront été communiqués par des aventuriers Hindous, expulsés de leur caste. Tels sont les Bhils dans les provinces de Malva et de Candeish, les Coulies dans le Guzerate, les Gondes en Gundvâna, et les Coukies, au de-là du Gange, dans la chaîne de montagnes qui bordent le district de Chittagong.[7] On trouve des détails sur leurs mœurs et sur leur manière de vivre dans les Recherches Asiatiques, et tant d'autres descriptions de l'Inde dont nous sommes redevables aux observateurs Anglais. Sir John Malcolm a tracé un tableau fort intéressant des Bhils (Bheels). Ces peu-

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[7] Plusieurs de ces tribus semblent avoir porté le même nom depuis nombre de siècles. Hémathandra, auteur du 12e siècle, nomme les Bhils (Bhilla) dans son dictionnaire. Amara-Sinha, lexicographe bien plus ancien, nomme une espèce de sauvages *Poulindas*. Ptolemée les connaît, et leur donne l'épithète ἀγριοφάγοι. Je ne retrouve les Poulindas dans aucune description moderne de l'Inde.

plades appartiennent à une race totalement différente de celle des Hindous. Ils sont noirs en effet, et leur front applati, leur chevelure laineuse, leur nez écrasé, leur figure et leur taille, les caractérisent comme des nègres Asiatiques.

Il n'est aucunement probable que des sauvages mal armés, et comparativement peu nombreux, ayent pu pénétrer jusqu'au centre du pays, après qu'il eut été cultivé, peuplé, et défendu par une nation exercée aux arts de la paix et de la guerre. Il faut donc admettre que les Hindous, en arrivant à une époque inconnue, auront déjà trouvé une population d'indigènes, population faible, sans doute, comme l'est toujours celle des peuples chasseurs, disséminée dans les vastes forêts primitives; qu'ils l'auront repoussée dans les montagnes, ou refoulée vers le midi. Il résulte également de leur existence actuelle, que les colons de race Hindoue n'ont pas fait une guerre d'extermination à des voisins aussi incommodes; qu'ils ne les ont pas non plus convertis par la force, ni reduits en esclavage: deux choses qui, d'ordinaire, se suivent de près. Les tribus restées dans le nord ont fini par être complettement isolées et enclavées dans les états policés. Je ne m'étonne pas que les broussailles stériles et les forêts de Gundva˜na leur ayent offert un refuge; mais il s'en trouve une peuplade qui ne porte pas de nom particulier, sur les montagnes de Rajamahal, dans le district de Boglipore. Des sauvages près des rives du Gange, au centre d'un des pays les plus fertiles, les plus peuplés, et les mieux cultivés de la terre! Voilà un fait bien remarquable.

Beaucoup de faits de l'histoire ancienne et moderne semblent prouver qu'il existe des différences indestructibles dans les dispositions naturelles des races humaines: qu'il y a eu des peuples sages et inventifs, qui se sont humanisés spontanément, ou n'ont jamais été sauvages; d'autres peuples dociles, et capables de se former par l'instruction législative et industrielle que les premiers leur apportaient; et enfin, des peuples qui repoussent tout ordre social mieux réglé comme une gêne insupportable. Le contact de la civilisation semble même leur devenir pernicieux, parce qu'ils n'en saisissent que le mauvais côté. C'est ainsi que les indigènes de l'Amérique septentrionale n'ont rien appris des Européens que l'usage des armes à feu et de l'eau de vie. Constamment refoulés dans l'intérieur, à mesure que les colons défrichent le pays, ils ont déjà fort diminué, et il est à prévoir qu'ils s'éteindront entièrement.

Un témoignage qu'on doit regarder comme historique, quoiqu'il se trouve

dans un poème merveilleux, vient à l'appui de ce que j'ai dit sur l'ancien établissement de ces tribus de chasseurs dans l'Inde. Le Râmâyana place au midi du royaume d'Ayodhya, sur le Gange au dessus de son confluent avec le Yamouna, un roi des chasseurs, des *Nishâdas.* Il est le vassal du roi d'Ayodhya, le gardien de sa frontière, et l'ami du héros Râma. Il reçoit hospitalièrement celui-ci et son frère cadet: mais il ne peut leur offrir que des viandes fraîches et séchées, des fruits et des racines sauvages, " parce que," dit-il expressément, " il n'y a pas d'agriculture dans mon domaine." Ce chef des chasseurs leur sert ensuite de guide à travers les vastes forêts situées vers le midi.

Il est à remarquer que ce terme de *Nishâda,* chasseur, étant injurieux chez les Hindous, est appliqué aussi aux individus réprouvés et expulsés de toutes les castes, et à leurs descendans, dont le nom propre est *Chandâla.* En Europe on les appelle *Parias;* c'est un nom moderne, usité seulement sur la côte du Malabar. Ils ont cela de commun avec les tribus sauvages, qu'ils se nourissent en partie de la chasse, et mangent des viandes impures. Mais le mot Chandâla n'est jamais appliqué aux Nishâdas: il est clair que ceux-ci sont des peuples originairement chasseurs.

Ce même Râmâyana, le plus ancien poème épique en langue Sanscrite, nous fait connaître dans le nord un nombre de royaumes florissans, très-populeux, et parfaitement policés. Au contraire, vers le midi que Râma parcourt dans son exil, jusqu'à l'extrémité de la péninsule, tout est encore inculte. Les forêts impénétrables ne sont peuplées que de tigres, d'ours, d'éléphants, de buffles, de sangliers, d'antilopes, et d'innombrables troupeaux de singes. Par ci par là seulement le héros rencontre les hermitages de quelques pieux anachorètes. Voilà encore des traits historiques. Ces hermites, entourés de leurs disciples, sont des missionnaires; la tradition nomme *Agastya,* qui joue personnellement un rôle dans le Râmâyana, comme celui qui le premier aurait propagé dans le midi la foi et la loi Brahmaniques.

J'ai soutenu que la race Hindoue dans le nord était anciennement restée pure; depuis huit siècles les invasions ont pu amener quelque mélange de sang parmi ceux qui sont devenus Mahométans, car les autres se marient toujours entr'eux; mais cela est peu considérable. J'ai avancé la conjecture, qu'une partie des habitans primitifs aurait été refoulée vers le midi par les colons de race Hindoue. Dans la péninsule on ne trouve point de ces

peuplades enclavées, restées indépendantes et sauvages. Mais, en revanche, une fusion de deux peuples de race différente pourrait bien y avoir eu lieu, à la suite de la conversion et de colonies arrivées du nord. Tout cela se rapporte à des temps fort anciens et antérieurs à l'histoire, puisque les géographes Grecs indiquent déjà des noms Sanscrits sur ces côtes, et même dans l'île de Ceylon.

Je pense que l'examen approfondi des langues modernes, qui se parlent aujourd'hui dans les diverses parties de l'Inde, changera cette hypothèse en certitude. Dans les dialectes populaires du nord, tels que le Bengâli et le Hindoustanique, la langue classique forme la base. Ce sont des mots Sanscrits, peu ou point altérés, qui ont seulement perdu leurs inflexions; les mots étrangers, Persans, Arabes, ou autres, sont proportionnellement en petit nombre. Dans les idiomes du midi c'est le contraire: le fond est essentiellement différent; le mélange de mots Sanscrits s'y est introduit par l'influence du culte et de la littérature. Des travaux de grammaire et de lexicographie ont déjà été faits, principalement par les missionnaires Chrétiens, sur la langue du Carnatic, sur le Telinga, et le Tamoul. Mais les langues des tribus sauvages du nord restent à examiner. Il serait curieux de constater, si elles sont identiques ou non, pour le fond et la forme, avec les idiomes que je viens de nommer; et si, dans le premier cas, la langue-mère commune est répandue au de-là de l'Inde, par exemple, dans le grand Archipel. Ce n'est pas chose facile d'acquérir une connaissance exacte de langues qui n'ont jamais été écrites. On pourra se procurer des vocabulaires; mais la construction est l'essentiel; et pour l'apprendre il faudrait se résoudre à habiter long temps chez ces barbares.

CHAPITRE VII.—*L'Analyse comparée des Langues appliquée à l'Histoire.*

Nous avons défini la race des Hindous: nous avons vu que, quoique placés à l'extrémité de la ligne, ils appartiennent à celle qu'on est en droit d'appeler la plus noble, puisqu'elle s'est illustrée dans l'histoire plus que toutes les autres prises ensemble, par les perfectionnemens de l'ordre social; par les inventions utiles, et les découvertes scientifiques; enfin, par des productions intellectuelles qui portent le sceau du génie, dans la philosophie, la poésie, l'éloquence, et les beaux arts. Nous déterminerons maintenant la

famille de peuples dont ils sont une partie intégrante, en nous laissant guider dans cette recherche par l'étude comparée des langues.

On peut dire que cette étude, traitée méthodiquement, est une science toute de nouvelle création ; et il est à présumer, qu'à cause de cela même, elle n'est pas encore appréciée par tout le monde à sa juste valeur.

L'étymologie est mal fâmée, comme une science futile, arbitraire dans ses procédés, équivoque, incertaine, ou manifestement erronée dans ses résultats, qui, lors même qu'ils seraient certains, ne paraîtraient que des minuties oiseuses.

Je ne disconviens pas que l'analyse comparée des langues ne soit une espèce d'étymologie : néanmoins, j'espère la délivrer de cet opprobre, et lui revendiquer sa dignité.

Il faut que le danger de faire fausse route dans ce labyrinthe soit bien grand, et l'attrait de s'y engager bien puissant ; puisque nous voyons que des hommes savans, et d'un esprit distingué, ont été fort malheureux en fait d'étymologie, et ont mis en avant des hypothèses chimériques et même ridicules. C'est qu'ils n'avaient point le fil d'Ariadne ; qu'ils manquaient de principes qui les dirigeassent dans leur marche ; et qu'ils ne s'étaient pas rendus compte assez clairement de la nature de leur entreprise.

Il y a trois genres d'étymologie bien distincts, quoiqu'ils ayent été souvent confondus mal à propos : l'étymologie grammaticale, historique, et philosophique.

L'étymologie grammaticale explique la dérivation des mots dans le sein de la langue même ; l'étymologie historique dérive une langue moderne d'une ou de plusieurs langues plus anciennes ; l'étymologie philosophique enfin prétend remonter à l'origine absolue des langues, en expliquant leur formation par les lois, d'après lesquelles doit avoir agi la faculté générale du langage, inhérente à la nature humaine.

Je ne m'arrête pas à cette dernière, parce qu'elle n'a rien de commun avec nos recherches actuelles ; et je puis me dispenser de motiver mon scepticisme à l'égard de la possibilité d'une pareille science.

L'étymologie grammaticale est facile et parfaitement démonstrable dans la sphère des analogies ; c'est à dire, lorsqu'il existe des séries des mots, ou du moins quelques uns dérivés d'autres mots de la même langue, d'après la même méthode, et avec la même modification du sens. Elles devient hypothétique lorsque ces analogies disparaissent. Les étymologistes de cette

classe souvent n'ont pas fait cette distinction; en général, ils ont manqué de méthode. Ils devaient d'abord fixer le système dérivatif de la langue qu'ils analysaient: c'est á dire, déterminer les changemens qui s'opèrent dans les élémens d'un mot, afin de le faire passer à une autre catégorie grammaticale; les lettres ou syllabes qui y sont jointes, et la manière dont elles sont agencées. Or les grammariens Grecs et Latins n'ont jamais tenté cette entreprise; ils ne se sont pas même doutés qu'elle fût possible. Mais le défaut principal des étymologistes anciens et modernes, c'est de n'avoir pas su s'arrêter à temps. Il existe des mots qui se refusent à toute analyse ultérieure, et auxquels il ne faut pas faire violence. On a voulu tout dériver: et de quoi? De rien. Il suffit de parcourir l'ouvrage de Varron sur la langue Latine pour se faire une idée de la confusion qui en résulte. Ce sont les atomes d'Epicure qui se meuvent au hazard. Des dérivations sans terme finissent inévitablement par tourner en cercle, et tel mot pourra devenir le père de son trisayeul.

Ces étymologistes infatigables ont oublié dans l'objet de leur recherche deux grandes catégories, la forme et la matière. La forme des langues qui en ont une (car il y a des langues presque informes) consiste dans les inflexions des noms et des verbes, les affixes et préfixes, les modes de la dérivation et de la composition, enfin, l'arrangement des mots pour les combiner en phrases. La matière, ce sont les racines. La notion des racines, méconnue par les grammairiens de l'occident, a été cultivée de préférence par ceux de l'Asie. Dans le Hébreu, l'Arabe, et le Sanscrit, les verbes simples et primitifs sont également considérés comme les seules racines. Le caractère constitutif est donc le même, quoique le nombre et la qualité des élémens qui peuvent ou doivent entrer dans une racine, soit différemment déterminé dans chacune de ces langues. Le principe que tout doit être dérivé des racines, a été suivi peut-être trop rigoureusement; car il se pourrait qu'il existât des dérivés de racines perdues, et que des mots, appartenant à quelque langue étrangère, eussent été introduits; ce qui est arrivé même aux langues les plus pures.

Je passe à l'étymologie historique. Elle est en général facile, et marche d'un pas assuré, lorsque la formation récente de la langue dont il s'agit est constatée, qu'on peut en fixer l'époque, et que les langues dont la fusion y a concouru, sont également connues. Tels sont les principaux idiomes répandus dans l'occident de l'Europe, les langues Romanes et l'Anglais. Néanmoins

les étymologistes y ont souvent échoué, parcequ'ils ont mieux aimé se livrer à des conjectures que de consulter les anciens documens écrits; et qu'ils ont pris les mots isolément, au lieu d'embrasser la totalité, et de commencer par l'investigation des lois générales qui ont présidé à la nouvelle formation.

Mais l'étymologie historique a été appliquée aussi à des langues dont l'origine se perd dans la nuit des temps. C'est ainsi qu'on a voulu dériver le Latin du Grec. Voyez l'ouvrage d'un grand philologue, le dictionnaire Latin de Gerhard Vossius: vous y trouverez en foule des exemples de toutes les erreurs où l'on peut tomber en ce genre. De quel droit prétendait-il dériver le Latin du Grec? L'histoire et la tradition attestent, aurait répondu Vossius, que les Grecs ont fondé beaucoup de colonies en Italie. Oui: mais les colonies qui remontent aux temps mythologiques, sont manifestement fausses, et n'ont été imaginées que fort tard. Les colonies vraiment historiques en Sicile et sur les côtes de l'Italie inférieure, n'ont pas pu produire un changement universel et fondamental dans les idiomes du pays. On parlait Grec et Osque, l'un à côté de l'autre, et l'influence mutuelle s'est bornée à quelques communications de détail. Nous possédons des écrits en langue Grecque d'une date bien plus ancienne qu'en langue Latine. Cela est vrai encore: mais c'est le hazard qui nous a conservé le texte d'Homère, sauf les altérations qu'il a subies; et un hazard contraire a fait périr les lois de Numa. Les conformités du Latin avec le Grec ressortent de la manière la plus frappante, lorsque on le confronte avec le dialecte Éolien: c'est Quintilien qui le premier a fait cette remarque judicieuse. Or le dialecte Éolien est celui où les formes primitives se sont le mieux conservées. Ce dialecte nous retrace dans la prononciation, dans les inflexions, et souvent dans les mots, ce qui était suranné, et tombé en désuétude, dans le style classique qui s'est fixé d'aprés les modèles Athéniens.

On aurait donc, avec un droit égal au moins, pu entreprendre de dériver le Grec du Latin. Mais la véritable relation entre ces deux langues n'est pas celle de mère et de fille; ce sont des langues sœurs.

Les mêmes observations s'appliquent aux tentatives faites par plusieurs savans de dériver les langues Germaniques du Latin et du Grec. Les Germains n'ont jamais été subjugués par les Romains; ils n'ont été mis en contact que fort tard avec les provinces occidentales de l'empire; plus tard encore avec les provinces orientales, où la langue Grecque était devenue dominante. Le voisinage, le commerce, le service militaire dans les légions,

enfin et surtout, la conversion à la religion Chrétienne, ont introduit un certain nombre de mots Grecs et Latins dans les langues Germaniques; mais ces mots n'en affectent nullement le fond, et sont faciles à reconnaître. Le vin et la rose portent un nom Latin d'un bout de l'Europe à l'autre; c'est que le mot est venu avec la chose. Mais, certes, les Germains n'ont pas consulté les Romains pour savoir comment il fallait appeler père et mère, frère et sœur; ni comment il fallait compter un, deux, trois, et ainsi du reste.

L'origine de toutes ces langues est inconnue; elles ont des racines profondes dans une antiquité antérieure à l'histoire. C'est donc un préjugé, un point de vue individuel, qui a engagé les savans à donner la préférence à l'une sur l'autre comme source étymologique. Cela me rappelle un enfant qui, ayant appris le Français avant le Latin, chaque fois qu'il rencontrait dans cette dernière langue un mot dont la ressemblance le frappait, s'écriat: Ah, cela vient surement du Français!

Il y avait donc au fond de ces essais étymologiques un aperçu vrai; mais la route qu'on suivait, et les conséquences qu'on tirait des conformités remarquées, était fausses. C'étaient des lueurs éparses, que l'on ne savait pas réunir en un seul faisceau de lumière, parceque des nuages épais interceptaient encore à notre vue le point central, d'où tous ces rayons partent dans des directions divergentes. La connaissance du Sanscrit, acquise depuis moins d'un demi-siècle, a dissipé ces ténèbres. S'il est vrai ce que disait un grand philosophe, qui en même temps était un érudit d'un vaste savoir, Leibnitz, " que rien ne jette un plus grand jour sur l'origine cachée des peuples que la comparaison des langues;" et cela est d'une vérité évidente; j'ose affirmer que cette découverte, réservée à nos jours, fait époque dans les recherches sur l'antiquité, et même sur l'histoire primitive du genre humain. Qui aurait pu imaginer d'avance qu'on trouverait sur les rives du Gange une langue ancienne, décélant encore, par des traits caractéristiques, une communauté d'origine avec des idiomes qui se parlent sur les confines de la Mer Glaciale, en Scandinavie et en Islande?

Cette découverte peut se comparer à une autre de la même importance, faite dernièrement dans l'histoire naturelle: je veux parler de l'anatomie des espèces animales, qui n'existent plus, qui appartiennent à une autre époque de la création terrestre, et qu'on a nommées antédiluviennes, dans la supposition qu'elles auraient péri dans une catastrophe violente de notre globe.

De toute temps on a trouvé des ossemens fossiles, mais sans y faire attention; quelquefois l'on y a rattaché des contes puérils; quand ils frappaient par leurs dimensions colossales, ils passaient dans l'opinion populaire pour des squelettes des géants. Mais aussi-tôt que l'œil observateur du genie scientifique se fut dirigé de ce côté, les découvertes se multiplièrent, et devinrent suffisantes pour déterminer les caractères anatomiques, qui rapprochent en même temps et distinguent les espèces perdues des espèces le plus analogues parmi celles qui existent encore. L'art fut enseigné de refaire le corps entier, moyennant quelques membres épars; de dessiner même sur le squelette le contour extérieur de l'animal; de faire ainsi des portraits d'originaux qui avaient appartenu à un autre age du monde, et de ressusciter, non seulement pour la science, mais pour l'imagination, une création anéantie.

De même, on avait remarqué depuis long-temps quelques ressemblances isolées et superficielles entre des langues auxquelles on ne connaissait aucun lien historique. Mais on se bornait à un étonnement stérile, ou, si l'on essayait d'expliquer ce phénomène, on mettait en avant de fausses hypothèses. La connaissance du Sanscrit mit un terme à ce tâtonnement. Cette langue, cultivée au plus haut point, et fixée dans une antiquité éloignée, appartenant à une nation de l'Asie méridionale, placée hors de la sphère de notre histoire ancienne; cette langue, dis-je, offrit au premier abord tant de coïncidences avec toutes les autres langues déjà connues de la même famille, que cela provoqua un examen plus approfondi. On apprit à discerner les analogies déguisées par des dissemblances à la surface; à les découvrir surtout dans ces portions déliées de la structure des langues qui ressemblent à la ramification des veines et des nerfs dans le corps animal. Sans doute, la grammaire usuelle est chargée d'expliquer le mécanisme de chaque langue dont elle s'occupe spécialement; mais elle le fait uniquement dans un but d'utilité pratique; elle ne considère les formes existantes et légitimées par l'usage, que comme un moyen d'exprimer correctement et intelligiblement sa pensée. L'analyse comparée des langues doit aussi commencer par la grammaire, et non pas par des vocabulaires. Mais c'est une grammaire d'un ordre supérieur; elle doit devenir historique, autant que cela est possible, en suivant l'ordre inverse des temps; elle doit distinguer dans les changemens qui se sont opérés au sein d'une même langue, à diverses époques, les perturbations accidentelles—des lois d'un développement organique. La connaissance de ces lois, et l'analogie des langues, lui fournissent les moyens de remonter à une époque

antérieure aux documens écrits, de deviner un type ancien plus original, et de s'approcher ainsi de l'identité primitive des langues issues d'une même souche.

Les travaux que je viens de décrire, jusqu'ici n'ont été qu'ébauchés; les exagérations et les théories arbitraires ne nous manquent pas non plus; mais en général on est dans la bonne voye.

Les langues dont le droit d'être rangées dans la même famille est déjà suffisamment constaté, sont: le Sanscrit, le Persan, le Grec, et le Latin, les langues Germaniques, Lettiques, et Esclavonnes.

Cette grande affiliation serait moins surprenante, elle cesserait même entièrement de l'être, si l'on pouvait se flatter de ramener à une langue mère, commune du genre humain, toutes celles qui se parlent encore aujourd'hui dans les différentes parties du globe, et les langues éteintes dont il nous reste quelques vestiges. Mais cela est impossible; impossible, dis-je, par des moyens raisonnables, que puisse avouer une saine critique. Non seulement les langues des races différentes sont entièrement hétérogènes, et n'ont rien de commun entre elles, soit pour la matière, soit pour la forme, que ce qu'exige le besoin de se faire comprendre par ses semblables; mais dans la même race on distingue plusieurs familles de langues, aussi étrangères l'une à l'autre par leur système grammatical et la masse des mots, que les membres d'une même famille sont étroitement liés entre eux. Depuis longtemps les Orientalistes ont reconnu l'affinité mutuelle de l'Hebreu, le Chaldéen, le Syrien, et l'Arabe, et les ont compris sous le nom général de langues Sémitiques ou Araméennes. Elles sont à part de la famille Indo-Germanique. Aucun tour de force étymologique ne peut les ramener à une origine commune; les vains efforts des Hellénistes Hébraïsans sont condamnés pour toujours. Les langues Sémitiques, moins parfaites d'ailleurs, ont été moins instructives pour l'étude comparée des langues, que celles qui nous occupent, parcequ'elles étaient circonscrites dans un cercle beaucoup plus étroit, avant que la langue Arabe eut fait fortune par la propagation de l'Islamisme.

La comparaison entre les langues d'une même famille, pour être méthodique, doit commencer par ce qu'il y de plus subtil, et néanmoins de plus essentiel: par les formes grammaticales qui se retrouvent partout, sans avoir nulle part une existence indépendante; la déclinaison des noms substantifs et adjectifs; la conjugaison des verbes; certains mots élémentaires, d'une

signification vague et peu spécifiée, mais d'un emploi continuel, tels que les pronoms, les prépositions, et autres particules, et le verbe substantif; enfin, les noms de quelques idées pour lesquelles la société même la plus inculte ne saurait se passer d'expressions, tels que les nombres primaires et les plus proches dégrés de parenté. On passera ensuite aux racines, et on reservera les mots dérivés pour la fin. Comme la doctrine des racines n'a point été appliquée à toutes ces langues, il faudra imiter la méthode des grammairiens Indiens, et dépouiller les verbes primitifs de leurs accessoires, et des modifications qu'ils recoivent par la conjugaison, pour en retrouver le véritable thème qui sert de base à toutes les inflexions et formations dérivées.

Les conformités sont étonnantes; elles le sont surtout, parcequ'elles entrent dans les moindres détails, et jusque dans les anomalies. C'est un phénomène curieux de voir cette inconcevable ténacité dans des idiotismes qui sembleraient ne devoir être que des caprices passagers. La partie la plus volatile des langues, la prononciation aussi, a fait preuve de constance: au milieu des mutations de lettres, qui cependant sont soumises à certaines lois, les voyelles, longues ou brèves, ont souvent conservé leur quantité.

D'autre part, la disparité est grande; les distances que les langues ont parcourues dans leur développement individuel, sont immenses. Après avoir épuisé toutes les analogies, même les plus cachées, il reste encore dans chacune de ces langues une portion qui n'est plus susceptible d'être comparée avec aucune des autres langues de la même famille. Il faut donc admettre comme causes de cette incommensurabilité partielle deux principes opposés; l'oubli et l'invention. L'oubli de formes et de mots jadis usités, n'est que trop manifeste dans les langues dont nous connaissons de près l'histoire; souvent il a beaucoup nui à leur richesse et à leur beauté. L'oubli doit survenir toujours à la suite d'un mouvement rétrograde dans la civilisation; à mesure que la sphère intellectuelle se retrécit, une génération, redevenue ignorante et barbare, répudie des expressions désormais superflues. Quant à l'invention je n'y vois pas de difficulté non plus, puisque, pour comprendre l'origine absolue des langues, nous n'avons d'autre choix que de recourir à un miracle, ou d'accorder à l'homme un instinct inventeur du langage.

Parmi les causes de la diversité l'on peut admettre aussi l'alliage, occasionné par le contact avec des peuples étrangers. Mais cet alliage doit avoir été graduel et insensible; car des faits nombreux prouvent que, lorsqu'une fusion de deux langues s'opère par un conflit subit et violent à la suite d'une

conquête, elles se désorganisent mutuellement; que la langue nouvelle, sortie de cet amalgame, perd toujours une partie des formes et des inflexions que possédaient les deux langues mère, et qu'elle doit y suppléer par des circonlocutions, c'est à dire, par des mots auxiliaires de toute espèce. Une structure grammaticale, savante et compacte, est, par conséquent, une preuve infaillible de la pureté d'une langue.

Je me suis efforcé de traiter cette matière abstruse avec autant de clarté qu'il est possible de le faire, sans citer des exemples. Or les exemples seraient ici un vain étalage d'érudition, puisque leur authenticité ne saurait être vérifiée que par la connaissance des langues; et que la plupart de celles dont il s'agit, placées hors du cercle d'une éducation classique, ne deviennent un objet d'étude que pour un petit nombre de savans.

Les découvertes inattendues, et, pour ainsi dire, paradoxales, provoquent le scepticisme; c'est même un surveillant utile, afin que l'examen se fasse en conscience. Je ne m'étonnerais donc pas, que mon exposé reveillât dans l'esprit de quelques uns de mes lecteurs le souvenir d'une hypothèse qui a eu de la vogue dans le siècle passé, et qui, quoiqu'elle ait été très-solidement réfutée, ne laisse pas d'être reproduite de temps en temps, et de trouver encore des amateurs. Je veux parler de l'hypothèse Celtique. Les *Celtomanes* soutenaient en effet, comme nous, une grande affiliation de langues et de peuples; mais comment? D'abord ils peuplaient toute l'Europe ancienne de Celtes, en dépit des témoignages exprès de tous les historiens classiques. Ils crurent avoir retrouvé dans le jargon corrompu d'une petite peuplade Bretonne, dans un coin de la France, la véritable langue des anciens Celts, qui s'est éteinte très-rapidement après la conquête de Jules César; ils pretendirent dériver de ce jargon la langue Latine et Grecque, aussi bien que l'Allemande, et beaucoup d'autres encore. C'étaient des tours de force étymologiques de toute espèce, des rapprochemens bizarres et arbitraires; mais l'édifice, érigé avec ces matériaux, dut nécessairement s'écrouler, parceque la clé de la voûte y manquait. Il faut avoir parcouru les écrits des Pezron, des Pelloutier, des Court de Gebelin, des Lebrigant, et de tant d'autres Celtomanes, qui ont enfanté ces chimères, pour se figurer au juste leur manque de méthode, de critique historique, et de tact philologique. Notre marche étant en tout point opposée à la leur, nous protestons de plein droit contre un parallèle injurieux.

CHAPITRE VIII.—*Revue des Langues affiliées au Sanscrit.*

Je passerai maintenant en revue les langues et les peuples dont j'ai fait l'énumération; mais le sujet est si vaste, que je dois me borner à quelques remarques générales.

Le Sanscrit.—Quoique notre intention ne soit pas de dériver aucune des langues en question de l'autre, néanmoins le Sanscrit est éminemment propre à devenir le point central de toutes les comparaisons à faire. Il a été fixé dans une antiquité fort éloignée par des ouvrages qui, jouissant d'une autorité sacrée, et servant de modèles, ont mis un terme à l'instabilité de l'usage. Ces anciens documens écrits existent; étant composés en vers, ils ont conservé la nature polysyllabique des mots, les consonnes caractéristiques, les voyelles sonores, et les terminaisons significatives. En tout, l'empreinte originale y est fortement prononcée. Mais le Sanscrit n'a pas seulement été cultivé par son emploi aux plus nobles objets de la pensée; la théorie aussi en a été développée de bonne heure, et les grammairiens Indiens sont probablement les plus anciens du monde. Rappelons nous que la grammaire, comme science, était encore inconnue aux Grecs dans le siècle de Platon et d'Aristôte.

Le Persan.—Le Persan d'aujourd'hui est une idiome de formation moderne; le plus ancien livre, le Shah Nameh de Firdousi, ne date que de huit siècles. Cette langue est née de la conquête des Arabes, et de l'introduction violente de l'Islamisme. C'est donc une langue mixte, fortement impregnée d'Arabe; mais la partie nationale, toute contractée, tronquée, et dépouillée de ses inflexions, offre encore des ressemblances frappantes avec le Sanscrit. Il est donc à présumer que l'affinité aura été jadis beaucoup plus grand; et cette présomption est justifiée par les recherches historiques sur cette langue qui a subi tant de révolutions. On sait comment le fanatisme aveugle des Mahométans a sévi contre la littérature sacrée et profane des Perses. Néanmoins, le zèle des adorateurs du feu a sauvé de la destruction générale les livres attribués à Zoroastre. Ils existent tant chez les Guèbres en Perse que chez les Parsis du Guzerate; mais tels que nous les avons, ils ont probablement été recomposés sous les premiers Sassanides. Car cette dynastie avait été

précédée d'une époque barbare; de la domination des Parthes, qui, étant de race semi-Scythique, negligèrent le culte national, et favorisèrent les mœurs étrangères. Un jeune savant d'un talent distingué, M. Eugène Burnouf, a fait lithographier, d'après un beau manuscrit, une portion du *Zend-Avesta*, le *Vendidad*, et se propose d'en donner un commentaire. La langue Zende, dans laquelle ce livre est composé, a conservé beaucoup de formes grammaticales analogues au Sanscrit; et c'est principalement par le secours de cette dernière langue qu'on doit arriver à une explication méthodique des textes. M. Bopp, dans sa *Grammaire Comparée*, dont la première partie vient de paraître, a commencé à donner une analyse exacte et détaillée des inflexions du Zend. Nous pouvons donc espérer de parvenir par les efforts réunis de plusieurs savans à comprendre bientôt les livres sacrés des Parsis, mieux que les Mobeds et Destours de Bombay eux mêmes, qui n'en connaissent le contenu que par une tradition assez vague.

Il ne nous reste que quelques traces éparses de la langue des Persans sous la dynastie des Achéménides, c'est à dire sous les rois depuis Cyrus jusqu'au dernier Darius; ce sont les noms propres, quelques mots, et les inscriptions cunéiformes, si l'on peut parvenir à les déchiffrer avec certitude. Mais ces vestiges suffisent pour constater une affinité intime avec le Sanscrit. Tel nom Persan pourrait également bien appartenir aux deux langues. Dans d'autres nous reconnaissons au moins l'un des deux élémens dont ils se composent pour du Sanscrit pur.[8]

Mais comment se fait-il donc, objectera-t-on, que les anciens Persans ne se soyent pas doutés de cette parenté nationale? Je réponds que les deux nations avaient été séparées par un immense intervalle, en toute apparence

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[8] Le nom de *Mithradate*, fréquent chez les anciens Persans, et généralement adopté par les rois de Pont qui descendaient des Achéménides, signifié " donné par le soleil," et répond au Grec Ἡλιόδοτος. Mithras est un nom bien connu du soleil, adoré comme une divinité. En Sanscrit ce serait *Mitradattas*. La terminaison ἵππος signifie *cheval*; en Sanscrit *açvas*. Une foule de noms Grecs se terminent de la même manière par ἵππος. *Hystaspe* (Gushtasp), l'un du petit nombre de noms anciens qui se sont conservés dans la tradition populaire des Persans modernes, semble faire allusion au hennissement d'un cheval. Le nom que portaient plusieurs rois de Cappadoce, qui se glorifiaient de la même origine que ceux de Pont, *Ariarathe*, signifie " monté sur un char glorieux;" en Sanscrit, *árya-rathas*. Cela se rapporte à l'emploi des chars dans la guerre. Voyez ma *Bibliothèque Indienne*, tom. ii. pp. 308–313; et mes *Réflexions sur l'Étude des Langues Asiat.* p. 70.

pendant une longue suite de siècles. Le siège originaire des Mèdes et des Perses (deux noms par lesquels les Grecs désignaient le même peuple) a été vers l'occident, sur les confins de l'Assyrie; la conquête a étendu leur empire jusque vers les bords de l'Indus. Mais le grand roi n'a jamais compté parmi ses sujets des peuples véritablement Hindous. La revue des armées Persannes le prouve suffisamment; les éléphans, encore en très-petit nombre, paraissent pour la première fois dans la bataille d'Arbèle. Les derniers Achéménides ont eu des relations diplomatiques avec les princes voisins du Panjab; ils en ont reçu des présents d'honneur, selon l'usage oriental: voilà tout.

Pour peu que la déviation de deux langues, primitivement identiques, dépasse la limite des dialectes, elles sont complettement déguisées aux yeux du vulgaire; et ceux avec lesquels on ne peut s'entendre que par le secours d'un interprète, sont des étrangers. Mais les deux nations nous ont laissé, à leur insçu, la preuve la plus forte de leur parenté, reconnue ou non. "Les Mèdes furent appelés jadis par tout le monde *Arioi*," dit Hérodote. Or, c'est là précisément, comme nous l'avons vu, le nom classique des Hindous. La Perse tout entière a été indubitablement appelée *Ariana*, d'après le nom de la nation, quoique les géographes Grecs restreignent ce nom à quelques provinces orientales. La preuve en est dans les livres de Zoroastre, où on lit *Airaiéné*. Le nom moderne *Irân* n'en est qu'une contraction; toutefois il est déjà inscrit de la même manière sur les médailles des Sassanides, dont les légendes sont en Pahlavi.

Le Grec et le Latin.—On a souvent compris l'un et l'autre sous la dénomination commune de langues Pelasgiques. La valeur historique du nom des Pelasges est une espèce d'énigme; mais s'il ne doit marquer rien de plus précis que l'époque la plus ancienne de la Grèce et de l'Italie, dont la tradition même ne retrace qu'un souvenir confus, il n'y a rien à objecter.

La nation des Hellènes occupait une contrée montueuse et resserrée entre deux mers, coupée par des golfes et se terminant en presqu'île; ensuite les îles de la mer Egée, et les côtes de l'Asie Mineure. Elle a toujours été divisée en petits états, sujette aux migrations, et répandue au dehors par des colonies. Tout cela semble avoir opéré de grands changemens dans la langue Grecque, dont l'étymologie est effectivement plus compliquée que celle du Latin. Sous quelques rapports, par exemple dans la conjugaison des verbes et dans les prépositions, elle ressemble de plus près au Sanscrit qu'aucune autre

langue; mais elle a beaucoup de particularités anomales. La prose classique ne s'est fixée que dans le cinquième siècle avant notre ère. Les poèmes d'Homère sont un monument bien plus ancien; mais il est certain que, d'abord communiqués seulement par la tradition orale, ils ont été mis par écrit fort tard, et que, dans l'intervalle, la prononciation avait changé. Moyennant les dialectes et certaines analogies, il est possible de remonter à des formes plus anciennes que celles que nous offre notre texte Homérique. Plusieurs savans Anglais l'ont essayé; en rétablissant, par exemple, une lettre éliminée partout, qui répondait au W, et s'appelait vau ou digamme. Chose remarquable! Rétablissez cette lettre dans les mots qui l'ont perdue par une prononciation émoussée, et vous aurez très-souvent la forme Sanscrite.[9]

A l'exception des Etrusques, les anciens peuples indigènes de l'Italie, les Ombriens, les Sabins et les Samnites, les Volsques, les Apuliens, les Sicules, ont tous parlé en différens dialects une même langue, qui, dans le midi, portait le nom général de langue Osque. Parmi ces idiomes le Latin semble avoir été la moyenne proportionelle. Les autres sont restés incultes; le Latin même n'a été cultivé littérairement que fort tard. De ce long abandon chez un peuple ignorant et guerrier, peu sensible au beau, tel que les Romains étaient pendant les trois premiers siècles de la république, il est resté à leur langue je ne sais quoi de rustique; perfectionnée d'après des modèles Grecs, elle se distingue par une briéveté majestueuse, et une mâle simplicité. La prononciation s'était endurcie par les contractions et la suppression de beaucoup de voyelles finales. Les formes sont peu compliquées. Pour la richesse le Latin n'est pas comparable au Grec, avec lequel son rapport a toujours été reconnu; j'ai rectifié précédemment l'idée qu'on se forme de cette relation.

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[9] Je me bornerai à un seul exemple. Dans le troisième vers de l'Odyssée,

Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω,

il faut rétablir deux digammes, et écrire FΙΔΕ FΑΣΤΕΑ. Ces mots se retrouvent l'un et l'autre dans le Sanscrit. Le verbe *vid*, savoir, répond en outre au Latin *videre*, et au Gothique *vait*, *vitum*. *Vâstu* en Sanscrit signifie une habitation. Le célèbre Helléniste Wolf a fait la remarque que dans ce passage il faut entendre par ἄστεα, non pas des villes, mais simplement des habitations.

Les Langues Germaniques.— Dans ce vaste système d'affiliation, elles forment à elles seules une nombreuse famille. Elles sont extrêmement instructives pour l'étude comparée des langues, parceque, étant abandonnées à un libre développement, et répandues sur une vaste étendue de pays, elles ont varié à l'infini chez les différens peuples, et chez le même peuple à différentes époques, en conservant toujours la physionomie nationale. En fait d'antiquité et de multiplicité de ces documens, la langue Germanique a l'avantage sur tous les idiomes de l'Europe moderne. Le plus ancien, l'Evangile d'Ulfilas, date de quatorze siècles. Je peux me référer ici à un excellent ouvrage d'un savant Allemand où cette matière est traitée à fond, c'est la Grammaire Germanique de Jacob Grimm. Sous ce simple titre l'auteur embrasse en même temps l'histoire et la théorie. Il passe en revue le Gothique, le Saxon dans ses deux branches, Anglo-Saxonne et continentale, le Francique ou Haut-Allemand, le Flamand, le Frison, le Danois, et le Scandinave. Il expose les changemens survenus dans chaque pays et à chaque époque, en suivant les fils les plus déliés de l'analogie. De ce tableau grammatical et étymologique résulte un fait curieux, et tellement contraire aux opinions reçues, qu'on refuserait d'y croire, si les preuves n'étaient pas irréfragables; c'est que les langues savamment organisées dans l'origine, si elles ne sont pas fixées artificiellement par des écrits modèles, loin de se perfectionner, se dégradent et se déforment, sans avoir éprouvé des secousses violentes par le seul laps du temps. Le génie créateur, l'instinct ingénieux qui avait présidé à la première formation, fait place à une routine aveugle et à la négligence de l'emploi usuel. Il est bien entendu toutefois que les langues doivent toujours suffire aux besoins intellectuels des nations qui les parlent. Lors donc qu'une langue long-temps abandonnée aux caprices du hazard, et redevenue sauvage, est enfin cultivée par les lettres et les sciences, on supplée aux formes et aux expressions perdues, qu'il est impossible de recouvrer, par un nouveau système grammatical, par des mots auxiliaires, par une construction analytique, par des circonlocutions, et des emprunts. Voilà ce qui est arrivé dans une grande partie de l'Europe moderne.

La forme la plus ancienne de la langue Germanique, la Gothique, est aussi la plus parfaite. Les Goths, ce peuple guerrier, et décrié comme barbare,— qui le croirait si les preuves n'étaient pas là?— ont été doués d'un tact très-délicat pour tout ce qui constitue la beauté d'une langue, la régularité dans la variété; ils ont distingué les nuances les plus fines, ils ont eu

même l'oreille très-musicale. Il ne nous reste d'eux qu'un seul livre, la traduction de l'Evangile. Que dirions nous, si nous pouvions connaître leurs poèmes héroïques dont parle Jornandès? Le Gothique possédait des avantages que nous envions aujourd'hui aux langues du midi; les mots polysyllabes, les terminaisons en voyelles sonores.

Dans la comparaison des langues Germaniques avec le Sanscrit, le Grec, et le Latin, il faut prendre pour base le Gothique, autant que cela peut se faire, puisque nous n'en avons qu'un fragment; il faut ensuite recourir aux idiomes les plus rapprochés, qui sont le Saxon et le Francique. Le système Gothique des voyelles et des diphthongues a une ressemblance remarquable à celui du Sanscrit. Dans l'Anglo-Saxon les voyelles ont déjà perdu leur timbre; elles sont comme voilées par l'effet d'un ciel nébuleux. Les consonnes, dans le Gothique et dans les autres idiomes Germaniques, ont éprouvé des mutations successives, qui sont restées étrangères au Grec et au Latin. Mais ces mutations sont régulières; elles suivent des lois constantes, difficiles peut-être à découvrir, puisque tous les étymologistes jusqu'à notre temps semblent les avoir ignorées, mais faciles à vérifier aussitôt que l'on a été mis sur la trace. A quelques égards, par exemple dans la declinaison pronominale, le Gothique est plus voisin du Sanscrit que le Grec même.

Les Langues Celtiques.—Les peuples qui appartiennent à cette famille, sont les Lithuaniens, les Lettes en Livonie, les Coures en Courlande, et les anciens Prussiens, dont la nationalité s'est éteinte. A l'exception de quelques chansons populaires, il n'existe point de documens fort anciens de ces langues; les traductions de l'Ecriture, et autres livres destinés à l'instruction religieuse, ne datent que de la Réforme. Quelques savans ont fait des grammaires et des dictionnaires, uniquement dans le but d'une utilité locale. Depuis peu l'attention des connaisseurs s'est dirigée vers ces langues; ils y ont découvert avec surprise les analogies les plus frappantes et les plus détaillées avec le Sanscrit. Cest un grand titre de noblesse pour des idiomes aussi obscurs, et même aussi opprimés. Les langues changent naturellement; ces changemens deviennent plus rapides à mesure que la vie des nations qui les parlent est plus animée, et que celles-ci éprouvent les vicissitudes du sort par les migrations, les guerres, les conquêtes, la réunion, ou la division des états; enfin, par de nouveaux élémens de civilisation. D'autre part des mœurs simples, une vie monotone, peu de commerce avec les étrangers, peuvent

garantir une langue des altérations, et la maintenir pendant une suite de siècles au même point sans le secours d'une littérature. C'est ce qui semble être arrivé aux langues Lettiques. Il est avéré aujourd'hui que les anciens ont désigné ces peuples par le nom des *Sarmates*, nom qu'on a faussement appliqué autrefois aux Esclavons. Les peuples Lettiques n'ont jamais joué un grand rôle dans l'histoire; ils semblent avoir été repoussés vers le nord par des tribus Germaniques, remplacées ensuite à leur tour par les peuples Slaves. Ils sont restés long-temps fidèles au culte de leur pères; le Christianisme n'a été introduit chez eux que vers la fin du moyen age, par le fer et le feu, et malheureusement une affreuse servitude est venue à sa suite.

Les Langues Esclavonnes ou Slaves.—Elles composent une nombreuse famille dont les membres sont étroitement liés entre eux, de sorte que plusieurs idiomes qui portent des noms particuliers, pourraient être qualifiés encore de dialectes. Une certaine parenté, surtout avec le Latin et le Sanscrit, ne saurait être méconnue; mais l'intervalle qui sépare les langues Esclavonnes de celles que je viens d'énumérer, est beaucoup plus grand que les distances où celles-ci sont placées les unes des autres. L'alliage Scythique semble être aussi très-considérable; et cela s'explique par le séjour prolongé de la nation Esclavonne en Asie, dans le voisinage des hordes nomades qui en parcourent les steppes. Car les Slaves sont incontestablement, à l'exception des Avares et des Hongrois, les colons les derniers arrivés en Europe. Ils n'ont guère paru sur la scène de l'histoire que vers la fin du cinquième siècle. Dans cette grande migration qui précéda et suivit la chute de l'empire occidental, ils suivirent de près les conquérans de race Germanique, et occupèrent les pays abandonnés par ceux-ci, à mesure qu'ils se portaient sur les provinces Romaines de l'occident et du midi. Toujours poussant en avant, ils ont occupé une bonne moitié de l'Allemagne. Mais alors une réaction eut lieu dès le commencement du moyen age, et les provinces Wendes (c'est ainsi que les Allemands appelaient généralement les Slaves) furent peu à peu, par la conquête et la colonisation, revendiquées à la nationalité Allemande.

Il se pourrait que cette revue rapide ne fût pas complette; si de nouvelles découvertes venaient à se joindre à celles qui sont déjà faites, on saurait les classer, et les ranger à leur propre place.

NOTE.

Ce n'est qu'après avoir achevé mon mémoire que j'ai eu connaissance d'un écrit, intitulé, " The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations proved by a Comparison of their Dialects with the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic Languages. By James Cowles Prichard. Oxford, 1831."

L'auteur, déjà connu sur le continent comme un auteur spirituel et ingénieux, réclame pour les langues Celtiques une place dans la famille Indo-Germanique. Cette matière est curieuse et neuve; neuve, dis-je, puisque tout ce que les Celtomanes ont mis en avant doit être considéré comme non avenu, et que, d'ailleurs, la question a changé de face depuis la connaissance du Sanscrit. Le champion d'une cause si souvent mal défendue et presque désespérée, devait entrer en lice armé de toutes pièces. Aussi M. Prichard a-t-il fait des frais considérables d'érudition, en fouillant dans un certain nombre de grammaires et de dictionnaires. Je vois dans son mémoire beaucoup de Sanscrit, de Grec, de Latin, de Gothique; mais j'y trouve, je l'avoue, trop peu d'Irlandais et de Gallois. Ce sont les deux dialectes auxquels M. Prichard a borné son parallèle, peut-être avec raison. Ce qu'on peut recueillir aujourd'hui d'habitans illetrés de ces pays, qui parlent leur langue maternelle par habitude, et baragouinent l'Anglais par nécessité, est suspect de corruption; ce que les hommes à système ont mis en avant, n'inspire pas non plus une entière confiance. Il faut donc recourir, tant qu'on peut, aux anciens documens écrits, dont l'antiquité a probablement été exagérée. De quelle date sont les manuscrits? La certitude ne va que jusque là; le reste est conjectural. Plusieurs de ces documens n'ont pas encore été compulsés et publiés. En toute apparence, les gloses qui se trouvent dans plusieurs manuscrits Latins, apportés sur le continent par des missionaires Irlandais, entre le septième et le dixième siècle, sont les plus anciens restes de cette langue. Le savant Eckhart en a donné quelques échantillons. Commentarii de rebus Franciæ Orientalis, tom. i. pp. 452–3, 847–53.

L'alphabet Latin a été bien ou mal appliqué à ces idiomes. Il est donc essentiel d'en expliquer le système phonétique, et de determiner la valeur de chaque lettre et de chaque combinaison. Les observations de M. Prichard là-dessus ne m'ont pas donné une idée bien claire de la prononciation. Elle doit être fort difficile à imiter pour les étrangers, qui, en effet, ne s'y appliquent guère. Lhuyd a jugé nécessaire de la marquer par une méthode inventée exprès; trouvant l'alphabet Latin incomplet, il l'a entremêlé de lettres Grecques. Si les mêmes lettres sont différemment prononcées, ou même entièrement supprimées dans la langue parlé, comme M. Ahlwardt l'affirme dans sa Grammaire Gaëlique, la plus ancienne orthographe mérite la préférence, parcequ'on aura au moins essayé de peindre les sons.

M. Prichard fait entre beaucoup de mots des rapprochemens contre lesquels les objections se présentent au premier abord. Il met en regard le verbe Latin *credo*, le Gallois *credu*, et l'Irlandais *credeim*. A-t-il pu oublier que ce mot, étant le premier du formulaire de la foi, rédigé en Latin, que tous les néophytes devaient apprendre par cœur, a dû s'imprimer dans la mémoire des habitans? Il en est de même du verbe *cano*, en Gallois *canu*, en Irlandais *canam*. On a sans doute chanté dans ces pays avant la conversion, mais les missionaires n'auront pas voulu employer pour le chant d'église une expression profane qui sentait le paganisme. Le nom de l'âne en Gallois est *asyn*, en Irlandais *asal*. Le premier est Latin, le second Anglo-Saxon;

celui-ci à son tour, ainsi que le nom Gothique, avait été pris du Latin *asellus*. Cet animal est originaire du midi; il ne supporte même pas les hautes latitudes du nord; les Romains doivent l'avoir importé les premiers dans la Grande-Bretagne. Ce ne sont pas là des ressemblances primitives; ce sont évidemment des emprunts.

Le coup-d'œil le plus rapide, jeté sur l'histoire de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Irlande, suffit pour faire présumer, que les dialectes anciennement indigènes qui ont échappé à tant de conquêtes et dominations étrangères, ont dû éprouver de fortes altérations. L'établissement des Romains dans tout le midi de l'île Britannique jusqu'au mur d'Adrien, a duré plus de trois siècles. C'est un sujet d'étonnement que pendant ce long espace de temps l'idiome national n'ait pas entièrement fait place à la langue Latine, comme il est arrivé dans tout le reste de l'empire occidental. Mais on est en droit de supposer que les Bretons du cinquième siècle parlaient un jargon fortement entremêlé de Latin corrompu; et cette supposition est confirmée par le nom que les Saxons ont donné aux pays dont les Bretons conservèrent la possession exclusive. Car les conquérans de race Teutonique ont généralement nommé *Wales* tous les peuples qui parlaient une langue Romane quelconque.

Les Anglo-Saxons n'ont pas réussi à subjuguer la Grande-Brétagne tout entière jusqu'aux limites de l'ancienne province Romaine; les Bretons ont trouvé un refuge dans les montagnes de la Cambrie, et à l'extrémité sud-ouest de l'île. Or le voisinage de deux peuples ennemis, même leurs guerres fréquentes, ne suffisent pas pour opérer une grande altération dans leurs langues. Mais les Bretons n'ont pas émigré tous à la fois; ils ont vécu en grand nombre et pendant plusieurs générations parmi les Saxons dans un état de servage, avant de quitter leurs anciens foyers. L'influence aura été réciproque; sans doute, il s'est glissé aussi des mots Bretons dans l'Anglo-Saxon. Si un mot n'a ni racine ni parenté dans cette langue, s'il ne se retrouve dans aucun des autres idiomes Germaniques, si d'autre part il n'est pas emprunté au Latin, on peut hardiment reconnaître son origine Celtique.

Ces circonstances ne s'appliquent point à l'Irlande, qui n'a jamais été entamée ni par les Romains ni par les Saxons. Cependant l'introduction du culte Chrétien, l'influence puissante d'un clergé savamment appliqué aux lettres Latines, ensuite la fondation de trois royaumes Danois sur la côte orientale de cette île,—ont dû altérer la pureté primitive de l'idiome indigène. Avant la fin du onzième siècle les conquérans Normands introduisirent leur langue Romaine dans la Grande-Brétagne. Leurs successeurs ont subjugué l'Irlande aussi bien que le pays de Galles. Peut-on se figurer qu'un gouvernement étranger, et l'établissement de nombreux colons Anglais, pendant le cours de plusieurs siècles, n'aient pas produit de grands changemens?

Je conclus de tout ceci que la ressemblance entre un certain nombre de mots réputés Gallois ou Irlandais, et des mots Latins, Romans, Saxons, Scandinaves, ne peut nullement prouver une affinité primitive avec la famille Indo-Germanique. Il en est autrement des conformités avec le Grec et le Sanscrit. M. Prichard n'a pas manqué d'en citer des exemples. Mais pour examiner en détail la légitimité de tous ces rapprochemens, il faudrait écrire une dissertation plus longue que la sienne.

Après ces déductions, l'identité de quelques formes grammaticales serait, à mon avis, la preuve la plus concluante. Toutefois, puisque les inflexions sont fort tronquées, qu'il n'y a presque pas de déclinaison, et que la conjugaison s'effectue en grande partie par des mots auxiliaires, on pourrait supposer que ces restes d'une organisation plus parfaite n'eussent appartenu

qu'à l'un des élémens divers, Celtique, Belgique, et, peut-être, Ibérien, dont la fusion antérieure à l'époque historique aurait produit ces idiomes. En pesant bien ce que Jules-César dit de l'origine des Belges, en combinant ce témoignage avec celui de Tacite, on sera conduit à conjecturer, que dès lors le Breton et le Scotique ou Hibernien n'étaient pas du Celtique pur, mais que c'étaient des langues mixtes. Je ne pense pas que personne veuille sérieusement regarder comme authentiques les traditions concernant une antiquité fabuleuse, contenues dans les Triades Bretonnes ; cependant elles donneraient à peu près le même résultat.

Je ne me hazarde point à nier positivement la thèse de M. Prichard ; mais je crois que, pour l'établir solidement, il faudrait des recherches plus exactes, plus étendues, et surtout plus historiques.

CHAPITRE IX. — *Résultats.*

En admettant que l'affiliation des langues justifie la conclusion (et d'après ma conviction elle la justifiera d'autant plus qu'elle sera examinée plus à fond) que toutes ces familles de peuples sont issues de la même souche ; que leurs ancêtres, à une époque quelconque, ont appartenu à une seule nation, qui s'est divisée et subdivisée dans sa propagation successive ; la question se présente naturellement, de savoir quel a été le siège primordial de cette nation mère ? Il n'est nullement vraisemblable que les migrations qui ont peuplé une si grande partie du globe, auraient commencé à l'extrémité méridionale, et de là se seraient dirigées constamment vers le nord-ouest. Tout concourt au contraire pour nous faire croire, que les colonies sont parties d'une contrée centrale dans des directions divergentes. Dans cette supposition, les distances que les colons ont eu à parcourir jusqu'à leur établissement définitif, deviennent moins grandes ; les changemens de climat auxquels ils s'exposaient moins brusques ; et plusieurs peuples émigrés auront sans doute fait un échange avantageux par rapport à la fertilité du sol, et à la température de l'air. Et cette contrée centrale, où pourrions-nous la chercher, si ce n'est dans l'intérieur du grand continent, aux environs et à l'orient de la mer Caspienne ? On n'objectera pas que ce pays est occupé aujourd'hui par des peuples de race différente ; à combien de pays n'est-il pas arrivé de changer totalement d'habitans ? La féconde mère-patrie de tant d'essaims de colons, dispersés au loin, pouvait être redevenue déserte précisément à cause de cela. On n'objectera pas non plus les déserts dont sont entrecoupées dans la Transoxiane les portions fertiles, encore très-belles. Il est probable que, depuis le commencement de l'histoire la nature du pays a changé, qu'il était anciennement plus favorable à la culture et à la population.

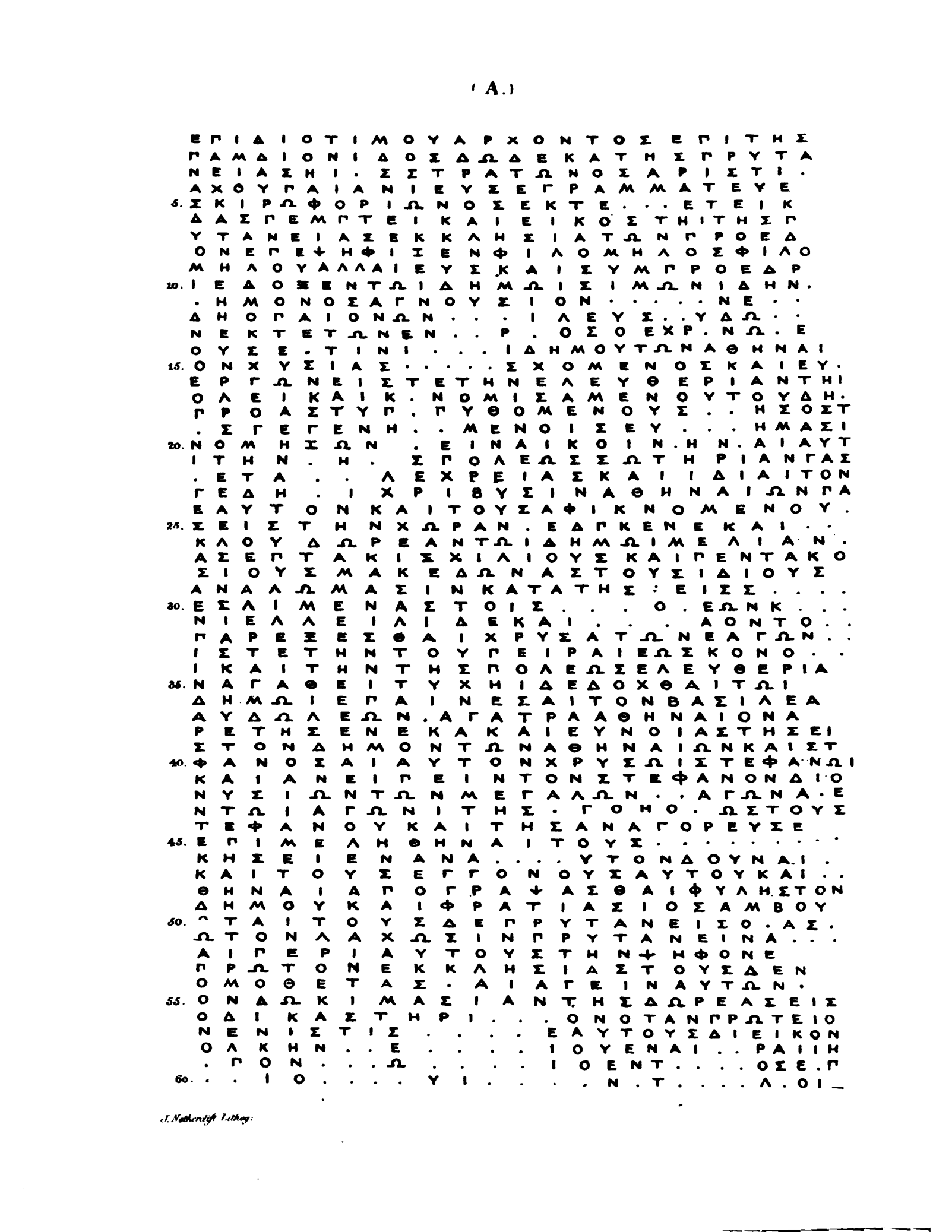
Plusieurs voyageurs ont remarqué le dessêchement des eaux qui le fertilisaient jadis. Les plus anciens témoignages nous indiquent la Bactriane comme le siège d'une haute civilisation. Dans mon hypothèse, les ancêtres des Persans et des Hindous auraient donc émigré de là vers le sud-ouest et le sud-est; ceux des peuples Européens vers l'occident et le nord.

L'opinion de Tacite, qui soutient que les plus anciennes migrations se sont faites par mer, est aussi contraire à la raison qu'à l'histoire. Car pour passer par mer à des contrées lointaines, il faut avoir un grand nombre de vaisseaux, des provisions en abondance, en un mot, une foule de choses qui présupposent une industrie perfectionnée. Il paraît que les colonies maritimes des Phéniciens et des Grecs étaient seules présentes à l'esprit du grand historien. Mais ces colonies, comparativement modernes, n'entrent pas en ligne de compte, quand il s'agit d'expliquer la première population des grands continents. De vastes mers opposent un obstacle invincible aux migrations des peuples qui, venant de l'intérieur, ignorent absolument l'art de la navigation. Mais des mers de peu de largeur et parsemées d'îles, peuvent être traversées, et l'ont été souvent par des peuples qui, comme marins, y faisaient leur coup d'essai; tout de même que les grands fleuves ont été traversés des milliers d'années avant l'invention des ponts. D'après cela je pense que les peuples, dans leurs migrations de l'Asie vers l'Europe, ont suivi deux grandes routes. L'une, toute continentale, longe le nord du Pont-Euxin; l'autre, entremêlée de passages par mer, traverse l'Asie Mineure, la mer Egée ou l'Hellespont, la Thrace, l'Illyrie, et la mer Adriatique. C'est indubitablement par cette voye que la Grèce et l'Italie ont reçu leurs colons. Nous avons tout lieu de croire que plusieurs peuples restés dans l'Asie Mineure, d'autres établis au nord de la Grèce, appartenaient à la même famille Pelasgique. La langue Grecque devint universelle dans ces contrées par suite des conquêtes d'Alexandre le Grand, et finit par oblitérer tous les idiomes indigènes; mais quelques vestiges de la langue Phrygienne, Lycienne, et autres, et la répétition de quelques noms géographiques, concourent avec les traditions mythologiques et les témoignages d'Homère, à confirmer cette conjecture.

L'autre route a servi à peupler le nord de l'Europe. Je penche à croire que les peuples Lettiques sont au nombre de ses plus anciens habitans, et qu'ils ont quitté l'Asie avant les Germains, quoique ceux-ci du temps de Jules-César fussent déjà établis depuis les rives du Rhin jusqu'à des régions inconnues. Dans les temps historiques comme dans l'antiquité, les steppes

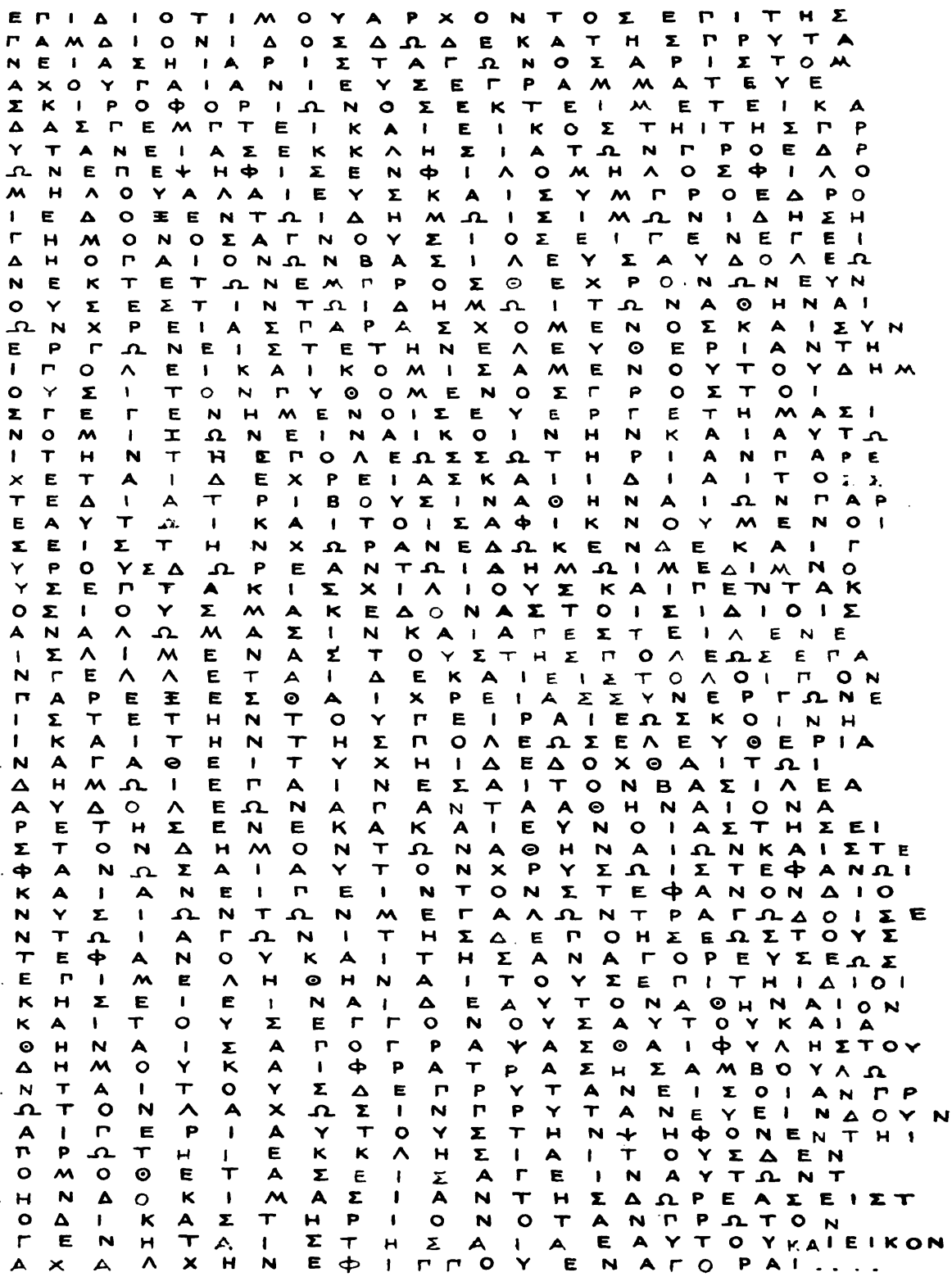
du Don et du Wolga, les plaines immenses de l'Ucraine, et celles qui bordent le cours inférieur du Danube, ont donné passage à des hordes nomades, qui, de temps en temps, sont sorties du fond de l'Asie pour devaster l'occident et le midi. C'est par là que sont venus les Cimmériens, les Scythes, les Huns, les Avares, les Hongrois ou Magyares, et les Mongoles. La plupart de ces hordes n'étaient point de race Caucasienne; il faut chercher leur mère-patrie à l'orient de la Bactriane dans la Tartarie Chinoise. Ces inondations subites de la barbarie, ces conquêtes dévastatrices, n'ont presque jamais conduit à un établissement durable; elles doivent être soigneusement distinguées des migrations de peuples agricoles qui, les premiers, ont défriché le sol, et transformé souvent des déserts sauvages en un paradis terrestre.

Jusqu'ici nous n'avons envisagé les langues que comme un moyen de dessiner correctement l'arbre généalogique des nations, et de déterminer les degrés de parenté collatérale. Mais les conformités de ces mêmes langues, examinées en détail, pourraient bien conduire à découvrir les traditions, les idées, et les arts utiles, que les colons ont apportés de leur mère-patrie commune dans leurs nouvelles habitations, et elles serviraient à repandre un nouveau jour sur les commencemens de la civilisation.



J. Netherclift Lithog:

(B.)



J. Netherclift Lithog.

ἐπὶ Διοτίμου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς
Παμδιονίδος δωδεκάτης πρυτα-
-νείας, ᾗ ἀρισταγωνος ἀριστομ
-άχου Παιανιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε,
σκιροφοριῶνος ἕντει μετ' εἴκα
-δας, πέμπτει καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς π
-ντανείας, ἐκκλησία· τῶν προεδρ
-ων ἐπεψήφισεν Φιλόμηλος Φιλο-
-μήλου, Ἀλαιεὺς, καὶ συμπροεδ ο
-ι, ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ, Σιμωνίδης Ἡ
-γημονος ἀγνούσιος εἶπεν, ἐπει
-δὴ ὁ Παιόνων βασιλεὺς αυδολε
-ων ἔν τε τῶν ἔμπροσθε χρονων, εὔν
-ους ἐστὶν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναι
ων, χρείας παρασχόμενος, καὶ συν
-εργῶν εἴς τε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῃ
-ι πόλει, καὶ κομισαμένου τοῦ δη
-μου σῖτον πυθόμενος, πρὸς τοῖ
-ς γεγενημενοις εὐεργετήμασι,
νομίζων εἶναι κοινὴν καὶ αὑτῶ
-ι τὴν ῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν, παρ
-έχεται δὲ χρείας καὶ ἰδιᾷ τοῖς
τε διατριβουσιν Ἀθηναίων παρ
ἑαυτῶ, καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοι
ς εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἔδωκεν δὲ καὶ π
-ρ οὺς δωρεὰν τῷ δήμῳ, μεδιμνο
-ὺς ἑπτακισχίλιους καὶ πεντακ-
-οσίους Μακεδόνας, τοῖς ἰδίοις
ἀναλώμασιν, καὶ ἀπιστει λενε
ις λιμένας τοὺς τῆς πόλεως, ἐπα
-γγέλλεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν
παρέξεσθαι χρείας, συνεργῶν ε
-ίς τε την τοῦ πειραιέως κομιδῆ
-ι καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερία
-ν, ἀγαθεῖ τυχῆ δεδόχθαι τῶι
δήμῳ, ἐπαινέσαι τὸν βασιλέα
Αὐδολέωνταντα Ἀθηναῖον ἀ
-ρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας, τῆς εἰ
ς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στε
-φανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ,
καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέφανον Διο-
-νυσίων τῶν μεγάλων τῷ ἀγωνι ε
ν τῷ ἀγῶνι, τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ σ-
-τεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως
ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοι
κήσει. εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον,
καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἀ
θηναι ἀπογράψασθαι φυλῆς καὶ
δήμου καὶ φράτρας ἧς ἂμ βούλω
νται, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις, οἳ ἂν πρ
ῶτον λάχωσιν πρυτανεύειν, δοῦν
αι περὶ αὐτοὺς τὴν ψῆφον ἐν τῇ
πρωτῃ ἐκκλησία, τοὺς δὲ ν
ομοθέτας εἰσάγειν αὐτῶν τ
ὴν δοκιμασίαν τῆς δωρεᾶς εἰς τ
δικαστήριον, ὅταν πρῶτον
γένηται, σ αὐτοῦ εἰκον
α χαλκῆν ἐφ' ἵππου ἐν ἀγορᾷ ...

XXIII. *Notice of an Inscription found at Athens in* 1833, *and sent to Mr. Hamilton by Mr. E. Dawkins.* By Christopher Wordsworth, Esq.

Read Nov. 6, 1833.

The inscription was engraved in the year B.C. 354, (Ol. 106. 3.), at the commencement of an interesting period of Grecian history. It was in this year that the intentions of Philip began to declare themselves, by the capture of Pagasæ and the siege of Methone; and the preceding year was the first of the political life of Demosthenes. The rival powers of Athens and Macedon were now brought into collision, and would be naturally engaged in converting the neighbours of each other into allies for themselves. Among these attempts we may place the following inscription. It is a decree of the Athenian people, conferring certain public honours on a king of Pæonia for services rendered to the republic. It is to be regretted that either the corroded state of the marble itself, or the inaccuracy of the copy which we possess, has deprived us of the name of this northern prince, and of the acknowledgment of the precise benefits conferred by him on the grateful Athenians. We have endeavoured, indeed, to supply this deficiency by conjecture, but we do not pretend to feel confident of success, either in this or in our other attempts to restore the inscription to the state in which it was first placed within the precincts of the Acropolis.

We need not cite examples of the grammatical and other errors, nor appeal to the numerous *lacunæ* which occur in the only copy we have yet seen of this interesting document, to furnish us with an apology for the liberties we have taken with the text; but we think it due to the claims of more sagacious critics than ourselves to present them with a *fac-simile* of the inscription as it came into our hands, in order that, from its various readings, and even from its errors, they may extract a sense differing from, and perhaps more satisfactory than, that we have been able to obtain.

A is the *fac-simile.*

B is a copy of the same, with our conjectural restorations.

C is the same, in common cursive characters.

The following remarks are added, principally with a view of defending the corrections or supplementary expressions which we have thought it advisable to adopt:—

V. 3. ἀριστομάχου. In an inscription which forms a part of the Didascaliæ of the Athenian theatre (Boeckh, No. 231, p. 353), we find an Aristomachus to have played a part in two of the successful dramas which were represented in the same year as that in which our inscription was engraved. That it was possible for even a τριταγωνιστὴς to have been a γραμματεὺς, we know by the example of Æschines (Demosth. 314. 7); and the son of a favourite actor would have at least equal pretensions with one who was rarely permitted to sustain any other character than that of a tyrant on the stage. There is also something dramatic in the name of Aristagonus; if, indeed, we might be allowed to build a theory on a conjecture.

V. 6. ἰκάδας. Boeckh, Corp. Inscript. tom. i. p. 150, objects to this word, occurring in a similar passage, "ἰκάδας fortasse in ἰκάδα mutandum:" but see also the notes on Aristoph. Nubes, v. 17. The ἰκάδες may have been used to signify generally the days after the 20th of a month; as we say, "the teens."

V. 7. We have here the earliest example with which we are acquainted of the ἐπιψήφισις being in the hands of a πρύτανις of a different tribe from the presiding one; an example which may serve to modify the expression of Boeckh, tom. i. p. 130,—"Ut jam ab Olymp. 112, novum hoc institutum cœptum sit, et vetus non ante Ol. 108, 2. desierit." The present decree, in which the *novum institutum* is adopted, was passed Ol. 106, 4.

V. 12. The name of the Pæonian king may be recovered from Diodorus, coinciding, as he does, with the vestiges in the marble. In the year B.C. 309-10, Cassander was engaged in assisting a prince of Pæonia to subjugate the Autariatæ (Diod. XX. 29.) This prince is there called Autoleon;[1] but we may perhaps be more correct, on the authority of our inscription, and of a fragment of Diodorus (frag. XX.), in giving him the title of Αὐδολέων, which title, whether it belonged to the identical monarch of Diodorus and the inscription (if, indeed, the name in both these cases belongs to one Audoleon, as is hardly possible), or whether it was an hereditary denomination in the royal house of Pæonia,—as, for instance, was that of Spartacus with the kings of Bosphorus,—is a question to be solved more easily by conjecture than from historical evidence.

V. 13. The more usual form, perhaps also to be substituted here, is ἴν τι τῷ ἱμπροσθε χρόνῳ. Demosth. p. 289, l. Boeckh, Inscr. 2357—2353.

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[1] If Αὐτολέων be preferred, the name will be explained from Æschylus, Suppl. 365.

σύ τοι πόλις, σὺ δὲ τὸ δήμιον,
πρύτανις ἄκρητος ὤν,
κραταίαις βωμὸν ἑστίαν χθονὸς
μονοψήφοισι πείμασιν σέβων·

and may be considered as indicative of the particular form of government established in Pæonia. On this class of words, see Bentley, Hor. Serm. i. 10. 22.

V. 17. κομισαμένης τοῦ δήμου σῖτον συνθέμενος. Demosth. 917. ult. γεμίσας ναῦν μεγάλην σίτου ἐκόμισεν. These public supplies seem to have been imported by a "classis frumentaria;" whence Boeckh has restored a similar expression, No. 107, ἀφικομένης τῆς Ἀθήνηθεν σιταγωγίας. Compare Demosth. de coronâ, p. 326, 10. χρὴ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσιν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ πειραιῶς κομισθῆναι, προίδεσθαι. We do not, however, profess ourselves satisfied with this conjecture. Had the inscription been written thirty years earlier, we should have substituted κομισαμένης τὸν δῆμον τὸ ἄστυ (in the same sense as Diodorus xii. 80, ὁ δῆμος ἐκομίσατο τὴν δημοκρατίαν: and again, xiv. 33, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκομίσαντο τὴν πατρίδα: and, alluding to the two parties, οἱ ἐν ἄστει, and, οἱ ἐν πειραιεῖ), but this would be to presume too much on the aid of the Pæonian sovereign, and on the vanity of the republic.

V. 23. διατρίβουσιν Ἀθηναίων παρ' ἑαυτῷ. Corp. Inscr. No. 2056, an Antiochian is described as διατρίβων παρὰ βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν.

V. 26. μεδίμνους Μακεδόνας. Aristot. Hist. anim. viii. 8. ὁ δ' ἐλέφας ἐσθίει πλεῖστον μὲν μεδίμνους Μακεδονικοὺς ἐννέα ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἐδωδῆς.

V. 30. ἀπέστειλεν. Demad. p. 95, 37. χίλιοι μέδιοι τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ πυρῶν ἀποστέλλονται.

V. 32. συνεργῶν ὡς. Comp. v. 16.

V. 34. ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν παρεξέσθαι χρείας. See Boeckh, tom. i. p. 146, ὡς τὰ τὴν τοῦ πειραιέως κοινῇ καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερίαν — expressions indicating an apprehension of some impending danger, and coinciding with the assertion of Demosthenes (Phil. iii. p. 117, 17,) Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπιπολάζει, ἠδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας. These thirteen years not completed ascend to the archonship of Diotimus (the year of the inscription), and seem to point to the campaign B.C. 353 or 4, when Philip seized upon Pagasæ.

V. 46. ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΝ. In the original copy (A) it is ΔΟΥΝΑΙ. . .The confusion of Υ for Η arises probably from the similar sound of these two vowels in the mouth of a modern Athenian, as we suppose the transcriber of the marble to be. The same confusion occurs in v. 24 twice. On the same principle of identical sound may be explained the existence of Ω for Ο, or *vice versâ*, in Vv. 5, 15, 15, 24, 37, 40, and the less obvious substitution of ΧΡΥΣΑ for ΧΡΕΙΑΣ in v. 32. With respect to the conventional language of honorary decrees, which has been adopted in the restoration of this passage, we have similar expressions in Demosth. p. 265, 25; Chandler's Inscriptiones Antiq. p. 95; or Boeckh, tom. i. p. 145, and tom. ii. p. 285.

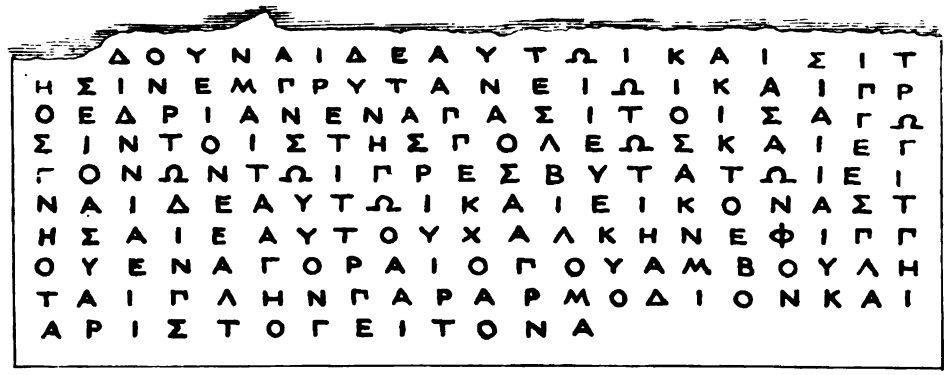
V. 50—55. This passage is best illustrated by Demosth. c. Neæram, p. 1375, 10.

Obs.—This oration is probably not of Demosthenes, but of some contemporary, and very inferior, orator.

Νόμος ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ κύριος, μὴ ἐξεῖναι ποιήσασθαι Ἀθηναῖον, ὅταν μὴ δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄξιον ᾖ γενέσθαι πολίτην· ἐπειδὰν πεισθῇ ὁ δῆμος, καὶ δῷ τὴν δωρεάν, οὐκ ἐᾶ κυρίαν γενέσθαι τὴν ποίησιν, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ ψήφῳ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερεξακισχίλιοι Ἀθηναῖοι ψηφίσωνται, κρυδδὴν ψηφιζόμενοι. τὰς δὲ πρυτάνεις κελεύει τιθέναι τὰς καδίσκους ὁ νόμος, καὶ τὴν ψῆφον διδόναι προσιόντι τῷ δήμῳ, πρὶν τὰς ξένης ἐστίναι, καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἀναιρεῖν, ἵνα κύριος ἂν αὐτὸς αὑτὸν ἕκαστος σκοπῆται πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὁπότερα μᾶλλον πολίτην ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ἄξιος ἐστί τῆς δωρεᾶς ὁ μᾶλλον λήψεσθαι. ἔπειτα μετὰ ταῦτα παρανόμων γραφὴν ἐποίησε κατ' αὐτοῦ τῷ βουλομένῳ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐστὶν εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐξελέγξαι ὡς οὐκ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς. See Petit, LL. Att. p. 130, s. 99.

V. 57. ᾧ' ἔπεσι. The same expression occurs in the fragment of an inscription now at Athens,

in the possession of Mr. Finlay, of which, as it has not been published and deserves to be so, we subjoin a copy. The original is written στοιχηδόν.



δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῷ παισίτ
ησιν ἐμ πρυτανείῳ, καὶ πρ
οεδρίαν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἀγῶ
σιν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐγ
γόνων τῶν πρεσβυτάτω, εἶ
ναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ εἰκόνα στ
ῆσαι ἑαυτοῦ χαλκῆν ἐφ' ἵππ
ου ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ὅπου ἂν βούλη
ται, πλὴν παρ' Ἁρμόδιον καὶ
Ἀριστογείτονα.

With respect to the Pæonian monarch who is the subject of the decree, he was probably the successor of Agis, whose death is placed by Diodorus Olymp. 105, 2. (Diod. xiv. 4). Mr. Mitford (Hist. chap. xxxiv. 4) conjectures that the Pæonian dynasty was extinct with Agis, and that the principality itself was the appanage of a younger branch of the Macedonian royal family, and was therefore equitably *assumed* by Philip in the absence of competent claimants. This conjecture seems inconsistent, not only with the tenour of the inscription, but also with the narrative of Diodorus, who states (xvi. 23) that in Olymp. 106, 1, two years before the inscription, the power of Philip was menaced by a confederacy of the three kings of Thrace, Illyria, and Pæonia. Demosthenes also says, p. 15. 25. *τον Παίονα καὶ τὸν Ἰλλύριον ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ αὐτονόμους ἥδιον ἂν καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἢ δούλους εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἀηδεῖς τοῦ κατακούειν τινὸς, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὑβριστής, ὡς φάσιν.* It was probably by the Pæonian's conduct on this occasion, that he entitled himself to the eulogistic expressions of our decree, where he is recognised as *συνεργῶν εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πολει*; nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that it was the common enmity of Philip which gained for him the character of *νομίζων εἶναι κοινὴν καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερίαν.*

XXIV. *On the Contrivances by means of which the Statue of Memnon at Thebes was made vocal.* By J. G. Wilkinson, Esq., M.R.S.L.

Read Dec. 18, 1833.

In order to give a more detailed account of the pretended vocality of the statue of Memnon[1] at Thebes, to which the attention of the learned has lately been recalled by a letter written to Mr. Hamilton by Sir William Gell,[2] I take this opportunity of laying before the Society a statement of the inquiry referred to in his communication; by which, I trust, the long-disputed question, and the diverse accounts given by ancient authors, will be finally settled.

The boasted vocal powers of the statue have been the object either of surprise or inquiry, both in ancient and modern times: the sound it uttered had, by the credulity of the ignorant, been supposed to resemble a voice, or some melodious tone, by which this divine person saluted the rising sun; and superstition, encouraged by the wiles of an artful priesthood, had so far blinded men's minds as to prevent either doubt or scrutiny; and modern travellers, unable to reject what history had imparted to them, were at a loss to account for the delusion or to offer a satisfactory explanation. But whether this delusion had been practised in the earlier times of Egyptian history, or whether it was an artifice contrived by the priesthood, in order to excite the awe, or tempt the liberality of the Romans, we may at least conclude that they profited by the ignorance of those who visited it.

That at a remote period the idea had not suggested itself, seems proved by the absence of inscriptions, and the improbability of any beneficial result to the priests; but when the curiosity of strangers was excited, and those, too, who had the means of making ample donations to the guardians of the statue, or of the temple whose dromos it adorned, they would naturally benefit by the liberality of the credulous.

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[1] It is the northernmost of the two sitting colossi of the plain, at the extremity of the dromos or avenue of a temple erected to Amun by Amunoph or Amenoph III.

[2] See Reports of the Society's Proceedings, vol. i. p. 23.

The idea of Memnon does not appear to have originated with the Egyptian priests; nor, indeed, could it, since Memnon was neither an Egyptian, nor the person the colossus represented. This name must have been totally unknown to them; and the Theban who was asked if the statue was of Memnon, naturally replied in the negative, and informed the inquirer that it was of Amenoph, or Ph'amenoph, his compatriot and an Egyptian monarch. Had he inquired of every Theban, the answer would have been the same, and the remark that he was one of their countrymen sufficiently proves that Memnon was considered the name of a foreigner. According to Greek or Roman mythology, he was the reputed son of Tithonus and Aurora, names unknown in the Pantheon of Egypt, and the vocal sound was believed to be his salutation of the rising sun. In Strabo's time, it had evidently not suffered this Roman misnomer, since he mentions it merely as the Colossus; and this sensible observer justly questions the possibility of a stone giving utterance to a sound. The time was usually about the first or second hour of day; and in order more successfully to deceive the ignorant, the story of his saluting the sun was carefully circulated, though probably borrowed, in the first instance, from the inquiries of the Romans themselves. Indeed, we can easily conceive that the facility of abusing the credulity of their visitors would suggest itself to the acuteness of the Egyptian priests, and the mere circumstance of their being asked for some monument of an Egyptian monarch with whose name the inquirer supposed himself acquainted, would lead them to point out a record of the existence of a person it would have been useless to assure him was unknown. And in order to enhance the value of this vocal exhibition, some strangers were allowed to depart without satisfying their curiosity till a second visit; and this fact is recorded with the scrupulous precision of the credulous. Some, again, were more fortunate, and a second sound was emitted after a short interval — a circumstance the more remarkable, since the presence of a Roman emperor did not fail to elicit this favour.

But the misnomer of Memnon seems unquestionably to have originated in the ignorance of those strangers who visited Thebes, either on service or from curiosity, who affixed this name to the object they admired; or a slight analogy of sound may have converted the Amenoph of Thebes into the Memnon of Homer, in the same manner as the Egyptian Taba was softened into the Grecian Thebes. So far, indeed, did ignorance of the history of foreign

countries mislead the Romans, that the tomb of a Remeses, who chanced to have the title of Miamun, was with equal facility ascribed to the fabulous Ethiopian. For, even if we admit the testimony of authors of a Roman period, Memnon was not allowed by historians to be of Egyptian origin; and while we know that the term Ethiopia is as vague as our modern name, the Black Country, we may remember that Diodorus describes him as a general of Teutamis, the twenty-first king of Assyria after Semiramis, and records the burning of his body by the Ethiopian troops, a ceremony notoriously at variance with the customs of Egypt.

The Greeks, with marked illiberality, had designated all foreign nations with the opprobrious epithet of barbarians; and the overbearing Romans, imitating their example, and looking on Egypt as a vanquished province, treated it with the indifference and contempt of conquerors. The history, the exploits, the names of Egyptian kings, were generally unknown in Italy, and formed no part of the research of a Roman; and the only real or imaginary monarch of that name, of whom any account had been given, was the Memnon of Homer. His death was recorded at a subsequent period by another author, who had followed and imitated the story of the Trojan war, and on the authority of Quintus Calabrensis, he had fallen by the superior valour of the Grecian hero.[2] A few inquiring persons had indeed become acquainted with the names and actions of some of the Egyptian Pharaohs,[3] and the diligence of Pliny had connected them with the monuments they erected. The existence of a Ramses was known to Tacitus, who noticed him as contemporary with the capture of Troy; but the mass of Roman visitors were blinded by a poetical tradition, and the belief of a fancied miracle. Had they examined the language, or inquired of the people among whom they lived, they would have learnt that the same monarch whose name was affixed to the colossus of the plain, instead of being interred in the main valley of the kings, where they had ascribed to him the finest tomb they there admired, had been buried long before its rightful owner in a more remote part of the Theban

[2] The inscriptions on the statue also ascribe his death to the hand of Achilles.

[3] This name is not derived from ουρο, king; but is in the Hebrew פרעה, Phrāh, a very exact imitation of the Egyptian word ΦΡΕ, pronounced Phrah, and signifying the sun, the chief of celestial as the king was of earthly beings, and represented by the hawk and globe in the hieroglyphics preceding the king's names.

mountains, where the sculptures attested a fact that no Egyptian would have disputed. But, blinded by prejudice and their limited information, the enthusiasm of the curious recorded in numerous inscriptions their visit, their ignorance, and their admiration of the supposed tomb of Memnon. With such records, it may readily be admitted that little weight can be given to the authority of the writers, and that we should receive with caution the accounts these unenquiring strangers have transmitted to us. Poets have always been allowed the license of embellishing; the *quidlibet audendi potestas* has been granted to their descriptions, and the musical sound of Memnon has been variously recorded, according to the feelings of the writers. Juvenal mentions it as a magic string; and historians, who borrowed the account from enthusiastic visitors, or from received opinion, have run into the popular error, and noticed it as a "vocal sound,"[3] or as the "bursting of a harp string."[4] But Strabo, a more accurate observer, compares it to the effect of a slight *blow;* and the authority of Tacitus, of Pliny, of Pausanias, and of Damis, the companion of Philostratus, must necessarily yield to the sounder judgment of the geographer, particularly when supported by the unquestionable testimony of a witness who has described it in an inscription on the statue itself. The writer had heard the sound only a short time before she commemorated her visit, and the impression was still fresh on her mind, nor, from its immediate repetition, could she have been deceived in its nature. Her name was Julia Ballilla;[5] she was present at the same time as the Emperor Adrian, and recorded the event in a copy of twelve verses, in which she not only compares the sound to the striking of brass, but expressly says that "Memnon emitted this metallic sound a second time," in the presence of the Roman monarch. Having before us so good an authority, we may safely reject the questionable accounts given by writers, who either borrowed their information from those who had heard the sound when the recollection of it was no longer recent, or recorded the fact according to common report; and in our endeavours to clear up the doubts that have so long hung over this pretended mystery, we should bear in mind the nature of the sound, and the consequent facility of deception.

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[3] Tacitus, on the authority of Germanicus.

[4] Pausanias.

[5] Not Balbilla, as given by Monsieur Letronne.

With a view, if possible, to ascertain its cause, I ascended with Mr. Burton, in 1824, to the lap of the statue, when we observed the sonorous quality of a block of fine gritstone placed immediately over the girdle; and both agreed as to the possibility of still deceiving a traveller, who might be disposed to credit its vocal powers. The only objection was its metallic sound, which seemed not to agree with the accounts given by ancient authors; and this difficulty had not then been removed by a comparison of the inscription of Ballilla. In a subsequent visit to Thebes in 1830, on again examining these inscriptions, the similarity of the sound there recorded and that of the stone we had before observed, seemed to prove the fact of its having been used for this deception, and I determined on ascertaining if it could be heard by persons stationed near the base, and if any one totally unacquainted with the history of the statue would there perceive its metallic ring. With this view I posted some of the Theban peasants below, in the same place where it is probable that many Roman visitors had formerly heard the sound, and having ascended to the lap of the colossus, I struck with a small hammer the sonorous block. The peasants, on being asked if they heard any thing, replied, "You are striking brass;" and the exact translation of the Greek convinced me of the identity of the sound, and of the means formerly used to practise the deception. The peasants could, of course, have had no idea of the nature of the inscription—they were ignorant of my motive in placing them below; and if they had been inclined to suppose the sound connected with the former vocality of the statue, they would have expected that of a voice, since tradition has obscurely recorded its powers of speech in the name "Salamat," meaning the salutations it was supposed to utter to the rising sun.

The height of the colossus was, from the base to the top of the head, about sixty feet,[7] and represented Amenoph III., a Theban or Diospolite monarch, the ninth king of the eighteenth dynasty, being, as the Thebans justly observed, not the statue of Memnon, but of Ph'amenoph,[8] their countryman. This objection was perhaps frequently made to the novel name given it by the Romans, since the writers of two inscriptions in the time of Adrian have

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[7] By the accumulation of the alluvial deposit of the Nile, it is now about fifty-three feet above the level of the plain.

[8] The Ph or P is the Egyptian article.

concluded that Ph'amenoph, or Amenoth, was the same as, or rather the Egyptian name of, Memnon. The upper part above the waist had been broken and thrown down, according to some accounts by the effect of an earthquake; according to others, particularly the writers of the inscriptions, by order of Cambyses; but the lower part remained on the throne, and uttered the same sounds as after its reparation, which must have taken place after the visit of Adrian, and probably at the latter end of his reign. The stone of which it is made is a coarse gritstone,[9] studded with calcedonies, which gave reason to Tzetzes to call it spotted; and its iron colour, mentioned by Pliny, is caused by an abundance of the red and black oxide of that metal. The upper part has been repaired with horizontal layers of sandstone, and at the girdle is a recess, partly cut and partly rough, of sufficient size to contain a man in a recumbent position, who might thence strike the sounding block, which is placed above. The position of this stone, of smaller dimensions than those constituting the repaired part of the colossus, seems purposely chosen in order to render it sonorous, by leaving the inner and outer sides free from pressure, and with a weight merely on the top. Nor could a person concealed in this recess be seen from any part of the plain of Thebes, and the ascent of the too curious sceptic would be sufficiently prevented, by the impossibility of reaching the spot without a ladder, and by the interference of those interested in preventing it.

But how this block was placed previous to the restoration of the statue, it is now impossible to determine, though we can easily conceive that a few stones arranged round the present recess, would sufficiently prevent a discovery of the person who struck it, and would appear, at such a height, a fragment of the shattered figure. But such was the credulity of the ancients, that no inquiry was made when once the belief of a miracle was established; and superstition pronounced it dangerous to doubt the interposition of the gods.

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[9] The only rock of this nature as yet discovered in Egypt, lies over the eastern slope of the limestone mountains of the Moqúttum, behind the citadel of Cairo.

J. Netherclift Lithog.

for the Royal Soc. of Literat.

Rev.d G. Tomlinson's Paper on Hieroglyphics.

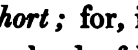
XXV. *On the Royal Names and Titles on the Sarcophagus in the British Museum, formerly called the Tomb of Alexander.* By the Rev. G. Tomlinson, M.R.S.L.

Read Dec. 18, 1833.

The British Museum contains, among its treasures of ancient art, a royal sarcophagus, of which the British nation may justly be proud, both as a specimen of Egyptian sculpture, and as a trophy of our victories in Egypt. It is well known that the late Dr. Edward Clarke formerly displayed a great deal of ingenuity and learning in attempting to shew that it was the tomb of Alexander the Great. It cannot, however, be necessary to say a word in refutation of such an hypothesis, as it is now universally allowed that the original tenant of this splendid tomb must have been one of the ancient Pharaohs. And it is my intention, in this paper, to ascertain, as far as existing documents will permit, the name of this monarch, and his place in the annals of Egypt.

Mr. Wilkinson, to whom Egyptian literature is under such great obligations, some time since conjectured that the legend upon the shield which contains the proper name of this king should be read Amahortè, and that he was identical with Amyrtæus, the Saite king of the twenty-eighth dynasty; and more recently, the learned Rosellini has endeavoured to establish this identity by more formal proofs, in the second volume of his "Monumenti del Egitto." But as the learned professor has not been able to satisfy himself with regard to some parts of the legend, I may venture, with all due deference to such authorities, to propose a different interpretation, which had indeed occurred to me before I read their works, and the correctness of which has since been confirmed by two inscriptions in the British Museum. From these monuments I hope to be able to shew, that the monarch to whom the sarcophagus belonged lived more than five hundred years before the time of Amyrtæus, and was of a different dynasty.

The Society has already published, in Plate VI. of the first volume of its Transactions, the shields contained on the tomb, and on other monuments of this king in the British Museum. Now, if we take either of the shields con-

taining the proper name, as in figure B or C of the plate accompanying this paper, the legend, according to Rosellini should be read thus: "Mihort," or "Amihort, il vittorioso, del paese di Heb:" "Amihort, the victorious, of the land of Heb." But, admitting the latter part of this translation to be correct, the former part of the legend cannot possibly contain the name of *Mihort* or *Amihort;* for, if we translate the four characters  , "the victorious of the land of Heb," the three remaining characters will be, the figure of the god (which is Ammon Ra with the disk upon his head); the plough or mattock , which is the usual abbreviation of Mai, "beloved;" and the hawk, which is the symbol of Horus. And the first two are so placed, that there seems to be no difficulty whatever in reading them "Ammon-Ra Mai," "the beloved of Ammon Ra." The only character which will then remain to form the proper name, will be the hawk, the symbol of *Horus*. We may therefore safely conclude, that *Horus*, or more correctly *Hor*, was the proper name of this king; a name which had previously been borne by the son of Amenophis-Memnon.

But to what dynasty does this Horus belong? We hope to answer this question satisfactorily by referring to a statue in the British Museum, of which an imperfect sketch is given in the first volume of the Society's Transactions, Plate I., fig. 3. On that monument a shield of this monarch, varying a little in its form from those above referred to, is found in connexion with the shields of Sheshonk and Osorkon, the first and second kings of the Bubastite dynasty, in that part of the inscription, of which a more perfect copy is annexed to this paper (No. 3). So that there can be no hesitation in placing this Horus in connexion with the Bubastite kings of the twenty-second dynasty. The inscription will also help us towards assigning him his place among the Pharaohs. It relates to a person who is styled "The Royal Son of the Lord of the World, the Lord, the Son of the Sun, *Osorkon*," and whose mother was "*Sirè*, the Royal Daughter of the Lord of the World, Amon-Mai, *Horus*, of the land of Heb."[1] We may be certain, therefore, that

[1] Since this paper was written, I have discovered that the tomb of Horus contains the names of his sons and daughters; and the name of one of the daughters (the first in the list) corresponds, as might be expected, with that on the above inscription. It is written with different letters, , but they are equivalent to the others , Sirè. This coincidence is very satisfactory; and should we be enabled to decipher the whole of the inscription on the statue, and the legends on the tomb, we may get some further light upon the history of the Bubastite kings.

Horus is to be placed before Osorkon in the succession. And this Osorkon must be the first king of that name, because Osorkon II. (as appears by an inscription in Rosellini's work) was the son of the Pharaoh Takeloth, and of Queen Keromama, the daughter of Tannimroth, a military chief. Horus must therefore be placed as one of the immediate predecessors or successors of Sheshonk or Shishak, who plundered the temple of Solomon in the reign of his son Rehoboam. The tomb of this king cannot therefore be of a later date than the tenth century before the Christian era.

Having thus endeavoured to ascertain the place of Horus in the calendar of Egyptian kings, we will revert to the consideration of his legends, for the purpose of clearing up some difficulties which remain, notwithstanding the endeavours of Rosellini, who acknowledges that of all the *cartelli* hitherto explained, the two belonging to this king are the least satisfactory and clear. The title of "the Victorious, of the land of Heb," is supposed by the learned professor to refer to some glorious deeds of arms against the Persians; but this supposition is precluded by our having shewn that Horus belonged to the Bubastite dynasty, and reigned above four centuries before the invasion of Cambyses.

The land of Heb would seem to be, as Mr. Wilkinson and Rosellini have conjectured, the Greater Oasis. For it appears from the account of Minutoli,[2] that Horus was the builder or restorer of the temple of Ammon at El Khargeh, where his legend is found inscribed upon the portal of the great entrance. But as we find this title given to Ammon himself, in one of the shields of Darius, copied from the walls of the same temple, it may still be considered as not quite certain whether we ought to apply it to the deity or to the king; yet the grouping of the characters on most of the monuments in England, and on that at El Khargeh, seems to decide with sufficient clearness that the title belongs to the Pharaoh. This is, however, a matter of very little consequence, because, whichever way it be read, the proper name, *Horus*, will remain unaltered.

The only remaining difficulty is in the prænomen of this prince; and it will probably be removed by a reference to the shield already mentioned on the statue in the British Museum. In all the copies of this prænomen, the middle group consists of three characters , the last of which, with

[2] Reise der Temple von Amun, Pl. xi.

the little line beneath, is interpreted by Rosellini, "Di equità, o del cuore;" but it appears rather to represent simply the Coptic plural ⲛⲓ; and if in the place of the first two we put their equivalents ✱ and ⲁ, as we find them in the shield, No. 3, we shall have ✱ ⲁⲥ, the "Star of Rulers." His full title, therefore, will be, "The King (Approved of Ammon Ra, the Star of Rulers), the Son of the Sun (the Beloved of Ammon Ra, the Victorious, of the land of Heb, Horus), Vivifier, like the Sun."

In the prænomen, as given by Rosellini, the king is called son of Neith, which would have been a proper title for a Saite monarch; but we may safely alter it into "son of Pascht," the tutelary deity of the city of Bubastis and of the Bubastite kings. For the lion's head, by which the goddess is distinguished in this inscription, is not peculiar to Neith, but is found upon the figures of other goddesses. And I may venture to observe, that as the cat was the sacred animal of Pascht or Bubastis, the head of the *lioness*, as the queen of that tribe, would probably be considered by the Bubastites to be an appropriate emblem of the goddess whom they worshipped.

The long hieroglyphical inscriptions with which the tomb is covered within and without seem to relate to the royal funeral rites of the Egyptians, in connexion with their peculiar notions respecting the transmigration of souls, and may probably form the subject of another paper, should it be thought an object worthy of the Society's attention.

On the Two Obelisks of Black Basalt in the British Museum.

In the former part of this paper I have endeavoured to prove that the royal sarcophagus in the British Museum belonged to the Pharaoh *Horus* of the twenty-second or Bubastite dynasty. The same prince, as we learn from the inscriptions, erected the two beautiful obelisks of black basalt which now stand near the tomb. They were originally set up in honour of the god *Thoth*, in the city of Heliopolis, the *On* of the Sacred Scriptures, and contain little else but magnificent titles bestowed upon the Pharaoh and the deity whom he intended to honour. As works of art, they are exceedingly beautiful, but they will not add much to the information which we already possess respecting this monarch, nor will they increase our admiration of the wisdom of the Egyptians. But as I am not aware that they have hitherto

been deciphered, I beg to offer to the Society a copy of the inscription contained upon two of the sides of that which stands on the eastern side of the gallery, accompanied by an attempt at a translation. The top of it is somewhat defaced.

The inscription on the northern face (No. 1.) runs thus: "The King (Approved of Ammon Ra, the Star of Rulers), the Son of the Sun (Beloved of Ammon Ra, the Victorious of the land of Heb, Horus), Vivifier like the Sun! The Beloved of Thoth twice great, Lord of the Eight Regions, Lord of the Priests of the Sun the Great King of the Gods, giving life, ruling for ever!"

The inscription on the west side or face (No. 2.) may be thus rendered: "He hath made his devoted offerings (or constructions) to his father, Thoth, the twice great, the Lord of the Eight Regions. He hath erected to him in the abode of the sun (*i. e.* Heliopolis) these obelisks of hard stone. He (also) offers them to the wife (of Thoth), the Lady of Kemè (*i. e.* Egypt), that they may give to him a life of truth and justice, ruling like the sun!"

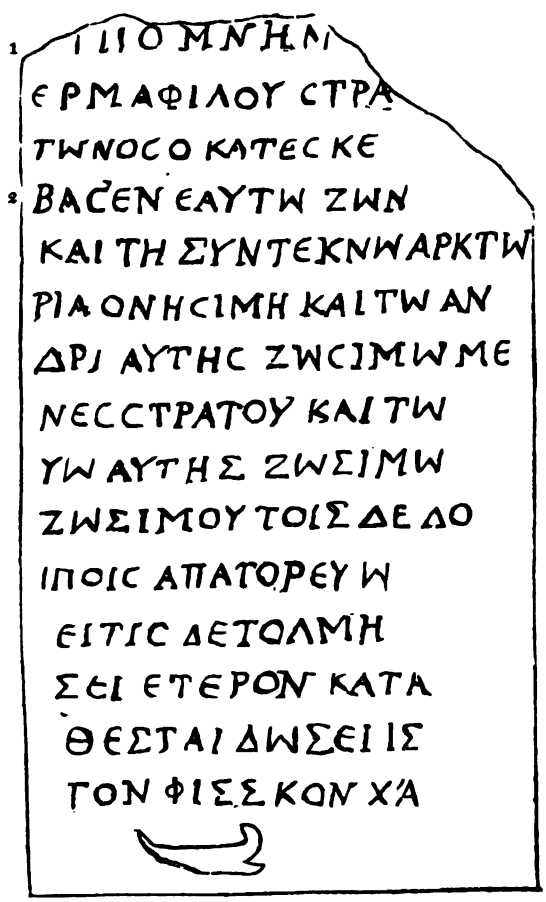
I found some difficulty in understanding what was meant by the characters [illegible], which answer to ϩⲓⲙⲉ (ⲛ) ⲕⲉⲙⲉ, wife of Egypt; but on observing these characters on the eastern obelisk, I discovered that they were followed by others containing a name similar to that which is inscribed over the head of the goddess who accompanies Thoth in the inscription copied by Mr. Wilkinson in the quarries of Massara. The name of the goddess appears to be Naou-ri, or Nahaouri, on this inscription; but Champollion says that her name on the temple of Thoth, at Medinethabou, is Nahamouo. Her proper name would seem to have been Nahaou, the *Ri* and the *Mou* being probably appellations or attributes derived from the *Sun* and the *Nile*.

The inscriptions on the remaining sides of this obelisk and on those of the western one, are so very similar to those which I have copied, that it is not necessary to trouble the Society with translations of them. It will easily be seen, from these and other specimens which have been given by the French and Italian savans, that the notions formerly entertained of the value of these monuments as records of Egyptian science, were merely empty speculations, which must give way to the progress of truth and of sound philological knowledge.

APPENDIX.

I. *On a Monumental Stone lately found at the Savoy, now in the possession of* HENRY HOLLAND, *Esq.* Communicated by Mr. HAMILTON.

Read Dec. 5, 1832.



The monument of Hermaphilus, the son of Strato, which he constructed in his lifetime for himself and for his σύντυχος, Arctoria Onesime, and for her husband, Zosimus, the son of Menestratus, and for her son Zosimus, the son of Zosimus. I forbid it to others. If any one shall dare to place in it another, he shall pay to the public treasury one thousand denaria.

[1] These marks which precede the article are probably the remains of the figure of a cross, which is often found at the commencement of inscriptions on the monuments of Christians.

[2] The use of B for T may be frequently observed in the writing of the Lower Empire.

DEAR HAMILTON, *Montague Square, Dec. 4, 1832.*

I DELAYED answering your note till I had asked my brother if he knew any thing further about the finding of the stone than I had already heard. He says it was found at the Savoy, and, he thinks, in the foundation of the chapel. The workman who turned it up sold it for a trifle to the person who gave it me. There can be no doubt that it was one of the vast collection made by the Earl of Arundel in the early part of the seventeenth century, and placed in the garden of Arundel House, which extended along the river, where Norfolk and Arundel Streets now are. The article headed "Arundel Marbles" in the Encyclopædia Britannica, says,—"In the turbulent reign of Charles the First, and the subsequent usurpation, Arundel House was often deserted by the illustrious owners, and in their absence some of the marbles were defaced and broken, or used for the ordinary purposes of architecture." Lord Clarendon says, that the Earl of Arundel, as soon as he discerned that the repose of the kingdom was likely to be disturbed, withdrew from it, and died in Italy. According to Pennant, —"On the pulling down of Arundel House to make way for the street of the name, numbers (of the marbles) were left on the ground by the river-side, and overwhelmed by the rubbish brought from the new church of St. Paul's." By what accident this particular stone found its way to the Savoy, it would be vain to inquire.

With respect to the inscription, I apprehend the only thing remarkable, or at least new, in the eyes of the learned, will be the word σύντεκνος. The interpretation given to this in Ducange's Greek Glossary, is *compater*. In this instance, being feminine, as applied to a female, it would be *commater*. On consulting the Latin Glossary on this word I find, "*Commater mulier dicitur esse ei cujus filium vel filiam de fonte baptismatis suscepit; vel e contra commater mulier est illius qui filium suum vel filiam suam de fonte baptismatis suscepit.*" Taking the latter sense, I suppose that Hermaphilus had been godfather to Zosimus, the son of Arctoria Onesime, whose body, with that of his mother and her husband, he was willing to admit into the tomb. From their joint parental relation to this son, the one spiritual, the other natural, she became his σύντεκνος. In a similar inscription in Spon's Travels, the penalty for intrusion is written at length, χίλια πεντηκοσία δήναρια. The numeral letters on this stone, ΧΑ, I suppose to mean one thousand, the Α denoting one; for, in another inscription, I have seen ΧΒ where two thousand was intended. In the inscription given by Spon, φίσκος is used, as here, for the treasury, but with one σ. The spelling on the stone you will observe, in other instances, to be inaccurate. Yours, &c.

H. HOLLAND.

II. *Extracts from the Marquess of Bath's Book, entitled "Liber Rubeus de Bath," written in* 1428. Communicated by Sir THOMAS PHILLIPPS, Bart.

Read May 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,

If I remember correctly, you said, in your reply to my observations, that it was partly the object of this Society to search into the origin of languages and the etymology and signification of words, and to trace their gradual change. With that view I take the liberty of addressing to you, for the use of the Society, if they should think it worth printing, the accompanying explanation of terms relating to weights and measures, from an ancient MS. formerly belonging to the Abbey of Bath, written in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

Athenæum, May 12, 1833.

THOS. PHILLIPPS.

To W. R. HAMILTON, Esq.

P. S.—You will, no doubt, observe the word "Mna." Probably this will explain the true value of the reward offered for the fugitive slaves in the inscription from Egypt.[1]

DE MENSURIS ET PONDERIBUS.

Talentum valet 120 libras et tot marcas Flandriæ.
As assis idem est quod obolus.
Bachus continet duos modios et duos sextarios; id est, duas pyntas.
Cadus est vas vinarium vel olearium, continens 3 amphoras; id est, 9 modios.
Ciatus continet $\frac{1}{12}$ partem sextarii.
Chorus est mensura 30 modiorum.
Denarius est quasi duplex obolus.
Dipondium vel *dipondius* idem est; constat ex duobus assibus.
Dragma valet obolum.
Dydragma, id est duplex dragma, videlicet denarius.
Ephi continet 3 modios, chori viz. decimam partem.
Gomer mensura est quasi 5 sextariorum, *i. e.* 15 librarum.

[1] Printed in the "Proceedings of the Royal Society of Literature," vol. i. p. 3.

Hyn continet sex sextarios, et est mensura deputata liquidis, sicut vino, oleo, melli.

Libra valet 12 uncias vel 90 solidos Turonum, videlicet marcam Flandriæ. Sed libra Troiana constat ex 15 unciis, et ponderat 25 solidos in pasta Margaritæ ac in speciebus juxta edita Regni Angliæ.

Metreta est mensura liquidorum, et proprie vini vel aquæ continens decem sextarios, videlicet triginta pyntas.

Numisma, atis. ne. ge. p. vim M. inscriptio est nummi, vel ipsa moneta, ad quam tria requiruntur, conveniens metallum, pondus debitum, et figura.

Mna valet centum dragmas. Luce XIX., "Ecce mna tua quam habui." Et valet tantum quantum talentum secundum quosdam.

Minutum valet $\frac{1}{8}$ dragmæ, videlicet unum quadrantem.

Pondus a pendendo dicitur.

Semis, indeclinabile, id est dimidium, ponitur pro quadrante, et componitur cum as assis, et dicitur Semissis; hoc est dimidius assis.

Solidus valet $\frac{1}{20}$ mam partem libræ et 24 obolos.

Siclus, *i.* stater, quod Hebrei dicunt sychel, et valet dimidium unciæ.

Scrupulus est $\frac{1}{3}$ pars dragmæ, *i. e.* oboli.

Satum in liquidis continet sicut urna, viz. 2 lagenas, 1 potellam, et 1 quartam.

Modius a modus dicitur, et continet 22 sextarios, *i. e.* 44 libras.

Sextarius continet de liquidis ad 3 libras, viz. 1 pyntam Flandriæ, *leviter* 14 b.

Amphora est vas cum duabus ansis vel auribus quibus circumfertur, continens 3 modios, et dicitur ephi in aridis.

Acetabulum vas est aceti, continens 12 dydragmata, vel $\frac{1}{12}$ partem sextarii.

Per discrecionem Regni Angliæ, sterlingus et qui denarius dicitur ponderabit 32 grana frumenti in medio spico. Et 8 libræ faciunt galonem. Et 8 galones faciunt modium de Troia, quæ Londonia dicitur. Et 8 modii faciunt quarterium.

DE PONDERIBUS.

Le charre de plumbo constat ex 30 formellis, *Anglicè*, fotmels.

Formella constat ex sex petris.

Petra ex 12 libris.

Libra ex 15 unciis.

Le charre constat ex 12 wagis, *Anglicè* wayes.

Le wais plumbi, *lanæ*, *ceparum*, et *casei*, ponderat 14 petras.

Item, 2 *wage lanæ* ponderant saccum lanæ unum.

Item, 20 *sacci lanæ* faciunt unam lastam.

Lasta una allecium (herrings) continet 10 mille; *mille* continet decies centum; et quælibet *centena* continet sexies viginti.

La daker de corio constat ex decem coriis.

La daker cirothecarum constat ex decem paribus cirothecarum.

La daker ferriorum equinorum constat ex 10 ferruris.

Duodena { Cirothecarum, Pergameni, Allicte[1] (or Allute), } constat ex duodecim.

Centena { Ceræ, Picis, Amigdalorum, Aluminis, } constat ex 13 petris et dimidio; et quælibet hujusmodi petra constat ex 8 lb.

Centena bordi, canabi, telæ, lineæ, continet 100 ulnas; et quælibet centena tal. constat ex sexies viginti.

Centena ferri constat ex quinquies viginti libris ponderatis.

Duodena ferri, ex sex peciis.

Garba calibis continet 30 pecias.

Tria grana ordei in longitudinem protensa faciunt pollicem.

12 *pollices* faciunt pedem.

3 *pedes* faciunt virgam.

5 *pedes* faciunt passum.

3 *passus cum pede et dimidio pedis* faciunt perticam ruralem, viz. 16½ pedes.

40 *perticæ* faciunt carpentum.[2]

120 *passus* faciunt stadium.

1000 *passus*, miliarium.

2 *miliaria*, leucam.[3]

Roda terræ est quarta pars unius acræ.

200 *passus et dimidium* faciunt rodam.

Le seem de vitro continet 14 petras; quælibet petra 15 libras.

Bynde anguillarum continet 10 stykkas, et quælibet stykka 35 anguillas.

Bynde de pellibus continet 33 pelles.

Le tymber de cuniculinis pellibus continet 40 pelles.

The terms here explained may be safely asserted to have been in general use from the year 1300 to 1400, and very probably from the time of the Saxons. Some exist at this day in common use.

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[1] Over this word is written, in a later hand, "Cordewayn."

[2] Query, if this is the French "Arpent."

[3] This explains the leuga of Doomsday, unless leuga there signifies the modern "lug."

III. *Notice of some Discoveries made in a Journey in Asia Minor, in* 1832.

By the Rev. F. N. J. Arundell.

Read Nov. 20, 1833.

The writer has been encouraged to believe, that a journey which he made in the autumn of the last year in Asia Minor, possesses sufficient interest to be communicated to this Society; and in submission to the judgment which expressed such an opinion, the following sketch has been written.

The situation which the writer has held for eleven years past—of British chaplain at Smyrna—has naturally afforded him much opportunity of gaining information upon the ancient geography of Anatolia, and, as more immediately connected with his profession, respecting those places ennobled and consecrated by the earlier history of Christianity.

Foremost of these stood the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse; and though their exact site and ruins have been long ago well ascertained and described, the writer ventured to submit to the public, about five years since, an account of a visit which he made to them, connected with some other objects of important geographical research, which the invaluable work of Colonel Leake had suggested to him. If it possessed any claim to attention, it was mainly owing to the fostering hand and valuable notes of that eminent geographer.

The writer may be permitted to mention, that he succeeded in discovering the lake of Anava, described by Herodotus as between Colossæ and Apamea; the important cities of Apamea and Sagalassus; and by the discovery of a river near the modern Chonas, precisely corresponding with the description of Herodotus, he almost, if not positively, determined the ancient site of Colossæ.

Obliged to be economical of time, as he could not be long absent from his duties, it was not till he had again and again sought the best information from Turkish and Greek merchants residing in the interior of Anatolia, and from conductors of caravans, that he commenced his second journey.

The objects proposed were, to search for ruins in several directions, of which the writer had received information; and first and chiefest, to determine the site of Antioch of Pisidia, that place so important to the Christian geographer, as ennobled by the discourses and persecutions of St. Paul, and the discovery of which, says Colonel Leake, would greatly assist the comparative geography of all the adjacent country. The writer also indulged the hope of finding the remains of Lystra and Derbe. He proposed to avoid as much as possible (as in his first journey) all the routes hitherto published, and thereby to contribute his mite towards the central geography of Asia Minor.

He was accompanied by a very intelligent friend, Mr. Dethier, probably at present the consul for the Belgian government at Smyrna. They succeeded in the objects which had been proposed, even beyond their best expectations. After passing over a very interesting portion of the Catacecaumene, and exploring the districts of many extinct volcanoes, they found in the ruins which were the first object of their search, the important remains of an ancient town, which, till a better name can be given to it, the writer will call *Clanudda*, but which, from the innumerable tombs excavated in the calcareous rocks, might better be named *Necropolis*. Proceeding through the countries lying between the Hermus and Meander, they found the probable vestiges of the town of Eucarpia. The sites of Eumenia and Apamea were, by the discovery of inscriptions, decidedly fixed, beyond farther doubt, at Isheklì and Deenare.

Precisely at the distance from Apamea fixed by the tables—twenty-five miles—they sought for, and discovered, the magnificent remains of the town of Apollonia, or, as named in the inscriptions which they found there, Apollonia τῶν Λυκίων Θραικῶν Κολόνων. Not the least interesting part of this discovery was their meeting with a colony of Greeks, who had lived here from the earliest ages of Christianity, and who, though under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Pisidia, have no intercourse whatever with any other Christian community from without, intermarrying always among themselves. The discovery of Apollonia at once assured the discovery of the greater object of the journey —that of Antioch of Pisidia; and at precisely the distance from Apollonia fixed by the tables, viz. forty-five miles, the superb remains of the metropolis of Pisidia appeared in view. The remains consist chiefly of prostrate temples, churches, and between twenty and thirty arches of the most magnificently constructed aqueduct the writer ever beheld.

From hence, having coasted nearly three sides of the lake of Eyerdir, very probably Lysinoe, and in circuit at least one hundred miles, the travellers went by Isbarta to Sagalassus, collecting some further notices on the magnificent ruins of that city, so celebrated for the siege of Alexander. Thence they went in pursuit of the ruins of Selge; and if the ruins which they found are not those of that important city, certainly they belong to a city of very considerable importance. It was the wish of the travellers to have gone in pursuit of Perge, Lystra, and Derbe; but the entrance of the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha into Iconium, and the passing of troops all over the country, made it imprudent to seek for antiquities at the risk of personal safety. They therefore returned by Bourdour, and thence by a route, in great part new, to the back of Chonas, where, by the examination of the river miscalled the Lycus, they decidedly fixed the proper situation of Colossæ at Chonas.

Though the journey occupied but six weeks, yet the distance travelled over in that time could not be much less than one thousand miles; and (including the writer's former journey) the *new* ground, hitherto unknown to the European traveller, or at least unpublished, will not be much less than six hundred miles.

The writer had hoped, in the autumn of the present year, or the following spring, by availing himself of the hospitality of the Archbishop of Pisidia, and accompanying him on his visitation through his diocese—which, in its present extended limits, includes Pisidia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycia, &c.—to have assisted very materially the geography of these important, and, even yet, little-explored provinces. But the afflicting hand of God fell heavily upon him; and compelled, for a season at least, to relinquish his duties in Smyrna, and return to Europe, he abandons to the future and more light-hearted traveller the further discoveries he had fondly hoped to make.

IV. *Catalogue of Pictish Kings.* Communicated by Sir THOMAS PHILLIPPS, Bart.

Read Feb. 2, 1833.

14, *Stratford Place, Nov.* 15, 1830.

SIR,

The following catalogue of Pictish and Scottish kings is taken from a manuscript in my possession, of the thirteenth century. The series varies so much both in the succession and in the orthography of the names, from that given by Innes from the Cronicon Pictorum, that I am induced to forward it to the Royal Society of Literature for their inspection.

INCIPIUNT NOMINA PICTORUM.

	AN.	M.
Gruchne filius Kenne clemens, et primus judex, accessit monarchiam, et regnavit in terra Pictorum	50	—
Gede - - - -	150	—
Thaian - - -	100	—
Duchil - - -	40	—
Duordegel - - -	20	—
Tethothrecht - - -	60	—
Conbusc - - -	20	—
Karanochrecht - -	40	—
Gercuath bolgh - -	9	—
Vipoguenech - - -	30	—
Fyahor albus - -	30	—
Canatinnel - - -	6	—
Dovernach vetalec - -	1	—
Feradach finlegh - -	2	—
Gauiach dives - -	60	—
Talargh filius Keocher - -	25	—
Drust fil. Yrb. - -	100	—
Tolarg fil. Amil. - -	2	—
Nectan celcamoch - -	10	—
Drust gocuieht - -	30	—
Galauy - - -	15	—
Drust fil. Gygurn - -	6	—
Drust fil. Hudrosig - -	8	—
Gauach fil. Gygurn - -	6	—
Kelturan frater ejus - -	6	—
Tolorg fil. Murdelog - -	11	—
Drust fil. Monehet - -	1	—
Tagalad - - -	4	—
Brude fil. Melcom - -	30	—
Hunc convertit Scs. Columba. Adventus Sci. Columbæ DLXV. et supervixit duobus et triginta annis cum eis. Tempore Brude filii Malcom 592, obiit Columba. Adventus Anglorum ad Britanniam 469 an. ab Incarn. Domini. Obsessio Badonici Montis ab adventu Anglorum 44. Aidan filius Gohren ab Incarn. DXIII., cum bellum commiserunt Aidan et Cadfred in loco qui dicitur Dexastan.		
Sauiach fil. Donath - -	20	—
Nactam fil. Yrb. - -	21	—
Kynel fil. Luchrem - -	14	—
Nactam fil. Fochle - -	8	—
Brude fil. Fochle - -	5	—
Tolarg fil. Fechar - -	11	—
Talargan fil. Aufrud - -	4	—
Garcuad fil. Domnal -	6	—
Drust frater ejus - -	6	—

	AN.	M.
Brude fil. Bile - -	21	—
Taran fil. Aufudeg - -	14	—
Brude fil. Detili - -	31	—
Nectan frater ejus - -	18	—
Garnach fil. Ferach - -	24	—
Oengusa filius Fergus -	16	—
Nectan fil. Decili - -	—	9
Oengus fil. Brude - -	—	6
Alpinus fil. Engus - -	8	—
Drust fil. Tarlargan - -	5	—
Himgus fil. Fergus - -	10	—
Engus fil. Brude iterum -	36	—
Brude fil. Engus - -	2	—
Alpin fil. Engus - -	8	—
Drust fil. Talargan - -	1	—
Talargan fil. Drustan -	4	—
Talargan fil. Engus - -	5	—
Constantinus fil. Fergus -	42	—
Iste primo edificavit Ecclesiam Sti. Andreæ.		
Himgus fil. Fergus - -	10	—
Dustalorg - - -	4	—
Doganan fil. Himge - -	3	—
Ferach fil. Bacoc - -	3	—
Brude fil. Ferech - -	1	—
Kineth fil. Ferech - -	1	—
Brude fil. Fokel - -	2	—
Drust fil. Ferech - -	3	—

Summa annorum quibus regnaverunt ante Scottos, mille ducenti et 39 annos et 4 menses. Summa Regum 65.

REGES SCOTORUM.

Fergus fil. Herc, primus Scottus, regnavit tribus annis ultra Drumalbam usq. Stuagmerum et usq. in Scegal.		
Dovenard fil. Fergus - -	5	—
Cougal fil. Dovengard -	12	—
Goueran fil. Dovenghard -	34	—
Edhan f. Goueran - -	34	—
Heokebode regnavit - -	16	—
Kineth Ker fil. Conal -	—	3
Ferchar fil. Cuin - -	26	—
Dounald Brec fil. Heokebud -	4	—
Malduin fil. Dounald duin -	13	—
Ferchar Fode - -	21	—
Heochet Rounavel, fil. Dongard, fil. Dounald Brec, regnavit -	3	—
Armkellach fil. Findan -	1	—
Heochgain f. Findan - -	16	—
Muredhach f. Armkellach -	3	—
Heochgain f. Murdach -	2	—
Edlifin f. Heochet Ranuele -	30	—
Fergus f. Edlifin - -	3	—
Scaluach f. Heochgain -	24	—
Heochet Anuine f. Edhfin -	30	—
Dunghal f. Sealuach - -	7	—
Alpin f. Heochet Anuine -	3	—
Et hic occisus fuit in Galwya, postquam eam penitus destruxit et devastavit. Et tunc translatum est regnum Scotorum ad terram Pictorum.		

Summa annorum a tempore Fergus filius Herc ad tempus Alpin, 307 anni et 3 menses.

Kineth fil. Alpin - -	16	—
Scotos regnavit, destructis Pictis, et mortuus est in Fertevioth, et sepultus est in Iona insula, ubi 3 filii Herc, Fergus, Lorin, Engus, sepulti fuerunt. Hic mirâ calliditate duxit Scotos de Ergadia in terrâ Pictorum.		
Dovenald f. Alpin - -	4	—
Et mortuus est in Rait in Veramon, et sepult. in insul. Iona.		
Constantinus f. Kineth -	16	—
Et interfectus est a Norwagiensibus in bello in Inverdufatha, et sepult. in ins. Iona.		

	AN.	M.
Eth fil. Kineth - -	1	—
Et interfectus est in bello in Strahalun a Girg fil. Dougal, et sep. in ins. Iona.		
Girg f. Dougal - -	12	—
Et mortuus est in Dundurn, et s. in i. I. Hic subjugavit sibi totam Berniciam et fere Angliam, et hic primus dedit libertatem Scoticanæ ecclesiæ quæ sub servitute ad tunc tempus erat ex constitucione et more Pictorum.		
Dounald fil. Custantin -	11	—
Et mort. in Fores et s. i. i. I.		
Custant f. Edha - -	40	—
Et dimisso regno sponte, Deo in abbatem religionis fact. Keledeorum S. Andreæ 5 ann. servivit, et ibi mort. et sepultus est.		
Malcolin fil. Dounald -	9	—
Et interfectus est in Ulnem a Moraviensibus per dolum, et sep. I.		
Indolf f. Custantin - -	9	—
Et interfectus est a Norwagiensibus in Invertolan, et s. I.		
Duf f. Malcolin - -	4	6
Et interfectus est in Fores et absconditus sub pontem de Kinlois, et sol non apparuit quamdiu ibi latuit, et inventus est et s. in I.		
Culen f. Indolf - -	4	6
Et interfectus a Radharc fil. Dounald propter filiam suam, in Laddonia.		
Kinet fil. Malcolin - -	24	2
Et interfectus ab hominibus suis in Forthkerne per perfidiam Finuele Cunchar comitis de Engus, cujus Finuele unicum filium predictus Kyneth interfecit apud Dunsion.		
Custantin fil. Culen - -	1	6
Et interfect. a Kineth f. Malcolm in Rath Inveramon, et s. I.		
Grig fil. Kinet, fil. Duf -	8	—
Et interfect. a filio Kineth in Morganerd, et s. i. I.		
Malcolin f. Kinet - -	30	—
Rex victoriosus, et mort. in Glannes, et s. I.		
Item Donchat fil. Crini Abbatis de Dunkeldim et Betot filia Malcolin fil. Kinet - -	6	—
Et interfect. a Macbeth fil. Finled in Bothgouanan, et s. i. I.		
Macbet f. Finled - -	17	—
Et interfectus in Lunfanan a Malcolin f. Donchat, et s. I.		
Lulach fatuus - -	—	4
Et interfect. in Esseth in Strathbolgi, et s.		
Malcolin fil. Doncath -	37	8
(mater ejus Suthen vocatur).		
Et interfect. in Inveralden, et sep. in Dunfermlin.		
Douvenald fil. Doncath -	—	6
Et postea expulsus a regno, et tunc		
Doncath f. Malcolin - -	—	6
Et interfectus a Malpeder fil. Lorn Comite de Mar, et rursus.		
Douvenald f. Doncath -	3	—
Et postea captus ab Edgar fil. Malcolin, et secatus est, et mort. in Roscolbin, et sep. in Dumfermlin, cujus ossa translata sunt in Iona insula.		
Edgar fil. Malcolin - -	9	3
Et mort. in Dunde et sep. in Dumfermlin.		
Alexander fil. Malcolin -	17	3½
Et mort. in Strathfleth, et sep. in Dumfermlin.		
David fil. Malcolin - -	29	3
Et mort. in Karleil et sep. in Dumfermlin.		

	AN.	M.
Malcolin fil. Henrici, fil. David Regis - - 12an. 6m. 20d. Et mort. in Gedwrd et sep. in Dumfermlin cum p.dictis regibus.		
Willielmus frater ejus, et frater Davidis Comitis - - Et mort. in Strivelin et sep. in Abirbrooth.	50	—
Alexander fil. Wmi. - - Et mort. in Ergadia* et sep. apud Meuros.	30	3
Alexander f. Alexandri - Et mort. apd. Kingorin et sepult. in Dumfermlin.	39	—

Summa annorum a tempore Kinet usque ad tempus Alexandri ultimi 567, et siluit tantum *terra* sine rege tot annis quot intervenerunt.

In comparing the above with the list given by Innes, every one in the least degree conversant with the Gaelic language will see how much more correct the orthography of the manuscript is than the printed edition, as far as regards the terminations of proper names in *ach*. In Innes the majority end in *ath;* but in correct Gaelic I believe it is more consistent with the pronunciation of the language to write it *ach*.

One important error may be pointed out in Innes. In the Appendix (page 801), he says, " Girg Mac Dungal," &c. " subjugavit sibi *Hyberniam* totam et fere Angliam." The manuscript says, " subjugavit sibi totam *Berniciam* et fere Angliam," which is much more within the bounds of probability, Bernicia being at that time a province of the north of England, and near to Scotland. The variations in many of the proper names cannot apparently be reconciled, even with the aid of the extraordinary transposition and changes of vowels and consonants which the genius of the Gaelic language would authorise us to make use of; and, from the whole, I am led to infer that the manuscript transcribed for Mr. Innes must have been very faulty, unless the defect lay in the transcriber.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient servant,
THOS. PHILLIPPS.

To the Rev. RICHARD CATTERMOLE,
Secretary to the Royal Society of Literature.

P.S. Innes complains of the attempts of the Scots, in their chronology of their kings, to give themselves a more ancient origin or establishment in Scotland than the Picts. It will be observed in this catalogue (which Innes calls an invention of the Scots), that the author has actually acknowledged the Picts to be of longer standing in that country

* In 1249.

than the Scots. The words of the manuscript are, " Summa annorum quibus regnaverunt (Picti) *ante* Scottos, mille ducenti et 39 anni et 4 menses."

I cannot avoid taking notice also of the frequent repetition of the name of Brude among the Pictish kings, the resemblance of which to the name of Brute in the British chronicles induces me to think that Geffrey of Monmouth had some other foundation than his own invention for the use of that name in his History. The numerous marriages which no doubt took place between the Britons and Roman colonists would amply justify the former in saying afterwards, that they were descended from the Trojans; and it is not unlikely that this circumstance was in fact the origin of the tradition.

T. P.

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THE Memoirs by Mr. Cullimore, which were intended to accompany the following Plates, entitled, " Chronologia Hieroglyphica," and " Geographia Hieroglyphica," not being yet completed, they will be given, with some other papers, in a Supplement.

The Plates of Inscriptions on the tombs of the kings at Thebes (see pp. 69—75), having been omitted by mistake in binding Part I., are inserted at the commencement of the present Part.

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